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THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW

VOL. VIII.

JULY—DECEMBER, 1847.

"No man, who hath tasted learning, but will confess the many ways of profiting by those, who not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long, as in that notion, they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth; even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away."—MILTON.

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ERRATA IN No. XIV.

ARTICLE—"Political Agency in the East."

Page 296, 15 lines from bottom, for "their officers," read "*other officers.*"

— 297, line 11, for "Heratic mission," read "*Herati mission.*"

— 306, line 3, for "personification an Afghan political," read "*personification of an Afghan political.*"

— 307, line 14 from the bottom, for "character of his company," read "*character of his country.*"

— 312, line 4 from the bottom, for "even bore testimony," read "*ever bore testimony.*"

ARTICLE—"Sir Elijah Impey."

— 450, line 24, for "our historians of India are so many dull monuments," read "*our historians of India,*" &c.

— 451, line 21, for "these were not," read "*there were not.*"

— 459, line 8, for "friend," read "*friends;*" and for "it will be expected," read "*it will be objected.*"

— 464, for "paternal tears" read "*fraternal tears.*"

— 476, line 3, for "contains nothing" read "*contain nothing.*"

— 482, line 7, for "the petition set forth his case," read "*the petitioner set forth his case.*"

— 484, line 5, for "well known Horatian he addressed," read "*well known Horatian ode addressed.*"

— 491, line 30, for "Then she brought an action," read "*There she brought an action.*"

— 522, line 4, for "his own assailants," read "*his old assailants.*"

— line 13 from the bottom, for "we contradict," read "*we contradicted.*"

IN No. XVI.

ARTICLE—"Lord Hardinge's Administration."

— 461, line 14, for "nine Deputy-Governors," read "*seven Governors.*"

THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW

ART. I.—1. *Lieut. Macpherson's Report upon the Khonds of the Districts of Ganjam and Cuttack. Calcutta, G. H. Huttman, Bengal Military Orphan Press, 1842.*

2. *Various Official Documents (hitherto unpublished.)*

IN the ninth number of this work appeared a condensed epitome of all the information which we could glean, whether from published reports or hitherto unpublished official documents, on the subject of the Khonds—their country, the mode in which we were suddenly brought in contact with them, as well as the social and religious characteristics by which they are so peculiarly distinguished.

In the twelfth number of our work, we furnished,—exclusively from official documents rendered accessible to us by the liberal policy of Lord Hardinge—a detailed account of the first series of Government measures for the extirpation of the atrocious system of human sacrifice among this singular remnant of the ancient indigenous tribes of India. These measures, though infinitely creditable alike to the Government and its accredited agents,—from a comparative ignorance of the inner life and structure of Khond Society as well as inadequate apprehensions of the real nature and extent of the difficulties involved in the attempt,—did not terminate in any satisfactory results. Still, they were not wholly profitless as regarded the ultimate realization of the main object contemplated. Far from it. In a preparatory point of view, they were of essential service. They helped to shew how very deeply the abhorrent rite of the Meriah sacrifice had struck its roots into the physical, social, and moral being of the Khond tribes hitherto visited—like the aged pine on the mountain's brow, insinuating its downward fibres into every crevice of the rock, with such outspreading force and cleaving tenacity, that to sever it from its commanding position, might seem equivalent to the rending of the rock itself into fragments. They served effectually to expose the utter insufficiency of some of the plans and processes which had been benevolently suggested,—fairly tried—weighed in the balances of

experiment and found wanting. They tended to lay bare the radical—the suicidal evils involved in such an undertaking being conducted in contiguous districts, by the agents of two independent local jurisdictions, under the guidance of two independent Governments, such as those of Madras and Bengal. They conclusively demonstrated that isolated, occasional, desultory efforts, however congruous in themselves and vigorous in execution, must ever end in disappointment; and, consequently, that nothing could prove commensurate to the great design, short of a combined, sustained, continuous and systematic effort, based on the suggestions of past observation and experiment, and prosecuted, it might be, for years, with unrelaxed and untiring energy.

Impressed, at length, with such views and sentiments, or views and sentiments somewhat akin to these, and in order to pave the way for more effective measures, the Supreme Government resolved to depute an officer on a special mission into Khondistan—a special mission of preparatory inquiry, rather than of immediate action. The opening of routes and passes through the wild tracts—the encouraging of the commercial intercourse between the hills and the plains by all available means, and the establishing of fairs or marts for that purpose—the raising of a semi-military police force from among the hill men, upon a footing similar to that of the Paik company of Cuttack:—these and other kindred objects of a general character were those to which his attention was to be chiefly and more immediately confined; while, in regard to the great ulterior purpose aimed at, viz. the abolition of the Meriah rite, the injunction was, that “he should cautiously approach any inquisition into human sacrifices.”*

The officer nominated for the prosecution of this important mission was Captain Macpherson. And we are bound to say, that never was there an appointment more honorable to the Government or to the object of its choice. It was altogether one of high disinterested principle, with which sinister favouritism had nothing to do. During the Goomsur war in 1836-7, Captain Macpherson, while on survey under orders of the Commissioner of Goomsur and Souradah, through his own indefatigable industry, obtained possession of copious materials which he carefully arranged and reduced into the form of an elaborate report. This report, which he was called on to submit for the consideration of Government, contained, as formerly indicated,† a full, clear, systematic, and authoritative

* See No. XII. p. 79-80.

† See No. IX. p. 24.

dissertation on the whole subject of the Khonds—shedding on every topic, whether primary or subordinate, a full and steady light which we look for in vain elsewhere. Such a document could not but recommend its author to a high-minded Government—exclusively and disinterestedly bent, in this instance at least, on a notable philanthropic achievement. To the talent for original and recondite research displayed in this report, and to the courage and patience exhibited under the personal toil and fatigue voluntarily encountered in prosecuting it—and to these chiefly, if not alone, was Captain Macpherson indebted for the patronage of Government. In a word, he received the appointment simply and solely because, from the multiplied proofs of superior fitness which his own labours had afforded, he was honestly adjudged to be the best qualified for the successful accomplishment of its leading objects.

During the prosecution of preliminary enquiries, respecting the parts visited, their resources, the different classes of their population, and other topics of a general character, it was deemed proper that the Government of Madras should superintend the proceedings, and that their more immediate control should be in the hands of the local agent to that Government. In other words, the officer appointed, though his mission was a special one, was not to act directly, as an independent agent, under the orders of the higher authorities, either at Madras or Calcutta. He was only to be head assistant for Khond affairs to the Commissioner or Madras Governor's agent in the Ganjam province.

Since the parts, formerly visited and reported on by Captain Macpherson, lay to the *north* in the hilly regions of Goomsur and Boad, his purpose now was to ascend the Ghats to the *south* of Goomsur, and stretching westward between it and Chinna Kimedy. This, accordingly, he did in December 1841. In pursuit of the special objects of his mission, his route lay through the Khond district of Pondacole, with its six thousand inhabitants; and Bori with its twelve or fifteen thousand. At Guddapore and Sonapore in Bori, he was also visited by Khonds from the fertile and populous district of Guladye, with its seven or ten thousand souls; as also from the Hill parts of Bodoghoru; from Kimedy, both southward and westward, to the boundaries of the Jeypore and Kalahundy Zemindaries; and from the tracts which lie towards the west and north-west, as far as Shubernagherry.

These were the limits of his enquiries, owing to severe sickness which soon disabled himself and nearly the whole of his attendants.

The insalubrity of the climate has repeatedly been referred to, as one of the chief difficulties in carrying out any designs with respect to the hill population. And never, any where, was the obstacle of climate found more formidable than on the present occasion. In the most favourable month of the year, under every precaution, the proportion of persons attacked by fever, of a large and mixed camp, after a residence of but *twenty days* in the Hills, was about *ninety per cent.* The party having been immediately withdrawn, few died; but nearly all who suffered, including Captain Macpherson himself, were invalids for months; and the dread with which the people of the low country of every class, regarded the region of the Ghats became extreme.

But, though the period of sojourn above the Ghats was thus untowardly shortened, it was improved to good purpose. A vast deal of new and valuable information was obtained, respecting the country and its inhabitants. The agent's success in this respect greatly redounded to his credit, and amply justified the decision of Government in selecting him for the arduous and delicate task. For arduous and delicate it was in every point of view. At the very outset, was the agent confronted by the most formidable difficulties. Without something like a confidential intercourse with the natives, it is clear that there could not be that free and unrestrained expression of sentiment, on both sides, which was essential to the main object of the mission. But how, in the face of opposing difficulties, was such intercourse to be established? Let us hear Captain Macpherson on the subject:—

“The impressions which existed amongst the Khond population respecting the Government which were derived from our operations in this quarter in 1836 and 1837, were deeply marked by fear and mistrust. And notwithstanding the use of every art calculated to dissipate apprehension and to give assurance that my intentions were purely friendly, all the villages were deserted before me. I therefore halted in the first valley within the hills, until I felt quite satisfied that different ideas were both established there, and had in some degree preceded me. The nearest hamlets soon gained confidence. Then a section of a tribe ventured to come out from the forest, not rushing into my camp in wild and fantastic procession, armed and dancing, with shouts and stunning music, as is the fashion of these Khonds, but approaching without arms, in extreme fear and requiring much encouragement to come to my tents, while spies from all the tribe around anxiously expected the result of the experiment. The alarm of the first comers having been dispelled, other parties by degrees, but very cautiously imitated their example; and I then moved on. Another considerable pause at the next stage brought all the tribes within a circuit of many miles to my tents, and thence forwards, roads were laboriously cut for my passage through the forest—and I had to choose between those offered to me by the rival tribes, who daily crowded my camp: under these

circumstances I felt some degree of confidence that I should not materially misapprehend the obscure and difficult phenomena which I wished to observe, and that I could generally communicate the impressions which I desired."

In these and similar ways, by an admirable combination of prudence, conciliation, and firmness, were fear, mistrust, and jealousy supplanted by the opposite feelings of dawning hope and kindly confidence. The change which ensued was like that which follows the melting away of the icy accumulations of a long and severe winter. It had about it all the freshening glow and budding promise of a genial spring. It looked hopefully to a summer of glorious blossoms and an autumn of mellow fruit.

To the leading points of the copious information now received, we may now briefly allude. And first of all we may begin with the glance that is afforded us of the general features of the country :—

"The chain of Ghats in this quarter is formed of a central ridge which runs nearly from North to South, and is spread into a broken table land of varying breadth, having a mean elevation of about 2,000 feet. This irregular plateau is supported to the Eastward by inferior ranges of hills which run parallel to it, and which are connected with it by buttresses. The vallies are deep, narrow, and complicated upon the great scale, confused upon the small; the drainage cutting its way through vast masses of detritus which encumber them : granitic gneiss, which is occasionally capped by laterite, is the only rock. In some tracts it decomposes in boulders, which present a manageable surface to the pioneer; in others its structure is uniformly massive. A rich and various forest, broken by occasional patches of bambu jungle, covers the whole surface, and extends, according to my information, supported by that obtained by Captain Hill, without a single break, through a space of two degrees to the Westward. In this forest are found all the valuable timber trees of the country, and these have been floated down from Souradah to the mouth of the Russagaila river at Ganjam, at very low rates. The dammer tree abounds in these tracts. It has been ascertained, (by the reference of specimens to Calcutta,) that it is not the saul. The vegetable products of economical value of this part of the Hill country, whether cultivated or wild, are indetical with those of Goomsur."

The traffic carried on between the hill people now visited, and those of the lowland districts, in spite of the fearfully rugged mountain pathways, was found to be vastly greater than had been previously supposed. From the hills there were annually sent down to the low country about *ten thousand* bullock loads of turmeric alone, and about *four thousand* bullock loads of other articles, such as tamarind, mustard, arrow-root, sweet oil, ginger, cotton, wax, honey, red and yellow dye; red pepper, plaintains, sweet potatoes, vetch, &c. The articles

of trade taken to the Khond country, were salt, salt-fish, iron cattle, brass vessels and ornaments, tobacco, woollen cloth, coarse red cotton cloth, coarse white cloth, with flowered edges, coarse white cotton cloth, cheap chintzes, silk, beads, &c. Of the eight routes by which this extensive traffic was conducted in the country between the Goomsur Maliahs on the north, and those of Chinna Kimey on the south, the agent was enabled to ascertain that, which, though far from promising, was decidedly the best, with a view to future improvement and enlarged commercial and military objects.

He found the population to consist chiefly of Khonds, both Binniah and Maliah;* also of Hindus, including the petty chiefs of districts subordinate to zemindaries, with their connections and followers, the few resident hill merchants, and the paiks; † and of certain classes, who are neither Khonds

* For the distinction between these, see No. IX. page 27.

† In his unpublished Report Captain Macpherson supplies the following further particulars:—

"The only two district chiefs are the military or "Tat" Rajah, of Cattinga in Bodoghoro, and Guddapore in Chinna Kimey. The former is an old man who has some reputation for shrewdness, and for influence with the Khonds. The latter is a boy of fourteen, whom I observed, with a view to his being turned to account as an instrument in future measures towards the Khonds; but he appeared of little promise, growing up in seclusion and in ignorance; the Brahman teachers who have been procured for him having all died in the pestilential climate of Guddapore. I made his people promise to find another instructor for him. His affairs are managed by his mother, a grasping old dealer in turmeric.

These Tat Rajahs respectively acknowledge the superiority of Bodoghoro and of Chinna Kimey by the payment of nominal tribute, and by other forms; they enjoy small tracts of corn land which were originally ceded to them by the Khonds for their support, and they levy certain imposts upon the hill trade. The tribe attached to them, besides, make them annual offerings of good will which are collectively of value. They possess considerable influence, but no manner of authority over the Khonds; the first condition of that influence is their sanction and countenance of every Khond usage whatever. It would immediately cease were they to presume to oppose or to condemn any point of their religion or of the manners of the ancient masters of the soil. They accordingly remain perfectly neuter betwixt the sacrificing and the non-sacrificing tribes. Far from affecting disapproval of the worship of the latter, the Guddapore Rajah for example, sends his paiks in a body, at the request of the presiding patriarchs, to fire salutes in honor of the great rite upon every occasion of its performance.

The Hill Paiks are the descendants of Hindus who are anciently placed in the Khond country to maintain the influence of the Rajah, and to keep the frontier. They have nearly all mixed their blood with that of the Khonds, and have in a considerable degree acquired their manners, habits and feelings. They are distributed over the country in small stockades or "Ghorriah," or in frontier posts called "Gumah." They have adopted to a great extent the Khond superstition, but without forgetting the names of their Hindu Gods, or all the ideas connected with them. They receive no pay, but subsist on small tracts of land given to them by the Khonds. They take a leading part in the riot and festivity which accompany the ceremony of human sacrifice, but take no share of the flesh.

These two petty chiefs, and all the other Hill Rajahs of Orissa, worship, almost exclusively, under names and forms endlessly varied, the goddess Durga. It is acknowledged, that they nearly all offered human victims at her shrines, one, or at the farthest two, generations ago; and it is difficult to determine when those

nor Hindus, of whom the most important is the Dombango or Panwas, who are the chief instruments in kidnapping victims for sacrifice.*

The relations between the Khonds and the zemindaries in which they were said to be respectively "included," he found

sanguinary rites were discontinued in each case, or if they have yet finally ceased. The Brahmans of the low country assert strongly, that no such practice is now thought of: the Boad Rajah admitted to me, that his father, and the immediate predecessors of all the neighbouring Zemindaries upon the Mahanudi had practised it. It was constantly performed by the father of the late Rajah of Goomsur at the shrine of Bagh Devi, at Koladah, and according to some servants of the family at one time by the latter himself. There were strong grounds for suspicion that the Moherry family offered a victim in 1836, in the Hill temple near Berhampore, where the rite was anciently observed by it to a great extent. Human sacrifices are still performed, according to universal belief, in Bustar, and in Jeypore, and in the adjoining Zemindaries to the West and the South to the Godavery, and they are certainly performed by the Brinjaries who trade between the Nagpore and Chotishgur countries and the coast. The few Purohiths whom I have had opportunities of questioning closely, and who I had reason to believe spoke truth, after dilating upon the great temptation to celebrate the rite, have ended by admitting in some way its practice still, and generally in the form of a question as by asking "while the gateways of the temples are drenched with the gore of sheep and oxen, and the feast of Durga, who can tell whether some drops of more precious blood, to bring success to the designs of the great, may not be spilt within."

* In No. IX. p. 47, will be found a full description of this peculiar class. The following additional statements from Captain Macpherson's report of April 1842, will tend still farther to illustrate their character and office:—

"I have addressed the most careful enquiry to the subject of the provision of human victims for the Khond worship by the Dombango or Panwas, by their violent abduction, their theft, and their purchase in the low country and by the sale of their own offspring, with a view to ascertain the modes of perpetrating those acts and their exact character.

The Panwas, who are *permanently resident upon the hills, associated with sacrificing tribes*, participate fully in the religious ideas and feelings of the Khonds, and share their belief in the absolute necessity of the great rite. Pecuniary gain, and the desire to obtain the favor of the Khonds by whom they are protected, are amongst their chief immediate motives in procuring victims, as they are generally the only motives which they assign to strangers; but at the same time, I believe, that they are strongly influenced by the conviction, that, in making provision for the observance of the chief ordinance of their Gods, they perform an act of the highest religious merit.

Khonds, as well as Panwas, when in want, sell children as victims, very many Khonds did so after the disturbances in Goomsur, and the act is, I believe (the Panwas being inhabitants of the hills) as nearly indistinct in both races as any act springing from mixed motives can be in people the features of whose moral character are so strikingly discriminated.

So admirable and so important an act is the performance of a sacrifice held to be in some districts, that a Panwa, who is a rich landholder in the Khond tract of Cottuma in Kimedy, has lately raised himself quite to the level of Khond society by offering a human victim at his own expense, at a feast to which all the Khonds and Panwas of the district were invited.

The strength and the diversity of feeling which exists on this subject even betwixt members of the same family is shewn by the following statement accidentally made to me, by an eye-witness:—A Panwa, of a sacrificing district, happened to go a few months ago with some Khonds, to Catlingia in Bodoghor, where the rite is abhorred. A relative whom he met there said to him—"So you have been making traffic of the blood of your offspring!" and spat in his face. The Khonds, said my informant, immediately pressed round, and most anxiously offered him every sort of consolation, saying "that buffalo of a man is ignorant that by the devotion of the life of your child to the gods all mankind have benefited, but those gods themselves will wipe that spittle from your face."

It is certain, not only that other Panwas, besides those who are permanently associated and identified with sacrificing Khond tribes, provide victims, but that these are most generally procured in the first instance, by Panwas of the low country of mixed religion. Hence the question of the degree in which religious feeling enters into the motives of these procurers, a question which is obviously of high importance in the application to them of penal laws, can be determined only by special inquiry in each case."

to be precisely the same as those already described* as subsisting in Boad and Goomsur. The Benniah Khonds inhabiting, as in the north, the *lower ranges* of the Ghats and the adjacent tracts, were "distinguished solely by their partial adoption of the Hindu ideas, manners, and customs—the most advanced amongst them pressing against the impassable pales of Hindu civil and religious life." *The process of conversion was going on visibly.* Sections of tribes which are now Benniah were purely Maliah in their habits fifty years ago. And in the outer ranges of the hills, one member of a family was seen carefully affecting Hindu manners, while the rest adhered religiously to their primitive customs. To the Khond superstition which they retain in full they add much reverence for Kali or Durga. They have also adopted "the Hindu dress and mode of building, and speak the Uriya language. They abstain religiously from the cultivation of turmeric, the staple product of Maliah industry, and the most valuable crop of their soil." They have exchanged "the Khond for the Hindu plough." They use "milk and ghee which are abhorred by the Maliah Khonds; and they forego as barbarous the practice of dancing in which the latter delight." Such are the Benniah Khonds, "the result of the slow and difficult process of assimilation betwixt the primitive and civilized people." While the primitive race was found thus aspiring to approach and blend with the more civilized people, it was curious and interesting to note a union which had taken place, through plain motives at a single point, betwixt their superstitions. The Hindus, when they assumed the Khond soil in this quarter, adopted the *chief Khond Deity*, or rather duad of deities, as their Gram-Devata, or Tutelary God, under the name of *Khondini*; and Brahmans have ever since officiated with Khond priests at his shrine. His worship, like that of every other deity in this

* See No. IX. page 26-28. As the subject is of practical importance, we may quote from the above mentioned Report:—

"The relation of the Khond tribes to the zemindaries in which they are respectively included, was originally founded here, as, I believe, in all similar cases elsewhere; upon a single common want, and was accompanied by forms which marked the relative power and civilization of the parties. Mutual aid against aggression, was its first condition: whilst the Khonds, besides, generally assisted the Rajahs in their offensive wars. The Hindu chiefs were reminded of the origin of their authority by formal acts of investiture which were performed at their accession by the patriarch of the most important tribes, while the heads of the primitive race received from them, in return, not as vassals, but as inferiors in rank, and in civilization, the recognition of their ancient dignities, and such honorary appellation as they were pleased to bestow.

The Khonds made, also, certain offerings of produce which did not import any thing resembling feudal dependance; and the other chief public acts by which they manifested their attachment seem to have been, that of assembling at the Dusserah festival to eat the buffaloes offered in sacrifice at the Hindu capitals, and that of giving their aid to drag the cars at the feast of Jugernath, and, generally speaking, the relationship subsists between the same parties at the present day."

part of Orissa, became partially confused with that of Durga. But it is still discharged with regularity and pomp by this joint ministry.

As regarded the Maliah (Hill or Highland) Khonds of the regions visited, Captain Macpherson found, that they had the "*same general system of social life* as the tribes of Boad, Goomsur, and Duspallah." There was the same division into tribes and branches of tribes; and society was governed by Patriarchs and Councils, having the same public authority. There were similar rules of intercourse betwixt different tribes; while usages similar in spirit supplied the place of civil law. The customs relating to every form of property were nearly the same. * The laws of hospitality were identical. The paternal authority was the same; and there was the same patriarchal system of family life. The Khonds of these tracts devoted themselves to agricultural industry as exclusively as those of the northern districts.

But with all these generic resemblances, it was found that, in several points of vital importance, the manners and domestic habits of some of these tribes, together with the details of individual life, and their ideas concerning the relation of God to man and the ritual of worship, were strikingly different, from those which prevailed, not only in the north, but in other directions all around. The chief points here adverted to, and which were of the nature of a new and grand discovery, namely, *the prevalence in certain districts of the practice of female infanticide, and the abstinence in others from the horrible ritual of human sacrifice*, have formerly been described.*

It was gratifying to find the decision with which the non-sacrificing tribes felt, spoke and acted on the remarkable difference between themselves and the surrounding tribes. Captain Macpherson thus writes:—

"The non-sacrificing tribes expressed in the strongest language the grief and indignation with which they contemplated the impious and revolting worship which was in progress; and numerous incidents gave assurance of their sincerity.

The fields were strictly guarded by night and day, lest an enemy should desecrate the soil by introducing a shred of the flesh, while they avowed, it may be observed, their somewhat contradictory fears from such an act; first, and chiefly, lest the wrath of their greater deities should arise to their destruction, cursing their soil with barrenness, and denying them offspring; but secondly, lest some of their lesser Gods should acquire a taste for the dreadful food, and desire to be gratified with it in future.† For it was

* See No. IX. p. 32-34, and p. 54.

† That this remark may indicate more of the philosophy of observation and experience than one might at first suppose, may appear from the following passage

believed that experience had proved the latter to be a well grounded fear. In a spot of jungle in Cattingia which was very valuable as the constant resort of wild animals for the sake of a salt which effloresces on its soil, some people of Guddapore, several years ago, buried a fragment of the flesh of a victim. From that time forth, no game has been killed there by the huntsmen of Cattingia, while those of Guddapore find it with unfailing certainty. These are believed still to supply the *genus loci* with the desired food.

The Khonds of the village of Mahringúde having been accidentally asked to dig some holes for the stakes of a grass shed in my camp, expressed their readiness to fell wood, or to render any other service, but declined to disturb in any way the surface of the earth at that particular time, the days immediately preceding the full moon in December, when it was being broken all around for the reception of the flesh of victims, and it may be observed that a Khond or a Hindu who has been present at a sacrifice would here run the risk of being put to death, were he to approach a non-sacrificing village within seven days after the ceremony; but after that time he is reckoned pure.

The sacrificing tribes of Guddapore, upon the other hand, were every where in a state of high exultation and excitement, engaged in performing, or in preparing to perform the great and vital rite, upon the observance of which they believed that their own well being, and that of all the world beside depended."

The non-sacrificing tribes, as might be expected from their avowed abhorrence of the impious rite, hoped and wished that Captain Macpherson would declare and enforce the final and absolute determination of Government respecting it—proffering, in that case, their active co-operation in the work. The sacrificing tribes, on the other hand, very naturally viewed the subject with very different feelings. From the circumstance that no decisive and comprehensive measures had been adopted with respect to it, while partial interference had taken place, one very general impression which prevailed, was, that the Government was indifferent to the sacrifice. Another equally prevalent impression was, that whether the Government were indifferent to it or not, it had no just right to interfere with it. And this opinion was supported on grounds which were held

in Taylor's Natural History of Society. Treating of the subject of cannibalism, the author observes, that "nothing is more certain than that a depraved and unnatural appetite, when once formed, has a tendency, not only to continue but to increase. This is notoriously the case with the dirt-eaters in the West Indies, and in a similar instance, which came within the author's knowledge. A young girl, about nine years of age, contracted a habit of chewing cindars; she had indulged it for some time, before she was discovered, and then every possible effort was made to cure her of it. The utmost watchfulness failed, and she died a victim to her depraved appetite. A friend, whose name I am not at liberty to mention, has favoured me with notes of a conversation with a man, who under pressure of famine at sea, had eaten a part of one of his companions. He declared that the feeling of disgust disappeared at the second or third meal, and did not return during the five days that the crew were reduced to this horrid fare. He added, that after the lapse of many years, he never thought upon the subject without finding desire strangely mingled with loathing; and finally, that it was this instinctive feeling which rendered him most reluctant to allude to the subject."

to be perfectly unassailable in reason and justice. These grounds were the following:—that the rite had been practised from the beginning—that it had been sanctioned by the Rajahs—that it was essential to the existence of mankind in health and to the continuation of the species—that it was indispensable to the productive powers of nature by which men live—that it was necessary to the Gods for food—that its suppression by the Government would be as unjust as the abolition of the Hindu worship at Púrí (Jugernath) and that they (the Khonds) were willing to submit to a decree which should include with theirs, the worship of the Hindus and the Mussulmans—that the victims were the property of those who offered them, being bought with the fruits of their labour upon the soil—that the parents of the victims made them fully over to them through the procurers—and finally, that the Gods had positively ordained the rite.

In these circumstances, what course, with a view alike to immediate and ulterior objects, was best to be pursued? They could not be directly dealt with, on the score of allegiance, as subjects, since no such distinct relations had any where been established with the Khonds, but in the few Mutahs of Goomsur. They had no conception of any social relations except those which existed between the different groups of tribes, and betwixt these and the zemindaries. The British Government they regarded with very various, uncertain, and inconsistent feelings, amongst which vague apprehension or fear greatly predominated. Moreover, in the existing state of opinion and feeling, it did not appear that any real advantage could have arisen from temporarily preventing any of the sacrifices then in progress. Captain Macpherson, as the result of multiplied experience, painfully felt that the effects of interference on his part, casually and *en passant*, could have been but “to make a few sacrifices be deferred until the next full moon, or to make it necessary to replace one or two liberated victims;—while, in the mean time, confidential intercourse with all, probably all intercourse with the sacrificing population, would have ceased, and his immediate objects be defeated.”

The course, therefore, which these and other reasons as well as the spirit of his instructions, appeared to prescribe to him, was, in the first place, to attempt to communicate to these tribes the few elementary conceptions relative to the character and the general objects of the Government which must precede the establishment of any beneficial relations with them; and secondly, both to contradict the impression that the Government regarded the rite of human sacrifice with indifference, and to

repudiate the idea that consciousness of defective right on our part prevented us from adopting decisive measures for its suppression. To these general preparatory objects, accordingly, Captain Macpherson specially addressed himself; and his own account of the result is given in these terms:—

“When it was asserted, that the designs of government towards the hill people were those of paternal benevolence alone, not, as was presumed, of hostility; that the existence of the rite of human sacrifice was a subject of the deepest concern to the government, and of horror to all mankind beyond these hills; and that the right of the government to suppress it, as a rite which all mankind concur in condemning, not as erroneous, but as impious and unlawful, did not admit of a question,—if when these assertions were made and argued upon, it cannot be said, that conviction was produced in the discerning minds of the Khond patriarchs, their previous judgments were certainly modified, or suspended, and confidence and good will, and the inclination to believe that benefit alone was intended towards them, and the disposition to yield obedience in return were engendered; while the government was committed to no specific course of procedure.”

In this career, however, so full of promise, Captain Macpherson was suddenly arrested, by the fearful distemper already alluded to—which broke out in his camp with all the violence and rapidity of a general epidemic. But had no fruit resulted from the mission, beyond the discovery, for the first time, of certain Khond tribes who practised infanticide to an almost unparalleled extent, and of certain other tribes who did not practise the atrocious Meriah sacrifice,—such discovery would have been an ample reward for all its labours and sufferings. With reference to the observance and non-observance of these abhorrent rites, the agent was now enabled, with some degree of precision, to mark out and divide the country into five clearly discriminated tracts, as follows:—

“1st. The tract of hill country which is included in the zemindaries of Goomsur, Boad, and Duspallah, the area of which may be estimated at 2,500 square miles. Its inhabitants, with the exception of a few tribes on the southern boundary of Goomsur, offer human sacrifices, but do not practice female infanticide.

2nd. A stripe of country connected with the zemindaries of Coradah or Souradah, and about 400 square miles in superficial extent, in which neither the rite of human sacrifice, nor female infanticide is practised.

3rd. An irregular tract included in the zemindaries of Souradah, Coradah, Bodoghor and Chinna Kimeddy, the area of which may be estimated at 2,000 square miles. There the Khonds do not offer human sacrifices, but the practice of female infanticide is universal.

4th. A portion of country in the zemindary of Bodoghor, of which the extent may be 400 square miles. In it neither the practice of human sacrifice, nor that of infanticide exists.

5th. The remaining portion of the region of the Ghats which is included in the Ganjam district, and which runs from near the south western frontier of Goomsur in Latitude 26°, to beyond the 19th parallel. Its area is between 2,000 and 3,000 square miles, and it is peopled with Khonds and Sourahs.

both of whom sacrifice human victims, but do not, it is believed, destroy their female offspring."

Captain Macpherson was now in circumstances to submit, or rather, in an improved and more authoritative form, to re-submit for the consideration of Government, the definite plan of operations for the gradual suppression of the Meriah sacrifice, which he had suggested in his report of June 1841. The views and principles then expounded were only for the most part confirmed by later observation and more extended experience; while some of them—such as, the formation of a Khond local military corps, like the Bheel corps, the opening of lines of communication, and the establishment of fairs which should tend to draw the hill tribes from their fastnesses into friendly and familiar contact with other men, and to enlarge the circle of their social wants—were virtually in accordance with those which had been already indicated by the Government.

At one time it was our intention to satisfy ourselves with a very brief statement of the leading views of the agent, and then to shew in detail how they were practically exemplified. Since, however, latterly, a series of unforeseen and untoward events—the graver portion of them wholly unconnected, except by the casual coincidence of time and place, with the agent's more specific operations—has not unnaturally led to the soundness of his general policy and plans being called in question, we deem it an act of justice to him and his work, to enter into a fuller exposition of both than we otherwise had intended, or would have deemed at all necessary.

And here, at the outset, it is important to keep in mind that the views of Captain Macpherson have not originated as of yesterday. These views, whatever may be thought of them now, were formed, after a careful survey of the physical, social, and religious habitudes of the Khond races, as far back as *ten* years ago. Early in 1841, they were submitted in a matured and well digested form, to the Madras Government, and subsequently to the Supreme Government of India. And so sensible, so rational, so bottomed on experience, and so promising as regarded the probability of their realization, did these views appear in their grand and prominent features, that both the Supreme and the Subordinate Governments were induced to receive them with well merited favour. The consequence was, as already stated, that Captain Macpherson, on the sole ground of his own personal merits and the feasibility of his plans, was appointed the principal agent for the Khonds—his predecessors in the agency being thereby virtually superseded. And as in a former number (XII) we endeavoured to do ample justice to

these predecessors in the work—indeed ampler justice than we have any reason to suppose had ever been publicly rendered to them before—we shall now pursue the same impartial course with reference to the successor. In doing so, we shall make him speak very much for himself, and furnish our readers with the means of judging very much for themselves.

In his report of 1841, Captain Macpherson, after furnishing those deeply interesting details respecting the mountain Khonds, of which a faithful epitome has already been supplied in No. IX. of this work, proceeds to a consideration of the practical measures to be adopted towards them—both as a question of policy and with reference to their religion. In order to enable his readers clearly to apprehend the real adaptation of the suggested measures to the peculiarities of the case, our author very properly sets out by referring in a general and summary way to the more material facts in the history of the Khonds. And whoever will be at the pains of looking back to the *first* article in the *ninth* number of this work, can be at no loss to understand the import and appreciate the value of the following condensed statement:—

“These tribes have existed from a period of the remotest antiquity, as they are seen at present, nearly isolated by manners, language, and prejudices of race from the surrounding Hindu population; while they have been until recently completely cut off by the interposed Zemindary domains, from all contact, from all relations with the successive Governments which these have acknowledged. To these Zemindaries they have been attached, individually, and in loosely coherent groups, as independent but subordinate allies.

The barrier by which they were thus separated from our immediate provinces was suddenly removed by our assumption of the Zemindary of Goomsur for arrears of tribute, which was followed by the rebellion of its Rajah, in the end of the year 1835.

That Chief retired before a force which advanced to apprehend him, and to take possession of his estates, into the Khond districts above the Ghats, which were most anciently attached to Goomsur, and there he soon after died.

A small body of troops then penetrated the great mountain chain, for the first time, to endeavour to obtain possession of his heir, of the remaining members of his family, and of his treasures.

The region into which it advanced was entirely unexplored. Of the Khond people we knew nothing save the name. We were ignorant of the nature of the connections, which subsisted between them and Goomsur, or the neighbouring Zemindaries. We knew nothing of their social organization, of their feelings towards the late Zemindar, or towards ourselves, of their numbers, their language, or their manners: while they could have formed no idea of the character of our power, of our views, of any of our objects.

A part of the mountain population was already combined against us, without any suspicion on our part, in anticipation of the course which we pursued; and was arrayed in the name of every authority which they

regarded as legitimate, confirmed by the most binding religious solemnities, and in the sacred name of hospitality.

The dying Rajah had obtained a pledge from several of the tribes of the plateau, given before their great divinity, to prevent in any event *the capture* of his family which had suffered treatment in the last degree dishonorable at our hands upon a former occasion when taken by Colonel Fletcher's force* in 1815.

The disposition of the Khonds, at first considered amicable, was observed to tend towards hostility, upon the apprehension of these distinguished guests; but the existence of their pledge first appeared from a bold, starting, and partially successful attempt to fulfil it. They rose and overwhelmed a small detachment which (contrary to the intentions of the Commissioner) was employed to escort a portion of the family of the Zemindar by a difficult pass from the plateau to the low country, putting to death, to prevent their dishonour, seven ladies of his Zenana.

The tribes which were chiefly implicated in this movement, immediately felt the weight of our vengeance. But the extreme sickness of the advancing season soon after compelled us to suspend active operations.

At the end of the rains, a large and nearly fresh force of every arm was assembled to compel the unconditional submission of the Khonds, involving the surrender of their Patriarchs, and of some officers of the late Rajah, who had taken refuge with them, and a promise for the future, to yield to us the obedience and the services which had been given to Goomsur, that obedience being supposed to comprehend submission to the authority of a "Bisaye" of our appointment.

No opposition was offered to our advance. But the Khonds refused with the most admirable constancy, to bring their natural heads, or their guests, bound to our scaffolds. The country was laid utterly desolate. The population was unceasingly pursued by the troops. At the end of about two months, the Rajah's Hindu officers were given up for a reward in the Maliahs of *Boad*. The Patriarchs of the offending district of Goomsur were betrayed one by one through the Naiks of the border, and the Hindu inhabitants of the hills; with the exception of the chief Dora Bisaye who, favored or feared by all, escaped to the Patna Zemindary, from whence, having obtained the promise of his life from the Commissioner for Cuttack, he sometime after came in.

The Khond Chiefs of Baramútah were condemned and executed almost without exception.

Sunnuds, of the exact terms of which I am not informed, were given generally to their supposed heirs.

Sam Bisaye, the *Hindu* employé of the Khonds of Hódzoghoro, a district recently connected with *Boad*, was invested with the authority supposed to belong to the office of the chief Bisaye of the Rajah of Goomsur, and with a title, in the room of the federal Khond Patriarch Dora Bisaye.

By Act XXIV. of 1839, the Zemindaries of the Ganjam and Vizagapatam districts, with the territories of the connected tribes, were removed from the operation of the rules of the administration of Civil and Criminal Justice and for the collection of Revenue, and placed under Agents instructed by the Government of Fort St. George.

These Agents administer the established Criminal law under slightly modified rules of procedure. They administer the Civil law and the Revenue law modified in like manner, with these principal exceptions that questions

* Col. F. divided with his officers the ladies and treasures of the Rajah, and was dismissed by a Court Martial in 1817.

of disputed succession to Zemindary Estates, and to lands held on any species of tenure analogous to the feudal, are not determined judicially, but decided by the Government upon the report of the Agent, as questions of policy, and in cases in which landed property, held on these tenures, and of considerable value, is involved, an appeal lies from the decision of the Agent, not to the Court of Sudder Adalat, but to the Governor in Council.

Our authority is acknowledged, in any degree, in the Khond districts of Goomsur alone, which our arms reduced. And no permanent advantage has attended the efforts which have been made towards the abolition of the rite of human sacrifices.

Thus it appears, that we first met the mountain Khonds of Goomsur as the ancient and religiously pledged allies, and at the same time the hosts of its rebel Zemindar, with whom from their situation, and from our policy, they had necessarily exclusive relations. A portion of them, in profound ignorance of the character, and the objects of our power, blindly offered resistance, and suffered the extreme penalties of rebellion.

We have heretofore necessarily met the Hill tribes of Orissa every where else in the same character alone, viz. as allies of Zemindars in revolt. Thus did we first encounter the Khonds, north of the Mahanudi, arrayed on the side of the rebel Rajah of Khûrdah, and under circumstances nearly analogous, as I am informed, occurred our first collision with the Koles, over whom we have since established a direct influence, and thus did we meet the still undescribed Sourah race leagued more or less permanently with the rebel Chiefs of Vizianagram, Golcondah, Kinedy and Palcondah.

And for the future, there exists the same risk of collision with other sections of the hill population, as the allies of numerous Chiefs of extensive and little known domains in the districts of Ganjam and Vizagapatam, besides the risk which may arise from our being in immediate contact with them."

After this brief but lucid historical epitome, Captain Macpherson proceeds to enquire, "*What are our leading objects with respect to these tribes?*"

These leading necessary objects he conceives to be the following:—1st, "*as a matter of policy to induce their acknowledgement of our supremacy, and to establish relations with them as subjects which shall supersede their exclusive relations with the Zemindaries as allies.*"—2ndly, "*with reference to their religion, to effect the abolition of the rite of human sacrifices.*"

The next question, therefore, is, "How, or in what way are these objects to be successfully accomplished?" Here Captain Macpherson most emphatically replies that the first and most indispensable condition of their accomplishment is—PEACE. Nay more, he goes on briefly but conclusively to shew, why it *must* be so.

The direct and more immediate object contemplated by our Government, was, *the abolition of the rite of human sacrifice in the religious ceremonial of the Khond race.* Now that rite, as fully shewn by Captain Macpherson, is "an act of worship which is of the very essence—the vital fact of their superstition—forming, in one point of view, its very sum." It is a rite,

moreover, which is sanctioned—and this is particularly worthy of being noted—by “the practice of the only other religion, and by the authority of the only civilization heretofore known to them,” viz. the religion and civilization of the Hindus. It had also been well established, that the “moral character of the Khonds is eminently distinguished by the power to resist coercion.” Then, again, as regards the territory occupied by them, Captain Macpherson remarks, that it is connected chiefly with Zemindars, “over whom our authority has never been practically established”—that it “extends over a space of 300 miles in length, and from 50 to 100 in breadth, between the Mahanudi and the Godavery, and is included partly in the Madras, partly in the Bengal territories, and partly within the limits of Nagpore”—that it is a wild inaccessible region, “composed of forest, swamp, and mountain fastnesses, interspersed with open and productive vallies”—and that, from its deadly climate, it is “habitable with safety by strangers, only during a few months in the year.” Farther, Captain Macpherson, with reference to our power of repeating such a contest as that of the late Goomsur war, pointedly refers to the fact, that “the force which was assembled there, in the second year, amounted to nearly one-half of the Madras troops of the line, which—the army being then distributed at its usual stations—were available for foreign service; and that the sufferings of those troops from sickness, during the first year, was greater than has been recorded of any other force whatsoever.” And yet, it was only a mere section of the Khond tribes against which the war was waged—only a mere fragment of their territory that was hostilely invaded!

Altogether Captain Macpherson’s conclusion, *from the first*, was, that “*the character of the Khonds and the physical nature of their country combined to preclude any attempt to effect the suppression of their great religious rite, by force, as a primary measure.*” *

The question, then, at once arose, “through what means, exclusive of the agency of force as a primary measure, may we acquire the direct authority over such a population, which is necessary to our purpose, or the accomplishment of the desired change in their religious ceremonial?”

If at all practicable, the first and most important step

* But while, for the reasons above stated, we were precluded from the use of force as a primary measure, Captain Macpherson would have it to be carefully kept sight of as, in special cases, an ultimate and secondary means. “If,” says he, “we should gain *the mass*, the *great majority* of any tribe, it may be highly advantageous, and quite possible, to coerce individuals.”

would seem to be, to secure the establishment of our supremacy or sovereignty over them, and consequently, of distinct relations with them as subjects.

But, force being excluded, how is the establishment of our direct sovereignty to be secured, any more than the direct abolition of the Meriah sacrifice? To this Captain Macpherson in substance replies,—by conferring appreciable and valued benefits; by ministering to some of their leading social wants; by acting on some of the leading tendencies of their character. Now, by watching narrowly the workings and conditions of the social system among the Khonds—the spirit of their manners and habits of feeling—Captain Macpherson was led to conclude that *Justice* was the greatest of their wants,—the want, too, the regulated supply of which would be universally hailed as the greatest boon. He, therefore, unhesitatingly proposed, that, among the measures, by the combination and gradual development of which, we might hope to acquire a direct authority or supremacy over the Khonds, the offer and attempt to administer justice, by arbitrating, not merely between individuals of the same tribe, but also between their several tribes and authorities, should occupy the foremost place.

This being the master key to the system of measures originally suggested by Captain Macpherson—approved of and adopted, in principle, by the Supreme Government—and subsequently acted on, in practice, by their author,—we may now furnish his own exposition of them :—

“ It is obvious, that the voluntary and permanent acknowledgment of our sovereignty by these rude societies, must depend upon our ability to discharge beneficially and acceptably towards them, some portion of the duties of sovereignty—that they will spontaneously yield allegiance to us, only in return for advantages which are suited in form, and in spirit, to their leading ideas and their social wants.

Now it appears distinctly that the great social defect for these clusters of tribes—a defect which they have in some quarters feebly attempted to remedy,—is, the want of a supreme controlling authority,—of a power able to arbitrate betwixt different tribes, and betwixt tribes and the zemindaries; and this want, I think, we may, by direct and by indirect means, to a certain extent, supply—claiming and receiving allegiance in return—and laying the foundation of a general ascendancy.

The Patriarchal authority suffices for the maintenance of order and security within each tribe. But, without, all is discord and confusion. Betwixt Tribes, are every where seen disagreements, conflicts, feuds without end and without remedy, and the zemindars are at once the allies and the chief enemies of each Khond Society.

Justice betwixt independent societies is, in a word, the great want which is deeply felt by all: and I found the expectation that those tribes may be brought to receive it at our hands, to the extent which naturally gives rise to

some of the sentiments of allegiance, upon the fact of the general predominance of pacific feelings and interests amongst those which are known to me; upon their having, in Boad, besides instituting the office of federal chief—a germ of chief Magistracy—called in a set of Hindu functionaries, one of whose chief duties is the settlement of feuds; upon the consideration that rude men are universally prone to yield a high degree of moral obedience to civilized power when judiciously and benevolently exhibited; and finally upon this fact in my limited experience—that the heads of the few tribes whose confidence I had an opportunity to gain, acting instinctively from the necessity of their situation, uniformly desired to make me the arbiter of those differences with other tribes, with which there existed no native authority competent to deal.

What we may require of these societies, on the other hand, as subjects, is, in my opinion, simply this—That a Tribe shall in no case aid any other party against us, while it shall yield us active assistance when we can engage to discharge towards it the reciprocal duty of protection—and this obligation of defence it is plain that we must, until specially prepared for it, be very cautious in undertaking, lest we incur the risk of evils greater than those which we would remove; viz. the risk of those which attend war in the region of the Ghats.

The only forms of public authority of which the Khonds have any idea are their own patriarchal form, and the tyrannies of the zemindars. And our authority, to be accepted, must bear, unequivocally, both the external aspect and the spirit of the former, as the tribes of North America first submitted to the Sovereign of England only as their Great Father.

It is plain, that while our supremacy should be acknowledged by significant forms distinct from those by which the rank of the zemindars has been hitherto recognized, we should carefully avoid the imposition of any onerous conditions, or marked badges of vassalage, upon a people in the last degree jealous both of the form and the substance of liberty."

By "*allegiance*," in the foregoing extract, Captain Macpherson tells us that among tribes, whose conceptions of the rights and duties of separate societies are so loose and inadequate, he must, in the first instance, be understood to mean "vaguely and generally a sense of deference to our power and our civilization, combined with feelings of attachment arising from the experience or from the expectation of the beneficial exercise of the former." And in approaching the Khonds to communicate new ideas of this or of any other class, care ought to be taken that it be "through their patriarchal heads alone." How he proposed this to be done, and what other subsidiary or auxiliary measures might or ought to be employed, may be gathered from the following statement:—

"Our first object must therefore be to win those heads to our purpose, and this is to be accomplished—1st, through the personal influence of the Agent of Government—2ndly, by addressing to them individually, every form of direct and indirect inducement which their character and situation indicate as likely to prevail.

To establish personal influence, I believe that there is but one mode of procedure. The Agent must pitch his tent with each tribe until he is regarded by its heads as their best friend, until they are fully assured of

his perfect knowledge of its situation, and of his sympathy with it. The only unequivocal proof of their confidence being their distinct and fixed desire to make him the arbiter of their most important interests, with which their own institutions are too weak to deal, and as before observed, so far as my limited observations go, the tendency to invest him with this character, when the condition of personal confidence is fulfilled, is universal.

The first foundations of the general authority which we seek to build up are to be laid through a wise exercise of the power which may thus be conceded.

As to direct inducements to subservience to our views, there fortunately exists one object of desire to the Khonds, through which, in some situations at least, the heads of society may be very powerfully swayed.

Every Khond has a passionate desire to possess land; and it were fortunate if the tribes of the Eastern face of the Ghats could be won by the grant of all the nearly valueless jungle tracts of Goomsur and Souradah, and if those upon the Mahanudi could be gained by the similar wastes of Boad and Duspallah.

Had each chief Patriarch of the Goomsur Maliahs, for example, a home in the low country where he might occasionally reside without being permanently separated from his tribe, he himself, his family and his dependants would acquire new ideas, new tastes, new wants; would become familiar with Hindu society and accustomed to easy intercourse with the officers of Government; would be brought immediately within the sphere of any influences which we chose to address to them,—ultimately, perhaps direct education might be brought to bear upon them.

The risk to be guarded against would be, lest by conferring upon these Patriarchs separate and independent property, in a situation where they must acquire new manners, and become involved in new interests, they should become estranged from and should lose influence over their tribes.

Gifts of money, cattle, &c. are the remaining most obvious incentives to co-operation, or rewards of exertion, which may be presented to the Patriarchs,—and conveniently given to them in return for their yearly offerings of homage, or for those made upon their accession to office.

A very considerable degree of influence may be exerted through dresses of honor, titles, and honorary privileges; any accidental epithet, a complimentary nick-name given by "the Rajah" becomes hereditary, and is as tenaciously adhered to by a Khond family as a title of nobility is in Europe.

Lastly, I regard the employment of the Khonds in public services suited to the peculiarities of their character and situation, as amongst the most important means at our disposal for the accomplishment of the objects proposed.

The formation of a Bheel Corps, which was gradually subjected to discipline in the Bombay presidency, has been found to change entirely the character of the portion of that people to which the measure was applied."

Direct authority over any of the tribes having once been acquired, through any or all of the means now indicated, Captain Macpherson proposes that that general authority should be mildly and gently exercised in inducing them to abandon the abhorrent rite of human sacrifice. In approaching this more specific and arduous subject, he strongly urges that our first endeavour should be to obtain influence over the priesthood, by the systematic use of every means which the minutest

knowledge of their habits and situation may suggest—it being carefully observed that the Patriarchs also are always to be regarded as virtually, if not professionally, priests. As a subordinate but essential object, he also points strongly to the necessity of obtaining the cordial co-operation of the zemindars, connected with the Khond population. Their direct influence is generally great with some particular tribe or section, and they alone can afford the minute local information respecting persons and things which is necessary to the formation of any plan of operations. They may themselves be powerfully acted on by honorary gifts and privileges, or by the prospect of a remission of tribute in the event of success. In order, however, to the effectual carrying out of any systematic course of operations, Captain Macpherson strongly insisted on the necessity of including in one plan, directed by a single agent, the whole of the Khond tribes, south of the Mahanudi, whether in the Bengal or the Madras territories. On this important point, his own statements are clear and conclusive :—

“The tribes connected with Boad, Duspallah, and Goomsur, for example, of which the two former zemindaries are in the Cuttack, the latter in the Ganjam district, may be said, in some sort, to belong to one social system. They are all linked together in some degree, by ties of interest or of feeling; and any difference in their treatment would preclude all chance of their acquiring distinct ideas of the character, or confidence in the objects of our power. While experience proves, what their character would lead us to anticipate, that where concessions are to be made, they will far more readily embrace a common than a various lot. These views were strongly impressed upon my mind, upon the following occasion.

The Rajah of Boad was required in 1836 by the authorities on the South Western Frontier of Bengal, but in terms which are not precisely known to me, to announce to the tribes of his zemindary the abhorrence of the Government of the Meriah rite, and to exert his authority for its suppression.

He represented to me, then at Boad, that I knew it was in his power to yield even a formal obedience to this order in the case of many of the Khond districts, only if his messengers were allowed the protection of my camp; and that protection I very willingly gave, as the occasion promised to afford me valuable opportunities of observation.

A considerable degree of alarm followed the receipt above the Ghats of the communications of the Rajah, which were, I believe, made in very vague and various terms to the different Chief Patriarchs.

Councils met every where. The whole population was deeply agitated, and all friendly intercourse with me ceased. In the remote and sequestered district of Ruttabarri it was believed that I was come to enforce compliance with the mandates, and on arriving there, I found that active preparations had commenced for resistance. Very serious results threatened, when the opportune appearance upon the scene of the great Khonro of Boad, whose friendship I had previously made, removed every difficulty.

The Khonds could arrive at no distinct conclusion respecting the real

meaning of the intimations which were thus made to them; and, under all the circumstances, it was exceedingly difficult for me to give any explanation of them. But the tribes having made out that no coercive measures were then intended, and that I, at least, was there with views purely friendly, they gradually became at ease, and laid their minds bare to me on the whole subject.

In the end, they consented, without much difficulty, to deliver up their victim-children to me, as other tribes have done to other officers; *and not as signifying the slightest intention to relinquish the rite, but as a peace offering, or a mark of deference for our power.* But to this surrender they assented, *only on the express condition that the tribes of Goomsur should also be required to give up their victims.* The Meriah children they looked upon merely as property of a certain value, and as victims which could be immediately replaced. Their real and deepest anxiety was, lest they should even seem to submit to a necessity which was not acknowledged by all the tribes within their social sphere.

As the authorities on either side of the Mahanudi did not on this occasion act in concert, the necessary requisition could not at the moment be effectually made in Goomsur for the fulfilment of the condition stipulated, and so the victims were not liberated; and the tribes were left bewildered between the apparently discrepant councils of the two Governments.

I may remark here what I should have supposed to be self-evident, but for much proof to the contrary, that nothing can be effected, in any case, either by the simple liberation of victims which can be replaced; or by the prevention of sacrifices at any particular time, or in any single district, when they can be performed, at some sacrifice of convenience, elsewhere, and at another season. Had these victims in the Boad Maliahs been liberated, I was afterwards distinctly informed that a larger number must have suffered in their stead.

I venture, then, to express with some confidence the opinion, that the same general measures, conducted by the same agency, should embrace the whole of the mountain Khond population South of the Mahanudi, whether included in the Madras or in the Bengal presidency.

Co-operation must also, without doubt, be required on the part of the Government of Nagpore."

From the preceding statements we briefly and summarily deduce the following conclusions, as exhibiting the leading or salient points in Captain Macpherson's proposed plan of operations for the abolition of the Meriah sacrifice. Coercion, as a primary measure, is utterly to be repudiated, as demonstrably impracticable. And yet, in order to attempt the object with any hope of ultimate success, it is indispensable to acquire an influence or authority over the people, which may eventually amount to a distinctly recognized supremacy or sovereignty. The gradual establishment of this paramount authority is to be expected from the steady, uniform and systematic prosecution of various peaceful and conciliatory measures of an acknowledged beneficial character; and more especially, and above all, *the administration of justice in accordance with the spirit and forms of Khond institutions*, not only among contending individuals, but also between hostile

and conflicting tribes. The administration of such justice, on approved principles of equity, not according to the forms of British but Khond usages, must be entrusted to a single agent, with exclusive jurisdiction over all the Khond tribes. And lastly, the varied and accumulated influence thus acquired is to be brought to bear, with a gentle but steady and augmenting pressure on the abolition of the Meriah sacrifice. Or, to state the whole subject still more compendiously:—administer justice as a means towards the acquisition of the needful authority; and then employ this authority as a means towards the extirpation of the odious rite.

As to the efficacy of the measures thus indicated by him, Captain Macpherson ventured to express "the strictly conditional opinion, that the project of success appeared to him to be such as to authorize a systematic attempt to attain it,"—that a "long, laborious and fortunate course of exertion might ultimately achieve the desired purpose, which has rarely been surpassed in difficulty and delicacy"—and that, in his belief, "such exertion, to whatever extent it should proceed, would be productive of beneficial effects alone."

To many, all this may seem abundantly plain and palpable—yea, so plain and palpable as to excite their wonder why it should be thought to need so much elaborate elucidation, or be deemed worthy of challenging so much eclat for the author. Such a cool, off-hand way of dealing with the merits of the subject need not much surprise us. Thus has it always been with the successful discoverers or propounders of any principle or system of scientific grandeur, political importance, or economic value. What more plain than the fact of the earth's motion round the sun when once established by Copernicus; or that of universal gravitation, when once demonstrated by Newton; or that of the advantageousness of free trade, in things material, when once elucidated by Adam Smith; or that of the utter inadequacy of the free trade principle, in things intellectual and spiritual, when set forth with the glowing eloquence of Chalmers! Dark, or obscure, or but faintly discerned, or perhaps not discerned at all, before discovery has unfolded them, or demonstration has established them, some of the mightiest principles that regulate the operations, whether of the physical or moral universe, may, subsequent to discovery or demonstration, appear so plain and palpable, as to excite no wonder, except, perhaps, the wonder that they were not always recognized and acted on. Or, as an old writer has quaintly expressed it, "Nobody will give any body the credit of first discovering what every body might have found

out at any time." Now to this general category of useful discovery we have no hesitation in referring the administration of justice principle, *in the very peculiar use and application of it*, as distinctly pointed out and expounded by Captain Macpherson—leaving every one to make whatever deductions, abatements, or additions he pleases, on the score of relative magnitude and importance.

What! it may here be asked, had no one before spoken of or proposed to deal out justice to any of the Khond tribes? Doubtless, in the nature of things, cases must have arisen that would lead to something being said about justice; others must have casually arisen that would lead to actual interposition in the way of arbitration with a view to equitable adjustment; and in the case of the Goomsur Zemindary, which had been formally annexed to the British dominions, instances of outrage and other violations of law would occur, calling for the interference of the authorities, in the same way as in the case of out-breaks, disturbances, or violences, among any other class of actual subjects. But all this does not amount to, does not approximate, does not even come within sight of, the specific use and application of the peculiar scheme of justice propounded by Captain Macpherson. Because of certain casual guesses, certain coincidences in expression, and certain incidental vague allusions in the writings of the ancient Greeks, it has been alleged, and a man of learning like Dutens could even write "an erudite but singularly erroneous book to prove" that they had anticipated "the greatest scientific discoveries of modern times." For example, it has been argued that "Empedocles, Democritus, Pythagoras and Plato were perfectly acquainted with the doctrine of gravitation; and, by dint of forced translations, something coincident in expression with the Newtonian theory is certainly elicited." But, as has been unanswerably replied, "Newton's incomparable discovery was not a *vague guess*; it was a positive demonstration. He did not simply assert the fact of gravitation, he discovered the *laws* of its action." Paley, in speaking of the clear, unhesitating, emphatic style in which the doctrine of the soul's immortality is announced in scripture, as compared with the doubts, conjectures, and perplexed inquiries of the heathen, thus proceeds:—"it is idle to say that a future state had been discovered already:—it had been discovered as the Copernican system was;—it was one guess among many. He alone discovers, who proves."

So, in the *spirit* of these remarks, and without any intended or implied comparison as to the relative importance of the

different subjects would we also say, with reference to the claims of Captain Macpherson and his predecessors, as regards the *grand central principle* of his proposed scheme for the abolition of human sacrifice among the Khonds. That principle, as expounded by him—seized with a firm, steady and comprehensive grasp—deduced as an inevitable corollary from observed facts and shewn to be at once applicable and potent,—does not appear, so far as we can learn, to have been even so much as casually or hypothetically hinted at, or incidentally announced, or asserted in the passing form of a probable guess, by any that preceded him in the work. The Hon'ble Mr. Russel, in the second of his admirable Reports,* distinctly declared, that “it had been hitherto our policy to take no part in the internal broils of the hill Zemindars and their subjects, who have been left to settle their differences in their own way.” And amid the valuable suggestions which he offers, there is none recommendatory of a change of such policy. Lieut. Hill, in his able Report of the 2nd July, 1838,—when drawing the attention of Government to the very deplorable state to which the Kalahundy country was reduced, chiefly by civil dissensions and quarrels among the members of the Ruling family,—states, that, in his repeated interviews with the individuals between whom these unfortunate quarrels existed, both parties “earnestly entreated that their claims might be decided by an *European* authority; and both professed their willingness to give *security*, for abiding by that decision in good faith.”† But this is the statement of an isolated fact which is connected with no general conclusion, still less with any scheme or proposal for the extinction of sanguinary rites among the Khonds. Major Campbell, in his capacity as head assistant to the Governor's Agent in Goomsur, was often called on to decide cases in which Khonds were concerned who had become British subjects by the annexation of such portion of their territory as was included in the Goomsur Zemindary. —But we find no trace of his deducing from these decisions

* Dated, 11th May, 1837.

† It must, however, be a *bond fide* European, and one, too, armed with discretionary authority to decide in *equity* and without the formalities of a Law Court. Mr. Hill gives a case which, by contrast, serves to illustrate this point. The European authorities having left Ryepore, the younger brother of the Rajah lodged a complaint against him with the Subah. Both parties were summoned to appear before him, and both appeared in Kachery. The younger brother having stated his case, the Rajah was called on to reply. He spoke indignantly at the insult which had been offered to him in being thus cited like a common criminal to appear in Kachery to answer the complaint of a younger brother, and refused to give any reply to the statement made; but retiring from the Subah's presence to his residence in Ryepore, he shot himself with a pistol!

any principle which might be turned to account in the formation of a Meriah-abolition scheme. Even in one of the very last of his excellent and statesman-like minutes on the subject, Lord Elphinstone does not venture farther than to say, that, "as our intercourse became more frequent, it would hardly be possible for us to avoid taking an interest in the political relations of the chiefs towards each other, and towards the Hill tribes who inhabit the neighbouring country, but who hardly acknowledge their power." How far short this dim expectation of an ultimate contingency, that might lead to our "taking an interest in the political relations of the chiefs towards each other, &c." comes of the substance and form of Captain Macpherson's proposition, is too transparently obvious to need any illustrative remark.

It remains, then, that to Captain Macpherson we must award the indisputable merit of a perfect originality in his conception of the governing principle of a plan for the extirpation of human sacrifices among the Khonds. The application of force is out of the question. But influence, gradually verging into supremacy, must be acquired. This can only be expected in the way of an equivalent for substantial benefits conferred. As experience and observation prove that, of all social wants, *the want of justice* is actually felt to be *the greatest*, this inestimable boon, in conjunction with other subsidiary favours, ought to be conferred through the instrumentality of an agent, bearing the credentials of *THE Sirkar*, or Supreme Government of India—an agent entrusted with exclusive jurisdiction over the whole of the Khond tribes, and neighbouring Zemindars, with reference to all points involved in their complicated Khond relationships—an agent, moreover, deeply conversant with the spirit and usages of Khond institutions, and able to administer substantial justice in forms not unsuited to Khond ideas, not unintelligible to Khond comprehension, and not violently and needlessly contradictory to Khond habits and customs. And, finally, let the paramount influence which such an agent would be sure to acquire over a rude and barbarous, but, in many respects, simple and unsophisticated race, as their acknowledged greatest benefactor, be brought to bear with gentle but resistless energy on the abandonment of the most abhorrent, but demonstrably the most gratuitously useless of all their religious rites.

Captain Macpherson's views were founded on a personal observation of the social and religious characteristics of the Khonds. They were wrought out by himself as the result of independent

research and actual experience. They are on this account the more creditable to their author, and intrinsically the more valuable. They may also be well regarded as eminently philosophical—admirably accordant with the conclusions of the speculative or discursive faculty, as well as the authentic records of past history.

That man is formed to be a social being is a truism. In him the principle of sociality is instinctive. This principle is first developed in the domestic union. It is next extended and manifests itself in the varied family relationships. Of these the source and nourisher is mutual affection. But whenever the social principle, as has been well observed, "extends beyond the family, as it naturally tends to do, it develops a new idea—that of *justice*, or securing to every person his individual right. Man does not create the relation of right, it comes into existence at the same instant with society." And as society, whether more or less perfectly organized, is founded on right, it follows that "the upholding and enforcing that right," must be one great object of society—an object of increasing interest and importance, at every progressive stage towards the highest summit of civilization. Now, it must be seen, by referring to the IXth No. of this work, that the Khonds are not loose, scattered, isolated, wandering savages—that, though unhappily possessing many barbarous practices, they yet retain many primitive ideas, with a loosely coherent form of organized society, framed after the ancient patriarchal model. To the maintenance of this hereditary form, to which they are passionately attached, in any adequate degree, the enforcement of right or, more generally, the administration of justice, is indispensable. But the provision for securing this earnestly desiderated end, is one of the most defective and incommensurate parts of all their institutions. Hence their keen appreciation of the value of such a boon, if judiciously conferred, and the boundlessness of the resulting gratitude towards the party which might be instrumental in conferring it. And hence, too, the extent and intensity of the influence for good, which such a benefactor might legitimately exercise over them.

The records of history, both ancient and modern, will furnish numberless examples of the keenness with which tribes, not sunk into utter savagism, can appreciate the value and importance of justice, and the eagerness with which they can sue for it, from whatever quarter it may reasonably be expected to be obtained. Looking to modern times, we are informed by Mr. Kolff, that, in his recent examination of the Indian

Archipelago, he "found the islanders invariably engaged in war, and, conscious of the mutual sufferings they inflicted on themselves, most of them *expressed anxiety that the Dutch would establish their supremacy over all parties, and become umpires in their quarrels.*" Looking at ancient times, we find Herodotus, as quoted by Goguet, telling us, "that the Medes, after having shaken off the yoke of the Assyrians, were some time without any form of Government. They soon became a prey to the most horrid excesses and disorders. There was among them a man of *great prudence and wisdom*, named Dejoces. The Medes very often *applied to him to decide their differences.* Dejoces heard their complaints, and determined their disputes. His wisdom and discernment *soon gained him the esteem of the whole country where he lived.* They came even from other parts of Medea to implore his assistance. But at last being oppressed by the multiplicity of affairs which increased every day, he retired. Confusion and disorder instantly returned. The Medes held a public assembly, in which it was unanimously agreed, that *the only means of putting an end to their calamities, was, to elect a king. The choice fell upon Dejoces.*" In the present state of the Khond tribes the spirit and substance of these remarks—embodying the wishes and experience of modern Asiatic islanders and ancient Asiatic Medes—may, *mutatis mutandis*, with strict propriety, be literally applied to them. Torn and distracted by interminable feuds and sanguinary quarrels, which they have no means of adjusting, except by farther unavailing violence and bloodshed; and wearied and worn out by the dreariness, insecurity, and utter hopelessness of such an anarchical state of things;—they seem fully prepared to have the proffered good offices of a duly accredited British agent, if endowed with "great wisdom and prudence," with as much hearty good will as the Medes of old welcomed the services of Dejoces. And were the decisions of the agent as satisfactory as were those of Dejoces of old, why should not the result be correspondent? If, in order to "put an end to their calamities," they did not unanimously resolve to elect *him* as their king,—seeing that he would be precluded by allegiance to his own sovereign from yielding to any such requisition,—might they not be expected, in imitation of the Eastern Archipelago islanders with respect to the Dutch, earnestly to request him, in the name and on behalf of his own government, to "establish its supremacy over all parties, and become sole umpire in their quarrels?" And this grand consummation being once realized, in a way so productive of peace, so

gladdened with the prospect of permanent security, and so fraught with multitudinous collateral benefits,—the realization of all other legitimate objects could not fail gradually to follow in its train.

Having thus unfolded, as fully as our limits can well admit of, the general scheme of operation proposed by Captain Macpherson, both in its guiding principles and leading details, we must return to our narrative.

After returning from his expedition into the south western and previously unvisited Khond districts,—shattered in health, but richly laden with new information and experience—the agent proceeded to the Eastern districts of Goomsur, now become a British province, to examine into the state of affairs in that quarter. The four Hill districts of this province occupied by Khonds are Bara Mútah, Athara Mútah, Hodzoghoro, and Chokapad. As regards the general civil order and tranquillity of these tracts of country he was enabled to report favourably. When the province became British, public peace had been maintained. The happy result was, a great diminution of the amount of bloodshed; contests had been on a small scale; and the murderous axe had been rarely used. Numerous decisions of questions of disputed right had been passed by the local authority. These had taken effect, for the most part from the weight of our authority, and from their justice alone—no agency having been employed to execute them, but that of Sam Bisaye, the principal Khond Chief. But when justice was thus, in any instance, administered, it was simply for its own sake, and by way of accomplishing what was in itself an important end, without any direct or immediate reference to the attainment of other ulterior and equally important ends, such as the abolition of the Meriah sacrifice. The consequence was, that, as regarded the extinction of this sanguinary rite, little or no real progress had been made, though for six years the Khonds had been British subjects, and various efforts had been made by Government authorities towards its suppression. Major Campbell, after ascending the Ghats in January 1841, to ascertain the state of things, was obliged to report, that matters appeared rather to assume a retrogressive aspect—that “*the intention to continue the sacrifice of human victims existed with undiminished force*”—that “*persuasion and remonstrance had not had the anticipated effect*”—and that *unless more decided measures were adopted, the Meriah sacrifice would not cease, though it might not be performed openly.*”*

* See *Calcutta Review*, No. XII. p. 72.

What these "more decided measures" were meant to be, we may safely infer from an expression employed two years before by the same gentleman. In his Report of January 1839, he says, "*the more I see of the Khonds the more is my opinion confirmed, that, unless we address ourselves to their fears, as well as to their better feelings, our steps for the suppression of the Meriah Pújah will be slow indeed.*"* Captain Miller had previously declared, that, in the rescue of human victims, "*force and intimidation* were the means that he employed."† And, subsequently, Colonel Ousely, with the blunt energy of a soldier, fearlessly declared his conviction that the "*only argument*" which the Khonds "*could understand,*" was that which would be "*supported by force*;"‡ while Mr. Mills, the Commissioner of Cuttack, gave vent to his own impression of the apparently insuperable difficulties, by putting on record the memorable deliverance, viz. "CONCILIATORY MEANS ALONE WILL NOT EFFECT THE SUPPRESSION OF THE RITE. FORCE MUST PRECEDE CONCILIATION."§ Seeing, then, that neither the argument of force had been applied, on the one hand, nor the argument of clearly appreciated and permanently guaranteed benefits on the other, we need scarcely be surprized at Major Campbell's report, that the "intention to continue the sacrifice of human victims existed with undiminished force."

Such was believed, by Major Campbell and others, to be the state of feeling among the Khonds of Goomsur, at the time when Captain Macpherson returned from his expedition to the South Western districts—a state of feeling, the existence of which the searching inquiries of the latter soon tended to place beyond the possibility of a doubt. In his report, dated 15th August, 1842, Captain Macpherson thus writes:—1497.

"The Khonds of the tracts of Bara Mútah and Athara Mútah state, that after the Goomsur war in 1836, they believed that the Government was determined to suppress the sacrifice. In the beginning of 1838, they gave a formal pledge to discontinue the rite, but not of their free will, or believing the practice to be in any degree exceptionable in reason or in justice, but in compliance with the orders of the Government as represented to them, with the consequences of refusal, by Sam Bisaye of Hodzoghoro, then lately set over them. This pledge they never regarded as in any degree binding, and they never observed it, while it was not observed by Sam Bisaye. But the rite was discontinued within their limits to a great extent from the fear of punishment, although it was still occasionally performed in public, and frequently in private. Finding that no punishment followed its practice, and seeing it freely performed in the adjoining district of Sam Bisaye, it has been gradually resumed with all the old

* See *Calcutta Review*, No. XII. p. 71.

† See *Calcutta Review*, No. XII. p. 58.

‡ See *Calcutta Review*, No. XII. p. 92.

§ See *Calcutta Review*, No. XII. p. 88.

forms. And this year it has been performed every where and for the most part publicly, with little or no apprehension of consequences. Fourteen or fifteen public sacrifices have been offered in the three districts of Athara Mútab, Bara Mútab, and Hodzoghoro, and large preparations are now making for future offerings.

Whether or not the whole number of Khond offerings was diminished during the period in which the sacrifice was partly suppressed, and partly converted into a secret rite, in these districts, it is difficult to determine. I have been able to discover no Khond resident in them who professes to have, in any year, actually gone without the flesh for his land. And the few non-sacrificing Khonds of the border, whom I have had an opportunity to question, and who abstain from the water of land that has been polluted with human blood within the year, assure me that there was no where, in those tracts, any interval of purity."

Another fact, of the utmost importance as regards the understanding of the future consequences of events, brought to light, at the same time, by Captain Macpherson, was, that "Sam Bisaye, his family, and Hindu dependents in Hodzoghoro, were regarded by the Khonds, and, in point of fact, were, *the great supporters of the rite.*" By referring to the ninth number of this work, page 37, it will be seen what the title "Bisaye" indicated. It was conferred on the great chief who stood in the twofold relation of "federal Patriarch of a cluster of Khond tribes," and "Agent for Khond affairs" to the neighbouring Zemindar-Rajah. At the time of the outbreak of the Goomsur war, Dora Bisaye was the person who held this twofold office, in connection with the Zemindar-Rajah and Hill Khond tribes of Goomsur. Being a rebel, his office was forfeited, and himself ultimately sentenced to perpetual imprisonment. At the commencement of the war, Sam Bisaye was simply chief of one of the Khond tribes, occupying the district of Hodzoghoro. During the first year of the war his conduct proved treacherous in the highest degree.* But having behaved better, and, indeed, having rendered some important services during the second year of the war, he was, by way of recompense, though not without strong misgiving on the part of Mr. Russel, invested with the office of the late Dora Bisaye, and duly constituted, with much pomp and ceremonial, head of all the Khond tribes of Goomsur. In reporting this fact to his Government in May 1837, Mr. Russel said, "It may perhaps be thought that the conduct of this man, during the first part of the late insurrection, attaches too much suspicion to his character, to justify the confidence now reposed in him;" and then goes on to shew, that in the very peculiar state of things, a better choice could not, on the

* See *Calcutta Review*, No. IX. p. 16-17.

whole, be more expediently made. Captain Macpherson, however, now found himself obliged, as the result of his inquiries, to report that this powerful chief had, times and ways without number, abused the confidence which had been so generously and undeservedly placed in him.

As already stated, he was entrusted by the local British authority with the execution of their judicial decisions. In implementing this responsible trust, he was charged by all the Khonds, with "having taken bribes, when it was possible, from every party to every dispute." And when spoken to on the subject, by Captain Macpherson, not as a matter of grave charge, but as a matter of universal notoriety, he simply and coolly replied, that "it was necessary that he should do so, for the support of his family." While lending himself to injustice generally, whenever he could hope to profit by it, he, on one occasion, went so far as to bring the country under his superintendence to the brink of a ruinous conflict, for the trifling bribe of a pair of pistols, which a Patriarch had come by in the Goomsur war, and which Sam Bisaye had long coveted!

With respect to the Meriah sacrifice, his conduct was alike base and treacherous. To the generosity of the British Government he owed his exalted situation, dignities and privileges, wealth and power. Well did he know how much that Government had at heart the abolition of the cruel Meriah rite. He had solemnly engaged to assist it in the carrying out of all its wishes and ameliorative plans. And yet, in spite of his obligations and his promises, he was found to be the chief obstruction to its benevolent designs. The facts being too notorious for denial, he admitted to Captain Macpherson, without any hesitation or difficulty, that "three public sacrifices had lately taken place, with his sanction, in Hodzoghoro;" while his son avowed that "at some of these he had himself taken the first part." He admitted, that in his own country, there were at least thirty intended victims in confinement; while he was convicted by the evidence of the whole Khond population, of "exactng a present to permit each sacrifice." Indeed, so glaring was the notoriety of this fact, that, when personally brought home to him, "he did not attempt to deny the general truth of this heavy and grievous charge." After such disclosures we need scarcely wonder at the following entry in Captain Macpherson's official report:—

"Having grown old as the hereditary Hindu minister of the gods of Hodzoghoro, and as the Bisaye or manager of its affairs with the zemindars and with other tribes, and thence being mixed up with all its obligations and feuds, and having, necessarily, no ideas of public or private justice

but those of the Khonds, or those of the tyrannies of the Hill Rajahs,—I do not think that there were grounds for expecting, that when placed in his present position, removed from observation and from all immediate checks, he would be found a willing or a sincere agent for the overthrow of the Khond superstition, or a faithful minister of a better system of justice. And, in fact, his superstition, his cupidity, and his extreme obstinacy of temper, naturally acquiring strength with age, now present important obstacles to the attainment of our objects."

Such was the unpromising and uninviting aspect of Khond affairs when Captain Macpherson commenced his labours as Agent, with very circumscribed authority, in the Hill country of Goomsur. But, strong in his conviction of the rectitude of his own intentions and the benevolence of his own motives, and upborne by an undoubting faith in the general adaptation and efficacy of his well digested and long matured plans,—he resolved, with cheerfulness and alacrity, to attempt all which his very limited powers would allow.

The administration of justice, in accordance generally with Khond ideas and usages, and with a distinct view to the establishment of authority and the ultimate abolition of the Meriah sacrifice, being the grand central and vital doctrine of his system, he did not wait till cases of disputed rights presented themselves for settlement. He invited, and, in every lawful way, encouraged the bringing of such cases to him at once for adjustment, whenever they might arise. Accordingly he soon found himself thoroughly engrossed with the duties of his assumed office as umpire. Causes flowed in upon him; and to their equitable settlement he gave himself with indefatigable energy and untiring perseverance. Nor did he labour in vain. He soon had the unspeakable consolation of witnessing the fruit of his labours, in the general satisfaction which his decisions gave, and the general confidence, which, in consequence, he succeeded in inspiring in the naturally suspicious and obdurate breasts of the Khonds. Of his method of procedure he furnishes us with one specimen in detail; and as it will help to convey a better idea of the state of feeling among the Khonds, and his way of consulting it without injurious compromise, we may here quote the entire statement:—

"Major Campbell, in the beginning of this year, settled by an amicable arrangement, confirmed by a solemn promise, a dispute betwixt two branches of the Cretingia tribe, in the course of which two men had already fallen upon either side. The heads of one of these branches, however, named Lando Mullik and Comti Mullik, immediately afterwards gained Sam Bisaye by presents, and determined to renew the contest. The people of Athara Mútah were nearly equally divided as the allies of the contending parties who are of a non-sacrificing tribe from the South. Sam Bisaye now sent messengers to the tribes which were opposed to his friends, threatening them with the vengeance of the Government if they

moved in the adjusted quarrel, while the partizans of the other party were, at the same time, secretly encouraged to prepare to strike a blow; a sudden attack was made in which six persons of the branch, which, relying for protection upon our authority, had neglected measures to protect itself, were cruelly slain. The tribes allied to it, highly incensed by the deception of Sam Bisaye and its consequences, prepared to avenge them. Sam Bisaye, alarmed at the length to which matters were proceeding, then did all that was possible, with the aid of another sirdar, from the low country, to allay the storm, and it was fortunately kept under until my arrival. Had this not been effected, a conflict must have arisen involving at least the whole great district of Athara Mútah in deadly strife, which must have been fatal to the hope of accomplishing at present any of the objects of the Government, of which *peace* is plainly the first condition.

I investigated this matter in the presence of the chief people of Athara Mútah, and they, with the parties, and Sam Bisaye, gave their evidence, and stated their opinions freely upon every point. All were agreed as to the facts of the case. And in these discussions, I must observe, that the desire of peace was plainly the leading idea in every mind. The greatest happiness which we seek for, said all the patriarchs, "is this, that the only axe known in Athara Mútah shall be the wood-axe, and that every man shall enjoy his own in peace." The complaining parties spoke out plainly and truly. They said that they had suffered this affliction entirely from the Government's not having protected them, while it had prevented them, through Sam Bisaye—by whose warning to their allies both these and they were deceived—from protecting themselves, which they were perfectly able to have done; and all present went with them.

I trust that the mode in which I have acted in this case, under the constraint of circumstances wholly different from any that are contemplated by our laws, will be approved.

The matter was plainly to be dealt with upon the broadest view of the circumstances, and with reference to our general objects. It was obviously necessary to demonstrate, that the *first object* of the Government was to establish *peace*, and also, that what its authority had bound, was not to be unloosed. But war betwixt branches of tribes is necessarily, in no degree criminal in the sight of the Khonds. The institutions which render it at once unnecessary and unlawful, do not exist amongst them; and we have not declared it criminal. Its punishment as a crime in this case, would therefore, have been quite unintelligible to them, would have been impossible with justice, with reference to the numbers concerned, and would have put an end to confidence in our views of justice, as necessary for the preservation of the peace. I have simply imprisoned the two chief offenders at Nowgaum until security shall be obtained for their conduct, or until the state of Society shall warrant their release, and I do not conceive that they should be the object of farther proceedings. The effect of their confinement has been most satisfactory. They are constantly visited by the Khonds; all parties concur in the justice of their punishment as exciters of discord, and as breakers of faith with the Government, and express themselves with freedom to them respecting it: and they have no reply but "that they acted in the old way, misled by Sam Bisaye." The decisions formerly passed by the local authority, which were tending to give way, stand firm. Those since passed have been promptly obeyed; all has been tranquillity, confidence, and good feeling; and the number and the variety of matters which have since been brought by the Khonds for settlement have been endless. It will, I hope, be possible to liberate the confined patriarchs with good effect a few months hence."

Having thus succeeded, at an earlier period than, in his most sanguine mood, he had ever ventured to anticipate, in gaining the confidence of these wild and barbarous, though, in many respects, simple and unsophisticated people, he next began, in terms of his appointment, to make cautious inquisition into the all-important matter of the abolition of human sacrifice. He addressed himself first to the Khonds of Bara Mútah. At his express invitation, the Patriarchs and men of influence came and remained with him at Nowgaum for above a fortnight. The time was spent in discussing every point connected with their situation, their religion, their relations with other Khonds, and to the Government. His chief or primary object was to ascertain exactly their ideas and feelings, and to communicate to them a few distinct conceptions of the general views of the Government towards them. He was anxious to avoid the formal consideration of future arrangements with them, until he should be able to visit the Hill country with adequate power to complete them. Such reticence with respect to the future was soon found, however, to be impossible; neither did it, at length, appear to be desirable, entirely to avoid the contemplation of prospective measures. In the end, as the result of friendly but almost interminable discussions, various definite propositions were made to him, indicative of the willingness of the Khonds to relinquish the rite of human sacrifice, upon certain conditions of which the more material were the following:—

“That they shall be received into the immediate protection of the Government, and shall always obtain justice from it.

That if any Khond of Bara Mútah shall infringe the engagement to abstain from the sacrifice, and from the use of human flesh, he shall suffer very severe punishment at the hands of the Government, as such an infraction, besides being a breach of faith with the Government and with his own people, may involve the latter in ruin from the wrath of their gods.

That the Khonds shall be at liberty to sacrifice buffaloes, monkeys, goats, &c. to their deities, with all the solemnities which are now observed on occasions of human sacrifice.

The Khonds of Bara Mútah promise to abstain from the great rite in perfect freedom from fear or constraint, seeking to obtain from the Government the constant protection and the justice above specified. But they beg permission to say, that if Sam Bisaye and the Khonds of Hodzoghoro shall be allowed to continue the sacrifice, the difficulty of abstinence from it upon their part will be so very greatly increased, that it is a question with them, whether it will be possible for them to observe absolute abstinence at least for more than five years.”

The proposers of these terms were then sent back to their hills, there to reconsider them, and to submit them to the Councils of the tribes. They were so submitted; and in eight days, the Agent was informed that they were “universally agreed to.”

He had reason to believe that this *spontaneously proffered* agreement was made in sincerity, and that some ground was thereby afforded on which to act. Still, on this subject, by way of precaution, he deemed it proper to record the following calm, candid, and moderate remarks:—

“ I estimate at a low rate the power of barbarous men to emancipate themselves from the bonds of ancient superstition. Permanent abstinence from the vital ordinances of a deity, the faith in whose omnipotence is unshaken, is, I conceive, entirely beyond the strength of men, supported only by the few and imperfectly perceived reasons and by the comparatively weak and superficial feelings which at present influence these people, the most advanced of whom look tremblingly to the multiplication of their lesser sacrifices, and to the shelter of the plea of virtual constraint by our authority, as a compensation, or an apology for the omission of their chief rite. The punishment of the breach of an obligation so to abstain is plainly a matter of great difficulty. But when the general state of opinion and feeling shall, through the operation of the influences which we can apply, render it advisable and possible any where to deter individuals from this worship by punishment, there is fortunately room to hope that it may be done effectually, as the Khonds apprehend from their gods temporal punishments alone, which, or their equivalents, we can employ.”

He next communicated with the tribes of Athara Mútah. Nineteen out of their twenty-one Patriarchs of branches came and remained for some time with him. One of the chiefs who did not appear (the Patriarch of Loheringiah) sent a representative and an apology; the other (the chief of Cottingiah) offered no excuse. The ideas and feelings of these people differed very materially, *in their details*, from those of the Khonds of Bara Mútah, to whom they are in every point of view inferior. Although Captain Macpherson was, in their case also, very anxious to waive the consideration of distinct arrangements for the future, these Patriarchs, after very long and anxious discussions upon almost every subject to which their knowledge or their imaginations reached, could not be prevented from *offering* to relinquish the rite of sacrifice, “ *upon the condition of their receiving protection and peace and justice from the Government.*”

They were then requested to return home, in order to submit the question to the Tribes and their Councils; and they left, in the confident assurance, that they would be able to send in their victims in a few days, in token of their general consent. As was anticipated, however, their people were not to be so easily swayed. There was at first much and even strenuous opposition. But at the end of seven weeks, Captain Macpherson received the intimation that “all were finally agreed,” with the exception of the people of Loheringiah and Cottingiah, whose Patriarchs had absented themselves when

originally summoned, and who now declared that they "would not abandon their ancient worship." The evil genius of Sam Bisaye had been at work with these people and their chiefs, whose country borders on Hodzoghoro. An agent of his was actually found to be resident among these two Branch Tribes; and it could not be doubted that, under his malign influence, they were prevailed upon to assume an hostile attitude. The victims, scattered throughout the tracts occupied by the other nineteen tribes, with the exception of about a dozen, were punctually delivered up to Captain Macpherson.

Success, so great and unexpected, might well have elated the mind of the agent, and hurried him impetuously forward in his new career. But he knew when and where to pause, as well as where and when energetically to operate. His ardour was only matched by his prudence; and his activity by his penetrating foresight. Hitherto every step had been taken with the greatest circumspection and caution. Knowing that it was vain to attempt to reach the body of the people otherwise than through their own venerated chiefs, he judiciously sent for these, with the view of indoctrinating their minds with his own views and wishes. Knowing, at the same time, from the constitution of Khond society, that the chiefs, of themselves, could decide nothing authoritatively for their respective tribes, and that any decision binding on the tribe could only emanate from an assembled council of chiefs and people, he, as judiciously, sent back the Patriarchs to consult with their followers. And now, while burning with desire to push on the advantage he had gained, he, at the same time, was resolutely determined to do nothing rashly. He longed to advance with rapid pace to the realization of his fondest wishes; but, fearful of making a false step and keenly alive to the fatal consequences that might ensue therefrom, he deliberately reined in his zeal,—preferring to walk slowly for the sake of treading surely. He had succeeded in obtaining a hold of the people of the two principal Khond districts of Goomsur, which promised a great and permanent triumph, and his purpose was to devote himself to the strengthening of that hold, in order to secure a firm stepping stone for after progress, rather than, by premature efforts, run the risk of failure and its disastrous issues elsewhere. By these and such like considerations was his conduct now regulated. With the people of Chokapad, the third of the Khond districts of Goomsur, there had of late been little communication. Judging from the demeanour of the few of its Patriarchs whom he had seen, he shrewdly inferred that their minds were not quite prepared for the free discussion of their religion, as

of any other vital subject; and so he made up his mind to wait a more favourable opportunity for dealing with them. In like manner from the character, position and known antagonism of Sam Bisaye, he felt that there would be extreme difficulty in dealing with him and his people. In order to such effective dealing, he felt that it was necessary to ascertain exactly the ideas and feelings, upon many subjects, of the Khonds and Hindus of Sam's own district, and of the tracts beyond, where he had influence—and this, by direct communication with them, which the wily chief lately prevented by the most jealous prohibition of their approach to him. When such full information was obtained, a decided course should be resolved upon. In the meanwhile, the greatest care should be taken to prevent him from formally assuming the character towards which his actions tended,—that of head of the determined votaries of the ancient ritual. Having ascertained that the people of the two recusant tribes of Athara Mútah had resolved to sacrifice several victims at the return of next full moon; and being duly apprized by the Patriarchs of the other tribes, that, if these sacrifices should be permitted, all or nearly all their people would be strongly tempted to break through their weak resolutions and share in the flesh;—he turned his most serious attention simply to the adoption of measures to prevent these and other public offerings, without alienating the minds of the inhabitants of the tracts with which he had not yet communicated.

Having now done all which, with his limited powers, it was competent for him to undertake, and a great deal more than, in so short a time and with such incommensurate means, could well have been anticipated; and having, above all, been now privileged, though under very disadvantageous circumstances, to exemplify the nature and demonstrate the efficacy of his proposed plan of grappling with the Meriah difficulty, by partially reducing it to practice;—he resolved to address Government anew on the subject. He could not but feel that he might now do so, with enhanced effect. He came forward, no longer as a mere theorist however sound, but as an experimentalist who had actually verified the soundness of the theory, to the utmost, which the inadequacy of the means at his disposal, could possibly allow. His scheme, viewed as a theory, was not a mere ingenious hypothesis—a mere conjecture or guess. It was, from the first, based on actually observed facts, and direct inevitable references from these facts; wise men might, therefore, not be ashamed or afraid to take it up and try it, lest it might prove an utter chimera. But now, when tested and authenticated by results

which proved its applicability and power, it did not need the sagacity of the pre-eminently wise to detect its merits, or the advocacy of the astutely subtle to secure it from obloquy or contempt. It plainly stood forth as a veritable engine of unmistakable potency. And all that was required, was, that an enlightened and philanthropic Government would take it up in all its latitude—give free scope for the full action of its power—judiciously regulate its varied movements—and then rejoice over the magnificent products which it seemed fitted to realize.

To this object, therefore, Captain Macpherson now strenuously addressed himself. In so doing, he briefly, but in a masterly style, recapitulated the leading points and features of the former expositions of his plans. He had before stated at length, that,—from the constitution and characteristic conditions of society among the Khond tribes, together with the spirit of their manners and habits of feeling,—the establishment of distinct relations with them as subjects, must prove the necessary basis of the authority by which we might hope to effect the suppression of the rite of human sacrifice—and that, by the combined application of the various species of influence, which might be addressed to them, through their wants and interests and through particular classes of society and individuals, that authority might be made adequate to the accomplishment of our purpose. The relations which he now proposed to establish, were, for the nearer tribes or those of Goomsur, “submission to laws directly administered by us”—for those more remote, or beyond the British territory of Goomsur, “the practical acknowledgment of our supremacy.” How these objects were to be hopefully prosecuted and ultimately attained, he again explains and enforces in the following strain:—

“The institutions of the Khonds suffice, generally, to maintain order and security within tribes; but no general authority exists to control these, or their branches, or powerful individuals, to determine questions of civil right between them, and to enforce its decisions; hence, Society is every where distracted by contests, animosities, and feuds. The Khonds, from the distinctive circumstances of their social condition, have necessarily felt severely this great want, and have attempted to supply it. And wherever it has been possible from the nature of our intercourse with them, that confidence in the character and the objects of the Government should have arisen, they have shewn a desire to receive a remedy for it at our hands.

This great want, of a Civil jurisdiction capable of determining Society to order, I conceive that we can supply to the most accessible of those tribes, in a form, and in a spirit suitable to their character and their circumstances; so that our authority shall, in virtue of its beneficial character, and through combination with other influences, become supreme. The remoter tribes, when they shall perceive that our objects are purely benevolent, and

beneficial, will, I believe, readily receive the idea of its supremacy; and will regard general subordination to it, leading to submission, not as an oppressive but as an elevating and a desirable connection.

What is to be done then, in the first instance, is this, to establish our direct authority over the people of Bara Mútah and Athara Mútah as subjects, upon the basis of the administration of justice, while we surround and combine this measure with all the other measures which I have elsewhere* enumerated, and, at the same time, assert our Supremacy, and extend our influence by every means that can be devised over the remoter tribes. The suppression of the rite of sacrifice being expected as a gradual result of the direct and indirect pressure of our authority, and of our various and accumulating influence.

The view which I have formed as to the law to be administered in these districts, and the powers to be given to the local agency for its administration, is this. We are to attempt, chiefly by engrafting our authority upon the institutions of these tribes, to give them justice, NOT ONLY AS AN END, BUT AS A CHIEF MEANS OF ACQUIRING THE DOMINION OVER THEM WHICH IS NECESSARY TO EFFECT OUR OBJECTS. Those laws must therefore, necessarily, be *their own usages*, with such modifications and additions calculated to advance those objects, as ever changing circumstances shall dictate. Such laws, it seems plain that the local authority must determine as well as administer, while the Government can but prescribe the principles,—the spirit, and the modes in which it shall act.

I beg leave, therefore, to suggest—

That the Khonds, the Sourahs, and every class of inhabitants of the hill country within the Ganjam agency, shall be excepted from the operation of the instructions by Government for the administration in it of civil and criminal justice; and that all persons residing elsewhere within the agency shall, in respect of the offence of trafficking in human victims, and that of buying or selling children unlawfully, be excepted from the operation of so much of those instructions as relates to criminal justice.

That the local agency be instructed to administer civil and criminal justice to the population of the hill country, and to the persons residing elsewhere who are above excepted, according to equity, and to their usages and customs with a view to the accomplishment of the objects prescribed by the Government. The rules with respect to property held on tenures resembling the feudal to remain unchanged. The local authority to have power to sentence to imprisonment with or without hard labour for six years, and to 195 stripes, and to carry into execution, and to remit, at any time the whole or any part of such sentence, without reference to superior authority; but sanction to be required for the execution, or for the remission of any higher punishment. The proceedings of the local authority to be submitted to the Government, not to the Foujdari Adalat, which cannot recognize the principles or the forms upon which they must be conducted.

I beg leave to observe, that I propose these limits to the discretionary power of the local agency, rather with reference to existing usage, than because I think it certain that higher penalties will be rarely required, or that the opinion of the local officers must not determine their necessity. The chief questions which will arise in these tracts may be thus classified.

1. Questions betwixt persons of different tribes or branches of tribes relating to property in the soil.

* For these, see page 19-20.

2. Questions betwixt the same persons, relating to usages of marriage and of concubinage.
3. Breaches of the peace arising out of these two classes of questions.
4. The sale and purchase of victims by Hindus.
5. The sale and purchase of victims by Panwas and other castes not Hindus.
6. The sale and purchase of victims by Hindus.
7. The sacrifice of victims, or the use of the flesh of victims, by persons of each of these classes.

I have already* laid before the Government the reasons which appear to me to require, that the Khond tracts of Boad and Duspallah in the Cuttack District should be included in the same plan of operations with those of Goomsur.

I have instituted careful enquiries with respect to the procurers of victims, both below and above the Ghats in this quarter, and have obtained a list of most of the persons who are habitually engaged in this traffic. I have, at the same time, ascertained, that the Khond country of Goomsur, (and of course that of Boad) is supplied to a great extent with victims by Panwas of the adjoining zemindaries of Nyaghur, Duspallah, and Boad in the Cuttack district.

I propose that energetic measures shall be immediately taken against the procurers of every class; but such measures will, under these circumstances, plainly avail nothing, if they shall be limited to the Ganjam district. The zemindaries of Nyaghur, Duspallah, and Boad, are far removed from the seat of the Magistracy in Cuttack, and their police is, I believe, entirely in the hands of the zemindars. I perceive no means of acting effectually upon the procurers residing in them, but that of making the officers of this district, like the officers employed in suppressing Thuggee, Joint Magistrates in Cuttack, and by giving the criminal tribunals of Ganjam and of Cuttack joint jurisdiction over persons accused of the offence of procuring victims in the three zemindaries which I have named.

The agency which is required for the execution of the measures which I suggest, is plainly the great difficulty. Had our experience of the climate of the Ghats last year been less disastrous, I should have felt confident upon this point. But the few persons who then accompanied me to the Hills, to acquire experience are dead or disabled for this service, and the difficulty of finding for the future a succession of able and experienced instruments for a work which demands much ability, and much preparation, which is repulsive to the best instructed castes, attractive to none, and so exceedingly dangerous, is not to be disguised.

My hope is that the districts in which I now propose to act may prove to be less unhealthy than the other tracts; that, with elephant carriage, very brief visits may be frequently made to them with safety; that efficiency may be given to some instruments native to the climate; and, from my late experience, that very much may be done effectually from the nearest safe points below the Ghats. I possess now, in a few men, if aided as I shall indicate, the means of attempting what I have proposed, to dispense justice to Bara Mútah and Athara Mútah, and to communicate with the other districts in the manner required.

It is plain, that the decisions of authority in these tracts must be carried into effect by instruments very carefully chosen and instructed. The paiks of the tracts lying under the Hills are alone, in any degree, fitted by local knowledge, and by constitution, for this work. The elite of these have

* See page 21-22.

now fortunately been embodied for several years in the Company of Sebundies, and have learnt habits of discipline, and they are commanded by a son of the late Itajah of Souradah, who passed his youth in the Khond Country, and who, I believe, may be made, as his brother is already, an instrument of high value in carrying out this design. I propose, therefore, that for the present, fifty men, or one-half of this body, carefully selected from the whole, shall, with their officer, be assigned to this service. I do not think that it can be attempted successfully without this aid.

With respect to the use of force it seems to me, that we must keep distinctly in view the risk of producing feelings of antipathy towards the Government in the nearer tracts to which alone it can be applied, which must be fatal at least to the hope of establishing influence in the districts beyond; and the risk, that the Khonds, if force shall be used directly and prominently to suppress their great rite, will regard its abolition as the sole object of our interference with them, instead of *one of many objects, of which the others are palpably beneficial, and will necessarily resist it as a tyranny*. It therefore seems to me, that force should be used *only as a secondary means,—should be applied only to coerce individuals when societies have been gained.*"

After next briefly advertng to other subsidiary and collateral measures, some of which had been originally proposed by Mr. Russel; and more especially to the means of greatly improving the principal and most frequented route from the districts of the upper valley of the Mahanudi through the Khond tracts of Goomsur, and by the Courminghia Ghat, to the Ganjam coast;—Captain Macpherson concludes his elaborate and masterly report, by urging the necessity for the early adoption by Government of a general and systematic plan of operations. But while he urged the necessity of speedily adopting such a comprehensive plan, he did not propose that the whole field should be actually entered on at once. No; his judicious proposition was, that it should be taken up gradually and piecemeal—beginning with the portion which held out the most encouraging hopes of early and certain success, and then making use of the portion gained as a fulcrum on which to prise the lever of reform, in advancing to the next. For the commencement of these operations, he proposed to select the sacrificing tracts, where infanticide is not practised, and which are included in the adjacent Zemindaries of Goomsur, Boad and Duspallah—and that, for the following conclusive reasons:—

"That portion of the country is, in every respect, the best known, and is in part surveyed. In the tracts of Goomsur alone, in this part of the regions of the Ghats, is the idea of the supremacy of the Government distinctly received, our direct authority having been exercised in them during the last six years. The possession and the immediate administration of the Hindu part of the Goomsur zemindary enables us to exert a very powerful direct influence over its hill districts. The latter are separated, as has been stated, from the sacrificing Khond tracts to the southward, except at a single point

by a large interposed non-sacrificing population. Their population, and that of the adjoining Khond districts of Boad and Duspallah, generally understand the Uriya language, while the southern Khonds speak no Hindu tongue, a consideration of the greatest importance. The Khond plateau of Goomsur and Boad is by far the most accessible part of the hill country in this quarter. And, finally, there is some reason to hope, that its climate may not prove to be so deadly as that of the southern districts."

Both the reports, the earlier, that of April, and the latter, that of August, 1842—with their varied and novel information, and weighty and well matured recommendations,—were duly submitted to the Madras Government, and by it were received with the favour which they so eminently deserved. The Madras Council, so far as we can learn, appear to have been unanimous in their approbation of the reports and of the general plan of operations therein suggested. The head of the Government in particular, Lord Elphinstone, being about to retire from his exalted office, recorded his concurrent views in the form of a minute, characterized alike by the ability of the statesman and the hearty earnestness of the philanthropist. In that minute, which in the issue was found faithfully to represent the sentiments of the Council, his Lordship, as we understand, declared that, on the point of making over the Government to his successor, he could say with truth that few subjects had given him greater anxiety, and in none had he felt greater difficulty, than in the measures to be adopted for the suppression of the horrible custom of human sacrifice among the wild tribes of Khondistan. The duty and necessity of our intervention as the rulers of this country to put a stop to this revolting practice, had always been apparent to him: nothing in fact could, in his estimation, exceed the weight of this obligation except the difficulty of its performance. In reviewing past measures he clearly shewed why the Government had discountenanced the employment of intimidating threats which could not be enforced, and the application of force which was alike unsuitable and impracticable: in a word, why it counselled conciliation and deprecated whatever might lead to irritation and distrust. He was led to shew why the only *original* measure which Major Campbell had proposed, viz. that of *purchasing victims from the Khonds at the price which they cost*,* would be, in the highest degree, impolitic and nugatory. He dwelt on the constant support which the Government had afforded to every expedient for improving, through the establishment of fairs and the opening of new routes, the means of communication and intercourse between the Khonds and the

* See *Calcutta Review*, No. XII. p. 59-60.

inhabitants of the low country; and pointed to the aid which had been rendered in the rescue of victims, and the condign punishment of kidnappers. But all these and such like measures he regarded as merely of an isolated, desultory and inadequate character. They could never cope with the real evil; or of themselves suffice for the attainment of our object. In looking back on all the statements and reports laid before Government, apart from those of Captain Macpherson, he could not find amongst them all, any proposal that amounted to any thing-like a connected, fixed, or definite plan. Indeed there was a total lack of such information as might enable the Government or any of its agents to lay down any thing like a settled plan or system of operations. Hence the origin of the proposition to depute a special agent to visit the Khond districts—one grand end of such appointment being the collecting of the requisite information. In his original Report of 1841, and still more, in his two recent reports of April and August 1842, Captain Macpherson had succeeded in conveying much more definite and precise information as to the social condition of the Khonds, and of the limits of the various superstitions which prevailed amongst them than we were before at all acquainted with. Nothing could prove more clearly than these reports, the inutility of partial and desultory efforts, and the absolute necessity of well digested and systematic ones. Towards the formation and final adoption of such measures, these valuable and highly interesting reports furnished invaluable materials, as well as admirable suggestions. The introduction of *our* influence among the Zemindar-Rajahs, with the Khond Chiefs and their people; in other words, the establishment of *our* authority, as supreme and paramount, in these wild tracts, was clearly pointed out as an object to be steadily and perseveringly, but gradually and cautiously pursued. We were to appear in the first instance not as imperious innovators, but as mediators, or rather arbitrators or umpires—interposing our good offices when suitable opportunities offered—settling quarrels and disputes, and composing feuds between the various chiefs, and directly between the hill tribes themselves. The influence thus acquired was to be directed to the one great object in view, viz. the abolition of the sacrifice. And Captain Macpherson's Reports distinctly pointed out the mode in which such influence was to be directed, as well as the time and the place in which it might be most beneficially exercised. The discovery of the non-sacrificing and infanticidal tribes, as well of tribes who practised neither of these detestable rites, together with the division of the country into distinct tracts

with reference to these peculiarities, were justly regarded as of the first importance. The success which attended Captain Macpherson's proceedings in the two great Khond districts of Bara Mútah and Athara Mútah was warmly hailed as confirmatory of the soundness of the general views set forth in the author's reports, and highly encouraging as regarded future efforts of a similar description elsewhere. Verbal pledges had indeed been often given before, but, it did not escape the sagacity of Lord Elphinstone and his council, that these had been marked with singular deficiencies. The grand omission in *every former compact* with these tribes, was, *the absence of all acknowledgement on our part of the duty of affording protection and justice to the Khonds, and on their side, the duty of submission and obedience to the Government*; while in the proposals made to Captain Macpherson by the Khonds of Bara Mútah and Athara Mútah, which were universally agreed to by them, this omission had been fully supplied. Formerly too, the pledges had uniformly been given or extorted under the influence of fear; they were, therefore, involuntary and forced: whereas, now, they were proffered as the result of full deliberation and discussion; they were, for the first time, really voluntary and free. And whether these conditions would be faithfully observed or not, a spontaneous acknowledgment had been acquired of our right to interfere, which the tribes themselves could no longer dispute, and to which, if prudently and steadily asserted, they would doubtless submit without apprehension or distrust. But out of this compact, now first *voluntarily* admitted, arose the necessity of a more simple system of control than that of the existing law. That protection and justice which the state of society among the Khonds demanded, could not be afforded; that salutary control, which was needed, could not be exercised, nor even that right of interference which had been acquired, be prudently enforced, while we continued to act upon the principles or to observe the forms of judicial proceedings made for people in so very different a stage of civilization. For these and similar reasons, his Lordship in Council appeared cordially to approve of Captain Macpherson's proposal that the entire hill population with the several agencies of Cuttack, Ganjam, and Vizagapatam should be withdrawn from the usual civil and criminal jurisdiction—that parties in the low country concerned in procuring Meriah victims should be excepted from the same—and that the special agent should be invested with the power to adjudicate in civil cases according to equity, and in criminal, with immediate jurisdiction to the extent pointed out in the second report.

Conceiving it, moreover, to be of the utmost importance to act simultaneously and energetically against the traffic in human victims, it was adjudged to be desirable that the Khond agent, and the magistrates in the adjoining districts of Cuttack, should be invested with joint jurisdiction, which should also be extended to the Criminal Courts of the several districts. For the carrying out of the judicial decisions, the fifty paiks sought for by Captain Macpherson might at once be placed at his disposal. And in all these varied measures was distinctly seen and recognized the sure groundwork of a systematic course of proceeding, from which His Lordship in Council anticipated ultimate success.

But, while his Lordship in Council thus emphatically approved of the extended and systematic plan of operations suggested by Captain Macpherson, it was felt that, from the enlarged sphere of action embraced by it, and from its requiring the combined co-operation of the Bengal and Madras Governments, together with the appointment of a special agent invested with peculiar and extraordinary powers,—it would be necessary to submit it for the consideration and sanction of the Government of India. And his Lordship in Council resolved to lose no time in bringing it to the notice of that Supreme Authority. Nor was this resolution an idle or nugatory one. In due season it was transmitted, formally endorsed with the approbation of the Madras Government, to the Governor-General of India in Council, with the earnest recommendation that it should be favourably received,—in its essential spirit and substance adopted,—and with the least practicable delay acted on. Indeed, from the very nature of the case and peculiar circumstances, it was abundantly obvious that, if ever acted on at all, the sooner the better;—while the feelings of many of those most deeply concerned were mantling warmly in its favour; and ere the latept seeds of aversion elsewhere should develop themselves in overt acts of defiant antagonism.

But, unhappily, the season proved most inauspicious for the prompt or immediate consideration of such a subject as that of the abolition of the Meriah sacrifice among the barbarous, but politically harmless, Khonds. There were other native tribes, not commonly reputed to be barbarous, who were then striking the deadliest blow at the *prestige* of British invincibility and supremacy, that had yet been inflicted since the sceptre of the Great Mogul was first wrenched by British prowess from his grasp. Lord Elphinstone's Minute bore the date of the 22d September. The extract from the Minutes of consultation of the Madras Government, bearing the honoured signature

of Mr. Walter Elliot, and forwarded to the Governor-General in Council, were dated the 10th December, 1842. By that time, Sir Alexander Burnes and other British officers had been cruelly murdered at Kabul; and one messenger of evil tidings after another was fast travelling to the metropolis—each conveying more disastrous intelligence than his predecessor. Such, therefore, was not the time, when any Governor-General—haunted as he must have been by terrible visions of wholesale massacre, and ominous forebodings as to the safety and stability of the empire itself—could well be expected to turn aside his attention, and direct it, with concentrated energy, to the adjustment of plans for suppressing, in a remote, obscure and peaceful province, a social evil which involved no political urgency or danger.

Here, however, for the present we must pause. The reception which the Madras application and reference met with at the hands of the Supreme Government, and the varied and deeply interesting statements, illustrative of the further proceedings which constitute the *second* series of Government measures for the abolition of human sacrifices among the Khonds, must now be reserved for another fitting opportunity—the present contribution being intended only as a *first* part or instalment. Enough, however, has, we trust, been adduced to indicate both the general and specific nature of the proceedings—enough to shew that they are marked by peculiarities which fairly entitled them to be regarded as altogether a distinct class from the first.* In our statement of principles, plans and operations, the name of Captain Macpherson is that which most conspicuously appears. But this is no doing of ours. We simply imposed upon ourselves the task of faithfully delineating facts as we found them recorded in authoritative documents. In a former paper, the names of Russel, Bannerman, Miller, Hill, Campbell, Mills, Hicks, and Ouseley, were those which most prominently occurred. Captain Macpherson did not then make his appearance on the scene as an actor at all. In the course of our historic narrative, however, we duly and regularly arrived at the period when he did enter, as sole actor, on the scene. And if it be lawful, merely for the sake of illustration, to compare small things with great, it must be obvious that the principles, plans and operations of this period are as exclusively those of Captain Macpherson, as the principles, plans and operations of the Peninsular Campaigns were those of the Duke of Wellington. If, therefore, throughout

* These have been fully and impartially recorded in No. XII. of this work.

this period, the principal figure in the foreground of our historic sketch, be that of Captain Macpherson, it is solely because, throughout that period, he was in reality the most conspicuous personage, as a propounder of principles, a deviser of plans, and an executor of important deeds. We are utterly unconscious of being swayed or actuated by any undue personal bias or favouritism towards Captain Macpherson. Quite the contrary. Of him we literally knew nothing till we perused, in manuscript copy, a considerable portion of his original report of 1841. That report at once arrested our attention. The theme was novel and to our mind of singular interest—the main object contemplated, one of deep concern to the cause of humanity—while the report presented itself as a remarkable monument of indefatigable industry, unconquerable perseverance, and no ordinary mental perspicuity, judgment, and good sense. It was the perusal of that report which led to our knowing or caring any thing about the author. So that it was truly his own labours which led us to feel an interest in the man, and not any previous knowledge of the man that influenced us to take an interest in his labours. On some other vital subjects, unconnected with Khond affairs, it might soon be found, that opinions were conscientiously entertained which might seem to be irreconcilably at variance. But we should be ashamed of the petty littleness of mind, or the one-sided partiality of partizanship, that would prevent us from perceiving or acknowledging the real merits of any individual's measures and achievements in one grand and important department of observation and experiment, merely because in some other department of speculation, doctrine, or practice, there might be found between us the widest difference of judgment.

In the lengthened statements and extracts which we have furnished, our readers have been provided with ample means of forming their own judgment of Captain Macpherson's original plans and operations. And our earnest monition is, that, as a simple act of justice, they may not suffer their honestly formed views of the essential merits of these, to be obfuscated by the dust and smoke which unhappy controversy has succeeded in raising about his more recent proceedings. Whatever may be the character of the latter—and we have no reason to suppose them materially different—they cannot and ought not to be allowed retrospectively to affect the clearly defined and intelligible character of the former. How the controversy which of late has enveloped the public mind in a dense and lurid gloom of uncertainty and doubt, may have originated, it is not for us

to determine; seeing that some of the predisposing and collateral circumstances are not as yet very explicable, and others, we fear, not very creditable to the jealous and intermeddling parties concerned. But that any controversy of the sort should have so unseasonably risen at all on such a subject, is deeply to be deplored. And still more is it to be deplored that a course of events, which promised so successful an issue, should have taken the disastrous turn it has done, in consequence of contemporaneous local troubles, most of which, though wholly unconnected with the main work of the Khond Agency, yet came to be untowardly blended and confounded with it. Whether there has been in reality any departure from that wise and judicious line of policy and action which secured the unanimous approbation of Lord Elphinstone and his council, remains to be seen. Our own decided impression is, that there has not. But, as the whole subject has now been submitted to the investigation of a high minded and honourable man; and as his report will doubtless be, in due time, submitted to the consideration of judges as high-minded and honorable as himself, we deem it in every way more expedient to await their decision. Meanwhile, as regards the result in its more immediate bearing on the official credit, conduct, and character of the Agent, we know no valid ground for fear, or misgivings. What we do fear, is, lest—as the inevitable effect of unpleasant feelings excited by angry controversy, and the consequent distraction of attention, diversion of energy, and deadening of awakened interest,—the great philanthropic cause itself should be seriously damaged and lost, in the estimation of the public, and even of government itself. But, let us hope better things. Let us hope that neither the public nor the government will allow themselves to forget the bright and glorious object that lies athwart and beyond the murky atmosphere in which, for a time, it has been shrouded from the general view. Let them not forget that the cries of miserable victims, constantly offered in hecatombs to propitiate a bloody and cruel deity are still ringing in their ears,—and that, with the cries of these slaughtered adults—slaughtered and torn to pieces alive with a ferocity which, in the comparison, might prove the savage cannibalism* of New Zealand to be very mildness—there mingle the still more piercing cries of thousands of hapless innocents untimely slain.† Let them not forget the aggravated and affecting circumstance, that it is

* See *Calcutta Review*, No. IX. p. 63.

† See *Calcutta Review*, No. IX. p. 32-3-4.

not on "the farthest verge of this green earth," in "distant barbarous climes," or along the unvisited banks of "rivers unknown to song,"—that these horrible monstrosities are daily and even hourly perpetrated. No; it is in the centre of India, so renowned for its ancient sages and legislators, its ancient arts and sciences, its ancient civilization and vauntingly humane institutions—yea, in the centre of *British* India, and within sight of the seats of British supremacy, British Magistracy, British Justice, British Benevolence, and British Law! Of the Romans, Pagan though they were, it has been remarked that they "deserved well of human nature for making it an article in their treaty with the Carthaginians, that they should abstain from sacrificing their children to the gods." Let it be the glory of Imperial Britain,—Christian as she is, or professes, and ought to be—to deserve still better of human nature, by not only emulating, but immeasurably surpassing, the highest philanthropy of Ancient Rome. Already has she interposed, with happiest effect, through the instrumentality of her Viceroy and their Agents, in vindicating the cause of suffering humanity, and in putting an end to the shedding of torrents of innocent blood. Duncan and his co-adjutors laid the foundation of a system for the abolition of the fearfully extensive practice of Infanticide in the Rajput States. The Marquis of Wellesley put an effectual stop to the periodical massacre of little infants, who were wont to be thrown by their infatuated mothers, in fulfilment of religious vows, into the turbid waters of Gunga Sagor, to be there devoured by the alligators and other monsters of the deep. Lord William Bentinck extinguished those cruel funeral piles that were wont to blaze in thousands over the plains of Hindustan,—awful piles, on which lay stretched the putrid corpse of the father and the living body of the mother,—and around them standing, the poor hapless children—not to excite the yearnings of a mother's compassion by their sobs and wailings—not to quench the devouring flames with their tears—but,—let humanity shudder!—in the name of their gods to apply the torch, that, in a moment, was to leave them fatherless motherless orphans in a friendless world! For Lord Hardinge, our best wishes are, that, ere he lay down the insignia of the mightiest vicereignty under the sun, he may be privileged to witness another noble triumph to the cause of humanity and religion, in the infliction of a final death-blow on the horrible and sanguinary superstitions of Khondistan. And for Imperial Britain our wishes rise higher still. It was the boast of the greatest of the Cæsars, that, having found Rome

brick, he left it marble. But for Britain our prayer is, that ere she drop the most potent sceptre ever wielded over these Indian realms, she may be enabled to take up the language, not of boastfulness, but of gratitude to the God of Providence, for the successful discharge of her delegated trust, and say ;— I found India one wide and universal scene of anarchy and misrule ; I left it one peaceful and consolidated empire ;—I found its people ground down by the most frightful oppression, its industry paralysed, and person and property exposed to the assaults of lawless violence and the invasion of every ruffian plunderer ; I left its people exempt from the multitudinous exactions of covetousness and wrong, its industry revived and augmented in productiveness a hundred fold, person and property secure, from the improvement of individual, domestic and social morals, and the uniform administration of equitable law ;—I found India lying prostrate beneath the yoke of blinding ignorance and brutifying superstition ; I left her joyfully recovered from the double yoke—revivified by the kindling beams of fairest science, and the revelations of Heaven's own illumining Truth ;—I found India, the chosen habitation of the most horrid cruelties that ever polluted the earth, or disgraced the family of man ; I left her as the most favoured domain and dwelling place of righteousness, benevolence and peace :—

“ Be these thy trophies, Queen of many isles !
 On these high heaven shall shed indulgent smiles.
 First by thy guardian voice to India led,
 Shall truth divine her tearless victories spread ;
 Wide and more wide the heaven-born light shall stream,
 New realms from thee shall catch the blissful theme,
 Unwonted warmth the softened savage feel,
 Strange chiefs admire, and turban'd warriors kneel,
 The prostrate east submit her jewell'd pride,
 And swarthy kings adore the Crucified.
 Yes, it shall come ! Ev'n now my eyes behold,
 In distant view, the wish'd for age unfold.
 Lo, o'er the shadowy days that roll between,
 A wand'ring gleam foretells th' ascending scene !
 Oh, doom'd victorious from thy wounds to rise,
 Dejected India, lift thy downcast eyes,
 And mark the hour, whose faithful steps for thee,
 Through Time's press'd ranks bring on the Jubilee !”

- ART. II.—1. *Papers on subjects connected with the duties of the Corps of Royal Engineers. Vol. II., London 1838. (On Hurricanes, by Lieut. Col. Reid, R. E.)*
2. *An attempt to develop the LAW OF STORMS by means of facts, arranged according to place and time; and hence to point out a cause for the variable winds, with the view to practical use in Navigation, illustrated by charts and woodcuts. Second edition, with additions. By Lieut. Colonel W. Reid, C. B., F. R. S. (of the Royal Engineers.) London 1841.*
3. *An Enquiry into the nature and course of Storms in the Indian Ocean, south of the Equator, with a view of discovering their origin, extent, rotatory character, rate and direction of progression, barometric depression, and other concomitant phenomena: for the practical purpose of enabling ships to ascertain the proximity and relative position of hurricanes; with suggestions on the means of avoiding them. By Alexander Thom, Surgeon 86th, (Royal County Down) Regt. London 1845.*
4. *Journal of the Asiatic Society, (Ten Memoirs on Storms, by Capt. Piddington.)*
5. *The Horn-Book of Storms for the Indian and China Seas. By Henry Piddington, Sub-Secretary to the Asiatic Society, and Curator of the Museum of Economic Geology of India. Calcutta 1844.*

STORMS AND HURRICANES! Surely we “ought to consider with ourselves; to bring in storms and hurricanes among our readers, is a most dreadful thing; for there is not a more dreadful wild-fowl than your hurricane living, and we ought to look to it.” We must therefore, we opine, “write us a prologue, saying thus, or to the same defect, ladies or fair ladies, we would wish you, or we would request you, or we would entreat you, not to fear, not to tremble;—our life for yours. If you think we come hither as a hurricane, it were pity of our life.” Such is a Shaksperian version of a scene that was, or might have been, enacted in our deliberative Council. But seriously; although undoubtedly there be nothing more terrific to the imagination than the “war of elements,” there is yet one thing which, to our thinking, is more fearful in the endurance, more horrid in the remembrance, and the recurrence of which will be more earnestly deprecated by those who have once experienced both; and that is a dead and long-continued calm.

One, accordingly, who was no stranger to the mechanism of human feelings and affections and passions, when he would depict to us the full unmitigated horrors of the sea, never dreamt of setting before us the lightning's flash and the thunder's roar, masts in splinters and sails in ribands, "waves mountain high," and troughs deep as yawning caverns. He knew well that in the midst of the elemental strife there is earnest and intense excitement, and that wherever there is excitement, there is life,—troubled, tossed, agonized life if you will,—but still active, hopeful life. Coleridge could have delineated the storm, as Virgil and Falconer and a host of others had done before him, and as an inferior "artist" would certainly have done in carrying out the design of the *Ancient Mariner*; but no delineation of such a scene could have come within reach of the concentrated horror of these lines, which once read, can never be rooted out of the memory:—

Down dropt the breeze, the sails dropt down,
 'Twas sad as sad could be;
 And we did speak only to break
 The silence of the sea.

All in a hot and copper sky
 The bloody sun, at noon,
 Right up above the mast did stand,
 No bigger than the moon.

Day after day, day after day
 We stuck, nor breath nor motion;
 As idle as a painted ship
 Upon a painted ocean.

Water, water every where,
 And all the boards did shrink:
 Water, water every where,
 Nor any drop to drink.

The very deep did rot; Alas!
 That ever this should be;
 Yea slimy things did crawl with legs
 Upon the slimy sea.

About, about, in reel and rout,
 The death-fires danced at night;
 The water, like a witch's oils,
 Burnt green, and blue and white.

* * * * *
 And every tongue, through utter drought
 Was withered at the root:
 We could not speak, no more than if
 We had been choked with soot.
 * * * * *

Then passed a weary time. Each throat
 Was parched, and glazed each eye.
 A weary time ! a weary time !
 How glazed each weary eye !

But if there be, as we hold there is, in the very nature of our mental constitution, a ground of preference of the storm to the calm, this preference is greatly enhanced, by the important truth involved in the title of one of the works now under review ;—THE LAW OF STORMS. This title is no vain assumption ; for it is a plain fact that those laws which have been prescribed to the hurricane by Him who “walketh on the wings of the wind,” have at last been discovered by men ; and that we have now the prospect of being able to render in all cases comparatively harmless, and in many even useful, that which has so often made “the timid shriek and the brave stand still,” and has consigned so many thousands of our fellows to their last resting-place in the mighty deep, “unknelled, unconfined and unknown.”

The history of philosophy during the last two centuries has been a continual comment upon the dicta on which Lord Bacon laid the foundation of newly organized science, *that nature is to be overcome only by obeying her*, and that *that which is in contemplation a cause, becomes in practice a rule*. We say not that Bacon was the first to make such discoveries as these. Indeed we know not that there ever was a time when any man was ignorant of the fact that nature could be made his servant just so far as he would be hers, and that his purposes could be effected only in accordance with her methods. No man, we suppose, ever thought of floating himself over a river by laying hold of a mass of lead or iron. The σχολαστικος who is represented as having laid hold of the anchor in a shipwreck is an object of ridicule to every school-boy. But while Bacon did not *discover* the principle on which he has reared the sublime structure of his *Magna Instauratio*, he is fairly entitled to the scarcely inferior credit of having been the first to direct the attention of mankind to it as *the one principle* which is to be the director and guide of all their researches and all their operations. It is to a faithful abidance by this principle that we owe those great discoveries which adorn and bless our age. Nature had for centuries employed the power of heat in causing the sudden and violent expansion of certain substances ; and had, by means of the mighty power thence accruing, overwhelmed cities, and even shaken the foundations of the everlasting hills. As dutiful scholars we obeyed her as our teacher ; we learned the lesson from her ; we became

possessed of her secret; by obedience we conquered her; and now that same power is subject to our control. It conveys ourselves and our goods over land and sea, raises the mineral treasures from the depths of the earth, and aids us in all our operations, from the most ordinary of our daily domestic avocations, up, (or shall we say down?) to the greatest of our national undertakings. This same Nature had a little page, a dapper sprite was he and a nimble; from the beginning of the world he had been employed as her messenger in all matters that required more than winged speed. His name was *lightning* then. We cast an eye of covetousness on this little slave. We obeyed the mistress to her subjugation, and the slave also was transferred to us. He wears our livery now; and speeds along his wiry path, bearing our messages of information and enquiry and congratulation. We have given him the name of *Electricity*.

It is very worthy of observation that one of the first subjects to which Lord Bacon applied his newly fabricated instrument of investigation seems to have been *the wind*. We are not aware of the date of the composition of the *Historia Ventorum*; but in the collective editions of his works it is only separated from the *Novum Organum* by one short tract. We know not how we can more properly introduce our subject, (for we must acknowledge that we have been but trifling hitherto, and have not introduced it yet), than by transcribing the opening paragraph of this work, in which he sets forth the importance of the subject, and the difficulties of the investigation.

“Venti humanæ genti alas addiderunt. Eorum enim dono
 ‘feruntur homines et volant; non per aërem certe, sed per
 ‘maria; atque ingens patet janua commercii, et fit mundus
 ‘pervius. Terræ autem (quæ gentis humanæ sedes est et
 ‘domicilium) scopæ sunt; camque, atque simul aërem ipsum,
 ‘everrunt et mundant. Attamen et mare infamant, alioqui
 ‘tranquillum et innoxium; neque alias sine maleficio sunt.
 ‘Motum, absque opera humana, cient magnum et vehementem;
 ‘unde et ad navigandum et ad molendum, velut operarii, con-
 ‘ducti sunt: et ad multo plura adhiberi possunt, si humana non
 ‘cesset diligentia. Natura ipsorum inter secreta et abdita reponi
 ‘solet: nec mirum, cum nec aëris natura et potestas cognita
 ‘quoquo modo sit, cui famulantur ac parasitantur venti, ut
 ‘(apud poetas) Acolus Junoni. Primariæ creaturæ non sunt,
 ‘nec ex operibus sex dierum: quemadmodum nec reliqua
 ‘meteora quoad actum, sed post-nati ex ordine creationis.”*

* The winds have added wings to the human race. For by their favor men are borne along and fly; not indeed through the air, but over the seas; and the great

We cannot but regard it as also in the highest degree worthy of remark, that Bacon, in a sentence, lays down for enquiry the very question whose investigation has led, after the lapse of more than two centuries, to the discovery of that law by which a great and important class of the winds, (*that class whose province it is, maria infamare*) is regulated.—“Cum progressus sit semper a termino, de loco primi ortus, et tanquam fontibus alicujus venti, quantum fieri potest, diligenter inquirito. Siquidem videntur venti famæ similes. Nam licet tumultuentur et percurrant, tamen caput inter nubila condunt. Item de progressu ipso; exempli gratia, si Boreas vehemens qui flaverit Eboraci ad talem diem aut horam, flaverit Londini, biduo post.”* This question seems to comprise the germ of the whole subject; and however it might be answered in regard to the ordinary land-winds that blow at York and London, it is clearly and decidedly shewn with respect to that particular class of winds called hurricanes, that they do not progress in a direct line, but with a rapid motion of rotation, combined with a comparatively slow motion of translation. In fact the motion of the air in such a storm seems to differ little from that of a common spinning-top.

Ceu quondam torto volitans sub verbere turbo
 Quem pueri magno in gyro vacua atria circum
 Intenti ludo exercent. Ille actus habena
 Curvatis fertur spatibus; stupet inscia turba
 Impubesque manus, mirata volubile buxum :
 Dant animos plagæ.†

gate of commerce is opened, and a highway is established over the world. They are further the cleansers (*ad. lit.*, the besoms) of the earth, (which is the abode and house of the human family,) and they sweep and cleanse it, and at the same time the air itself. Yet they produce evil effects on the sea, which were else calm and innoxious. Nor are they in other respects harmless. They excite great and violent motion, without any labor of man; hence they are engaged as our workmen, both for propelling our ships and turning our mills; and they may yet by the care of man, be employed in many other works. Their nature is generally considered to be among the secret and hidden things: and no wonder, since the nature and power of the air, whose servants and attendants the winds are, (as according to the poets Æolus was of Juno) are by no means ascertained. They are not primary creatures, nor of the work of the six days, as neither are other meteors as regards their action; but they are derived from the order of creation.

* Since motion always begins from a terminus, let diligent enquiry be made, so far as is possible, respecting the place of first origin, and as it were the fountain, of any wind. For indeed the winds seem to be like rumor. Like her they rage and run, but like her they hide their heads in the clouds. Also regarding the progress of the winds; as, for example, whether a strong north wind which blows at a certain day and hour at York, blow two days after at London.

† And as young striplings whip the top for sport
 On the smooth pavement of an empty court,
 The wooden engine flies and whirls about,
 Admired, with clamours of the beardless rout;
 They lash aloud, each other they provoke,
 And lend their little souls to every stroke.—*Dryden*.

In one important respect however the motion of the hurricane will differ from that of the top. The latter, being a compact and solid body, moves *en masse*, around its axis; consequently while the axis itself is at rest, every point is in more or less rapid motion in proportion to its distance from the centre, so that the extreme circumference moves most rapidly of all. The air on the other hand being a fluid, it is evident that if any portion of it be put into rapid rotation, the centrifugal force will cause the moving portion to fly off from the axis. This still retaining its circular motion, will by friction put into motion the surrounding air, but will by the same means lose a portion of its own motion, so that the moving mass will be constantly enlarging, but the rate of the motion of the external portion will be less than that of the internal. There will, as in the case of the spinning-top, be a place of rest; (theoretically a point, but practically a space of greater or less area) in the very centre; but around that the motion will be more violent near the centre than towards the extremities of the radii.

The theory of the rotatory, combined with the progressive, motion of this class of storms, is not new; but till a few years ago it existed rather in the form of a conjecture or hypothesis than in that of a theory established by extensive induction. It seems to have been Mr. Redfield, of New York, that first gave it a definite form; and we regret that we have not been able to include his various works in the list at the head of this article. Col. Reid is entitled to the greatest possible credit for the untiring assiduity with which he has prosecuted the investigation, by means of which he has established beyond a doubt the prevalence of the law. Mr. Thom has done good service by applying the key furnished by Col. Reid to the explanation of the hurricanes that occur with such frequency and with such disastrous effects in and around the Mauritius. And Mr. Piddington has well earned the best thanks of the community by the indefatigable industry and skill with which he has investigated the course of a vast number of storms in the Indian seas. But we must claim for our townsman a higher praise than that of having merely followed in the wake of Col. Reid. Being, so far as we know, the first practical sailor who has taken up with zeal the investigation of the subject, he has treated it in a far more practical manner than either of the other writers whose works are before us; and has done more than either of them towards rendering the theory of immediate use to the navigator.

It would be very difficult with charts and diagrams, and we

fear quite impossible without them, to give our readers a clear idea of the analytical process by which the investigations which have led to the conclusion we have stated have been conducted. It will be much easier, and we believe much better for our purpose, to adopt the synthetic method, and to shew what must be the nature of the phenomena, provided the law obtain; and then every one will be able to understand, from the connexion thus established between the law and the phenomena, how the former may be inferred by inductive analysis from the latter.

Let us then, to avoid complication, proceed step by step, and in the first instance leave out of view altogether the progressive motion, or, as we have already called it, the motion of translation; and let us conceive a stationary whirlwind. Its motion, with the exception that we have already pointed out, will be analogous to that of a spinning-top in the state in which, so far as our recollection of our school-boy days serves us, we were accustomed to say that it was "asleep." In this case it will appear that there ought to be in the very centre of the vortex a point of perfect repose. Now supposing the wind to revolve in the direction of E. N. W. S., or in the opposite direction to that of the hands of a watch, it is clear that at the different points within the range of the whirlwind, the following will be the direction of the wind:—

At every point in a line drawn from the centre to the North, there will be an East wind.

"	"	"	N. E.	"	S. E.
"	"	"	E.	"	S.
"	"	"	S. E.	"	S. W.
"	"	"	S.	"	W.
"	"	"	S. W.	"	N. W.
"	"	"	W.	"	N.
"	"	"	N. W.	"	N. E.

This depends upon the simple property of the circle, that its tangent at any point is at right angles to the line joining that point and the centre. Thus far then all is perfectly clear.

Let us next introduce the element of progressive motion, and we shall render the matter as simple as we possibly can. We shall suppose that the storm moves in a straight line from East to West. In this case it will appear, that an object remaining stationary will, as the storm passes over it, at different times during its continuance, be differently situated with respect to the centre, and will consequently experience different winds. More particularly, it will appear that an object situated due West from the centre will first of all be assailed by a North wind, which will constantly increase in violence, retaining its direction unchanged, until the centre of the storm comes over the object, when there will suddenly

be a dead calm. After this has continued for a longer or shorter time, the wind will spring up with great violence from the south, and its direction will remain unchanged, while its violence gradually abates, until the storm has passed quite over. An object to the North West of the centre will first of all be struck by the storm in the form of a North East wind, which will gradually encrease in violence, and at the same time decline towards the South, until the centre of the storm be due South of the object, when the wind will be right East. It will then gradually moderate, still southing in its direction, until, when the storm is passing off, it will blow from the South East. A body due North of the centre at the commencement will experience only half of the storm, and will have an East wind at first, which will gradually decline towards the South, until it will pass off as a South East wind, if the object be just mid-way between the centre and the extremity of the storm, with more southing if it be nearer the centre, and less if it be nearer the extremity. An object to the North East of the centre at the commencement will have the storm begin at South East, and become more and more southerly. Last of all, an object to the East of the centre at the commencement will have a steady South wind throughout the continuance of the storm. Objects in the intermediate radii of the hurricane will have intermediate winds; and the experience in the other semicircle, or that to the South of the centre, will be just the reverse of that which we have described as appertaining to the northern semicircle.

Thus far the phenomena are stated by Col. Reid and the other writers whose works are under review. They are in effect those from which the law or theory has been deduced; and in stating them we have only endeavoured to translate their language into that of non-professional men, and to compensate for the lack of diagrams by somewhat more lengthened description. We suspect however that there ought to be another class of phenomena observable, which seems to have escaped their notice. If the whirlwind indeed were propagated progressively like a wave, by mere excitation, without any local conveyance of the air in its progressive motion, then the view already given would be complete. But if, (as we cannot doubt is the fact) there is an actual conveyance of the same air from one point to another in the line of the storm's course, then it will appear that another element, which may be of considerable importance, will be introduced into the case. Every one now knows, or ought to know, that the motion of an ordinary wave is one of mere undulation, and not at all of translation

or conveyance; that is to say, that the water is merely raised and depressed alternately, but that the same water which constitutes one wave does not constitute that which appears next in advance of it, any appearance to the contrary being referable only to optical deception. But we have not heard of its being supposed, nor can we conceive any reason whatsoever for supposing, that there is any thing analogous to this in the motion of the wind in a storm. On the contrary we see no reason to doubt, that as in the rotatory motion of the storm there is unquestionably an actual transference of the air, and which is indeed the essential element of the very definition of wind, so in the progression of the storm there is an actual and real transference of the air, each particle driving on that in advance of it, and occupying its place for an instant, until it in its turn is displaced and driven on by the next. In fact, while we have spoken, for the sake of convenience, of the motion of rotation and that of progression as two separate and distinct motions, there can be no doubt that what actually occurs in nature is a single motion compounded of these two elements. We may regard it as certain that a particle of air does not describe a circle round a fixed centre, and then proceed *per saltum* into the circumference of another circle to be described around another fixed centre; but that in reality it describes a figure of which any small portion may, without material error, be regarded as a portion of a circle, but which is strictly speaking a spiral or trochoid. If then it be so that every particle of air is not only at every instant revolving around the centre of the hurricane, but at every instant also advancing in the line of the hurricane's course, it will follow that this motion will constitute a wind in the direction of the storm's course, which will modify that which is due to the rotation, rendering it more violent when it coincides with it, and less violent when it opposes it, and modifying both its direction and intensity, according to the ordinary principle of the composition of forces, when it crosses it at any angle.

Thus in the case we have supposed, of a storm rotating in the direction E. N. W. S., and progressing westward, we should expect to find that the winds would all be somewhat more easterly than we have hitherto supposed. Thus at a place in the E. and W. diameter of the storm, we should expect that the wind would not be exactly from the North in the one half of the storm and from the South in the other, but that it would be perhaps N. b. E. and S. b. E.

It is evident that this will be of considerable importance practically in determining the position of the centre at any given

time, which is one of the great problems for the solution of which the law is available. It is clear that it should also follow from this view of the matter, that the wind ought to be more violent in the one-half of the circle than in the other. In the case supposed, for example, all the winds produced by the rotation have in their direction an easterly element in the northern semicircle, and a westerly in the southern, while along the east-and-west diameter, they are purely North and South. Now the wind produced by the progression of the storm being, in the case supposed, from the East, it must coincide with the easterly element of those produced by the rotation, and oppose the westerly element so produced. It must therefore encrease the intensity of all the winds in the northern semicircle, and diminish that of those in the southern.

We cannot doubt that this effect is real; but it may be, and probably is, very small in amount, because of the slowness of the progression as compared with the rotation. Mr. Piddington however gives an instance in which the progressive motion of a hurricane is reported to have been as rapid as thirty-nine miles per hour, although he states that this is so far beyond the average rate, that we suspect there may have been some mistake. Mr. Thom again states, that the common opinion as to the rate of the rotatory motion is that it is about 100 miles per hour, but this he regards as far too low an estimate. We must admit, therefore, that these numbers are of little value; since those who give them both protest that they err on that side which is most favorable to our argument. If, however, we suppose for a moment that they may be correct, and that a hurricane may have a rotatory motion not exceeding 100 miles an hour, and a progressive motion not short of thirty-nine miles in the same time, then it will appear that the latter must very materially modify the effects due to the former, encreasing the violence of the hurricane in one semicircle and diminishing it in the other, and altering the direction of the winds in both. But if, instead of supposing the velocity of the progressive motion to be four-tenths of that of the rotatory, we suppose it only two-tenths, or one-fifth, we shall still have a very considerable force, sufficient, as we should suppose, to render the difference in the two semicircles fully perceptible.

But be this as it may, the facts collected with amazing diligence by Col. Reid, Mr. Thom, and Captain Piddington, (and as we learn from the frequent references to his labours, by Mr. Redfield) fully establish the law, that great storms or hurricanes always combine a rotatory with a progressive

motion. This law is thus briefly stated by Captain Piddington :—

“The present state of our knowledge shews, that, for the West Indies, the Bay of Bengal, China Sea, and the Southern Indian Ocean, the wind in a hurricane has two motions, the one a turning or veering round upon a centre, and the other a straight or curved motion forwards ; so that like a great whirlwind it is both turning round, and as it were, rolling forward at the same time. It appears also, that it turns, when it occurs on the north side of the equator, from the east, or the right hand, by the north, towards the west, or *contrary* to the hands of a watch ; and in the southern hemisphere, that its motion is the other way, or *with* the hands of a watch ; being thus, as expressed by Professor Dove of Berlin, S. E. N. W. for the northern hemisphere and N. E. S. W. for the southern hemisphere, if we begin at the right hand, or east side of the circles.”

The course of storms in their progressive motions is always in a westerly direction, and we think we find from the statements of Capt. Piddington, and Mr. Thom, that they manifest a tendency to recede from the equator, the prevailing courses in the northern hemisphere having a northward element, and those in the southern a southward element combined with the common westward element. There is not however any thing more than an approach to uniformity on this point. In regard to those in the Bay of Bengal, Capt. Piddington has found that “from E. S. E. to W. N. W. will be found an average track,” nor does he mention any whose course made a greater angle to the southward with their parallel of latitude than a single point, the course that has the greatest degree of southing being in a line from E. b. N. to W. b. S. In the China sea, however, he states that in September and November a frequent course is to the south westward.

It is of the greatest possible importance for the practical purposes of navigation that the prevailing tracks of storms should be determined with the utmost possible precision. The navigator can at once determine, from the phenomena around him, what is the direction of the rotation of a storm in which he has the misfortune to be involved ; but he has no means of determining with equal accuracy the course in which it is progressing. He may indeed see in some cases the direction in which it approaches him ; but this can never give more than a vague approach to accuracy. For the rest he must be left to the valuation of probabilities ; and these, it appears, may be trusted with little danger in the Bay of Bengal, and

to a considerable extent also in the Indian ocean. But so great is the importance of the subject that no opportunity should be lost of examining the course of every storm that occurs, and every voice should be listened to that may by any chance "prate of its whereabouts."

We have already alluded to the rate of progression of storms, which is also a question of the greatest possible moment. "As far as our present knowledge extends," (says Captain Piddington,) "it would appear that the rates at which the storms move onwards on their tracks vary much, being by tolerably accurate data,

"In the Bay of Bengal from 3 to 39* miles per hour.

"In the China Sea " 7 " 24 " " "

There would be no great difficulty in determining this question with mathematical accuracy, provided we had a sufficient number of observations made on each individual storm. But as we cannot always have a ship just in every place where we should like one to be on the occurrence of a storm, it is possible, we think, that the rates are not yet fully determined. One determination given by Mr. Thom seems to us of a very satisfactory kind, but as it was made on land, it is not impossible that its result may not be equally applicable to the course of the storm over the open sea. As it casts light on another point of much interest and importance, viz. the extent of the space of central repose, we shall extract it in full; observing only that it is fully substantiated by a table:—

"It appears that at Port Louis, about 4 P. M.† on the 10th (April 1840) the S. E. part of the gale had begun to moderate, and by 5 A. M. there was a dead calm, which lasted till 9 A. M., when the gale recommenced from the N. E. to the N. W. and by 10 A. M. the wind was blowing a perfect tempest. At Somillac, twenty-one miles to the Southward, the S. E. storm was at its height and lasted till 10 A. M. The calm only set in at Somillac, about four or five hours after its appearance at Port Louis, and continued from 10 A. M. till 2 P. M. as we have described, at the very time when the N. W. part of the storm was raging at the latter place in its full strength, and throwing the vessels in the harbour on shore. Hence it may be inferred that the diameter of the calm extended from one place to the other; and as its

* "This high rate of thirty-nine miles an hour, however, occurs but in one case: from 3 to 15 may be taken as the more usual limit."

† So in the text; but from what follows, as well as from the table, it appears that it is a misprint for A. M.

‘ Northern margin, or after part, had left Port Louis, its interior edge commenced passing over Somillac; and being four hours in passing over the distance in question, it may be fairly computed that its motion was not more than four or five miles an hour.”

“ Of course it is not possible to define the total cessation of the gale to a few minutes, nor it is likely that the exact centre of the calm passed over either place; for in conformity with its ordinary course, it most likely passed between them, and thus, little nicety in the results can be arrived at. Still, the fact of a four hour’s calm at one place, ending almost to a moment as it commenced at another, twenty-one miles distant, must be received, in connexion with similar phenomena in other storms, as a distinctive feature of rotatory gales. In the present case it also conveys something like an approach to accuracy in the rate of daily progression of a storm in Lat. 20° S. and of its direction to the Southward. Its slow progress, after passing the island, is confirmed by notes from the log of a vessel to the S. W. of it at the time.”

It would lead us far beyond our limits were we to attempt any explication of the theories assigned by different writers of the causes which go to the production of these rotatory gales. Those who take an interest in philosophical meteorology may be referred to the work of Mr. Thom, who alone of all the writers before us, undertakes the task of reasoning as to their causes. In our estimation he treats the subject well, as knowing the great difficulty that attaches to all enquiries of this kind, and as imbued in no inconsiderable degree with the true spirit of the Baconian philosophy.

More in accordance with our present purpose it is to direct the attention of our readers to the importance of severally lending their aid to the perfecting of the accumulation of knowledge in regard to the winds. If one gentleman at each station in India would take the trouble to record observations, which can be made with very little trouble and no expense, an amount of information would be soon accumulated which could not fail to be useful. On this subject we cannot do better than submit a long extract from an excellent paper of practical instructions as to the making and recording of meteorological observations, drawn up by Sir J. F. W. Herschel for the ‘ South African Literary and Philosophical Institution,’ and published amongst the Professional Papers of the Royal Engineers:—

“ The great importance of possessing an exact and carefully registered

account of the variations of the barometer, thermometer, and other meteorological instruments, and of the winds and weather, throughout that extensive region of the southern hemisphere, which is either included within the boundaries of this colony,* or readily accessible from it, has determined the South African Literary and Philosophical Institution to request the assistance of its correspondents, and of all who may have leisure and inclination for observations of the kind, towards the gradual accumulation of a continued and extensive series of Meteorological Journals, and towards carrying into effect a concerted plan of contemporaneous observations, on stated days, from which it is conceived that much advantage will be derived. The institution therefore solicits the attention of its correspondents, and of the lovers of knowledge generally, to this object; and earnestly requests their co-operation in making, arranging, and forwarding to its secretary, resident in Cape Town, observations of the nature, and so far as practicable, according to the plan of those hereafter detailed. Such observations alone can furnish the materials necessary for an accurate and scientific inquiry into the laws of *climate*, regarded as an object of local interest, and are the only data through which (taken in conjunction with the known laws of physics) the more general relations of meteorology can be successfully investigated.

It can scarcely be necessary to insist on the practical importance of this science to the agriculturist, to the navigator, and indeed in every branch of human affairs, or to dilate on the benefits which must accrue to mankind in general, from any successful attempts to subject to reasonable and well-grounded prediction, the irregular and seemingly capricious course of the seasons and the winds; or on the advantages, purely scientific, which must arise from a systematic development of laws, exemplified on the great scale in the periodical changes of the atmosphere, depending as they do on the agency of all the most influential elements, and embracing in their scope every branch of physical science. It is more to the present purpose to observe that, from what has already been done in this department of human knowledge, there is every reason to hope that no very distant period may put us in possession of the key to many of the most intricate meteorological phenomena, and enable us, though not to predict with certainty the state of the weather at any given time and place, yet at least to form something like a probable conjecture as to what will be the general course of the next ensuing season; perhaps to prepare us beforehand for violent and long continued gales of wind, great drought, or extraordinary wet seasons, &c., in the same manner that our knowledge of the nature and laws of the tides, although confessedly imperfect, and in great measure empirical, yet enables us to announce beforehand, unusually high or low tides. No doubt such predictions of the weather, although only of a probable nature, would be highly valuable and useful, and would materially influence the practice of men in all operations thereon depending. In illustration of this, we need only refer to the value set by many farmers and others on weather-tables founded on no sound principles, and ratified at best, if at all, only by a very partial and limited experience; or to choose a better instance, we may cite the importance which is now attached by every seaman to the indications of the barometer, and the numerous cases with which nautical records abound, of great mischief, or even shipwreck, avoided by timely attention to its warnings.

* Cape of Good Hope.

Meteorology, however, is one of the most complicated of all the physical sciences, and that in which it is necessary to spread our observations over the greatest extent of territory, and the greatest variety of local and geographical position. It is only by accumulating data from the most distant quarters, and by comparing the affections of the atmosphere at the same instant at different points, and at the same point at different moments, that it is possible to arrive at distinct and useful conclusions.

Hence arises the necessity of procuring regular series of observations made on a uniform system, and comparable with themselves and with each other, by observers at different stations, and of multiplying the points of observation as much as possible over the interior surface of continents, along sea coasts, in islands, and in the open ocean.

* * * * *

As these pages may fall into the hands of many who have been little in the habit of observing systematically, or who may not be in the possession of instruments of the nicest construction, attention to the following instructions is recommended as the means of rendering their observations most available for useful purposes, and comparable with each other, and with those intended to be referred to as standards.

General Recommendations and Precautions.

1. The continuity of observations ought to be interrupted as little as possible by changes in the adjustments of instruments, in their places, exposure, mode of fixing, or of reading off and registering them. Whenever any alteration in these or any other particulars takes place, especially such as are likely to affect the zero points, or otherwise to influence the mean results, it should be noticed in the register.

2. So far as possible registers should be complete; but if by unavoidable circumstance of absence, or from other causes, blanks occur, no attempt to fill them up by general recollection, or by the apparent course of the numbers before and after, should ever be made.

3. The observations should, if possible, all be made by one person; but as this may often be impracticable, the principal observer should take care to instruct one or more of his family how to do it, and should satisfy himself by many trials that they observe alike.

4. The entries in the register should be made at the time of observation, and the numbers entered should be those actually read off on the respective scales of each instrument, on no account applying to them previous to entry any sort of correction; as for instance, for zero, for temperature, capillarity, &c. All these and the like corrections, being matter of calculation and reasoning from other observations, are to be reserved till the final discussion of the series, and for separate determination and statement.

5. If copies be taken of the registers, they should be carefully compared with the originals by two persons, one reading aloud from the original and the other attending to the copy, and then exchanging parts, a process always advisable wherever great masses of figures are required to be correctly copied.

6. A copy so verified, or the original, (the latter being preferred) should be transmitted regularly (if possible monthly from places within the limits

of the colony) to the Secretary of the South African Literary and Philosophical Society, at Cape Town; which institution, on its part, will take care that such documents shall not merely be treasured as a dead letter in its archives, but shall be rendered available towards the improvement of meteorological knowledge, to the full extent of their actual scientific value.

7. The register of every instrument should be kept in parts of its own scale, as read off, no reduction of foreign measures or degrees to British being made: but it should of course be stated what scale is used in each instrument.

Of the Times of Observation and Registry.

Meteorological observations should be made and registered daily, at stated and regular hours. In fixing on those, some sacrifice of system must of necessity be made to the convenience and habits of the observer. The best hours in a scientific point of view would be those of sunrise, noon, sunset, and midnight, and those are the hours for which the registers are kept at the Royal Observatory. But these are not the hours adapted to general habits; and since the midnight observation is likely to be pretty generally neglected elsewhere than in an astronomical observatory, the following hours, for a division of the day into three parts, are proposed for what may be deemed the morning, after-noon and evening observations, viz:—

Morning, 8 A. M.—Afternoon, 2 P. M.—Evening, 6 P. M.

If however the habits or engagements of any one should not allow him to conform to those hours, rather than not observe he may select his own, specifying only what they are at the head of every page of his register, and adhering steadily to them in practice, only observing to make the extreme observations of each day equidistant from the middle one.

At the same time it will be borne in mind, that in what concerns the great meteorological questions on which the most interesting features of the subject depend, the night is quite as important as the day, and has hitherto been far too much neglected. To any one, therefore, who may feel disposed to enter more zealously into the subject, and will not consider some personal inconvenience ill undergone for the sake of affording data of a peculiarly valuable description, this committee would most earnestly recommend the adoption, in preference to all others, of the quaternary division of the twenty-four hours, as followed at the Royal Observatory above alluded to: and they leave it to the consideration of the council, whether the keeping and transmission of registers on this principle, might not advantageously be distinguished by some honorary reward, as that of a medal for instance, should the funds of the institution admit of it.

With a view, however, to the better determining the laws of the diurnal changes taking place in the atmosphere, and to the obtaining a knowledge of the correspondence of its movements and affections over great regions of the earth's surface, or even over the whole globe, the committee have resolved to recommend that four days in each year should henceforth be especially set apart by meteorologists in every part of the world, and devoted to a most scrupulous and accurate registry of the state of the barometer and thermometer, the direction and force of the wind, the quantity,

character, and distribution of clouds, and every other particular of weather throughout the whole twenty-four hours of those days, and the adjoining six hours of the days preceding and following.*

The days they have been induced to fix on and recommend for these observations, are the 21st of March, the 21st June, the 21st September, and the 21st December, being those, or immediately adjoining to those of the equinoxes and solstices, in which the solar influence is either stationary or in a state of most rapid variation : but should any one of those 21st days fall on Sunday, then it will be understood that the observations are to be deferred till the next day, the 22nd. The observation at each station should commence at 6 o'clock A. M. of the appointed days, and terminate at 6 o'clock P. M. of the days following, according to the usual reckoning of time at the place. During this interval, the barometer and thermometer should be read off and registered hourly, or at all events at intervals not more than two hours asunder, and the precise hour and minute of each reading should be especially noted.

For obvious reasons, however, the commencement of every hour should, if practicable, be chosen ; and every such series of observations should be accompanied by a notice of the means used to obtain the time, and when practicable, by some observation of an astronomical nature, by which the time can be independently ascertained within a minute or two.† As there is scarcely any class of observations by which meteorology can be more extensively and essentially promoted, it is hoped that, not only at every station of importance in this colony, but over the whole world, and on board ships in every part of the ocean, individuals will be found to co-operate in this inquiry. Every communication of such observations, addressed by channels as secure and as little expensive as possible to the secretary of this institution, will be considered as highly valuable."

And now in conclusion, we must state our conviction that the perils of navigating our eastern seas will be very much diminished by the diffusion among our navigators of a practical and scientific knowledge of the LAW OF STORMS. Already we believe that these perils have been very considerably lessened by improvements in the art and science of navigation, and by the great improvements that have been effected in our nautical instruments; and when an indoctrination into this theory becomes as essential a point of a nautical education as the boxing of the compass, we believe they

* This is necessary by reason of the want of coincidence of the day in different parts of the globe, arising from difference of longitude. In order to obtain a complete correspondence of observation for twenty-four successive hours over the whole globe, it must be taken into account, that opposite longitudes differ twelve hours in their reckoning of time. By the arrangement in the text the whole of the astronomical day (from noon to noon) is embraced in each series, and no observer is required to watch two nights in succession.

† For example, the first appearances and last disappearances of the sun's upper and lower border, above and below the sea horizon, if at sea or on the coast, or on land, the exact length of the shadow of a vertical object of determinate length on an horizontal level, at a precise moment of time (not too near noon), &c.

will be lessened much more. It is not enough that commanders of vessels should be possessed of such practical rules as those furnished by writers on the subject; they must have such an inwrought knowledge of the great law as will lead to almost intuitive action in every case that may occur. One thing that bodes well for future progress is the increased attention that is now paid to the barometer. We should regard this instrument, and its kindred sympiesometer, as the sheet anchor by which our navigators should hold fast in the hurricane latitudes; so far as we have learned, its indications have never been disregarded with impunity, nor judiciously attended to without advantage.

With all the advance of knowledge it were vain to expect that no accident will ever occur; but we cannot doubt that they will be greatly diminished in number. That our readers may form some idea of the number of shipwrecks that formerly occurred in the navigation of the Indian seas, we know not that we can do better than transcribe from the *Asiatic Annual Register* for 1800, the following list of casualties that befel the H. E. I. C.'s Ships from 1757 to 1800 inclusive, marking with an asterisk (*) those that were probably destroyed in hurricanes, and might probably have been saved had the law of storms been understood by their commanders.

1757	Stretham	Wrecked in Bengal River.
1758	Denham	Burnt in Bencoolen Road.
	Ajax	Captured by the French.
*	Griffin	Wrecked at the Island of Zelo.
*1759	Earl Temple	Do. to the Southward of the Parasells.
1761	Walpole	Captured by the French.
	Winchelsea	Wrecked in Bengal River.
	Elizabeth	Burnt at China.
1763	E. of Holderness	Wrecked, outwards, near the Downs.
*1764	Falmouth	Stranded on Saugor Bank.
	Albion	Wrecked, outwards, near the Downs.
1766	Ld. Clive	Wrecked, 9 miles S. of Bologne.
*	E. Chatham	Supposed to have foundered.
1768	Lord Holland	Wrecked coming out of Bengal River.
*1769	Verelst	Ditto near the Mauritius.
1771	Duke of Albany	Ditto in Bengal River.
1772	Lord Mansfield	Ditto ditto.
*	Huntingdon	Ditto off Johanna.
	Royal Captain	Ditto on the shoals of Pelawar.
*1775	Marquis of Rockingham ..	Ditto on the coast of Coromandel.
*1776	Valentine	Wrecked near St. Isle de Merchands.
1777	Osterly	Taken by the French.
	Colebrooke	Wrecked going into False Bay.
	Stafford	Ditto coming out of Bengal River.

1778	General Barker	Wrecked on the Coast of Holland.
	London	Run down by the Russel Man of War.
	Royal George	Taken by the fleets of France and Spain.
	Hillsborough	
	Mountstuart	
	Gathon	
	Godfrey	
*†1788	E. of Dartmouth	Wrecked on the Carnicobar.
*	Grosvenor	Ditto to the E. of the Cape.
1793	Blandford	Taken by the French.
	Fortitude	Ditto ditto.
*	E. of Hertford	Wrecked in Madras Roads.
	Hinchenbrook	Ditto in Bengal River.
	Major	Burnt at Culpee.
	D. of Atholl	Ditto in Madras Roads.
	Fairford	Ditto in Bombay Harbour.
1782	Duke of Kingston	Burnt off Ceylon.
1784	Halswell	Wrecked near Peverell Point.
1785	Mars	Ditto in Margate Roads.
1786	Hartwell	Ditto off Bonavista.
1788	Vansittart	Ditto in the Straits of Gaspar.
*1789	Foulis	Sailed for Madras for Bencoolen, and never heard of.
*1791	Winterton	
	Princess Royal	Wrecked off Madagascar.
1792	Pigot	Taken by the French.
	Pigot	Ditto ditto.
1791	Triton	Ditto ditto.
*1798	Ocean	Lost to the Eastward.
	Raymond	Taken by the French.
	Woodcot	Ditto ditto.
	Princess Amelia	Burnt off Cannanore.
1799	Henry Addington	Lost on Bridge Ledge.
	Ganges	Burnt.
	Earl Fitzwilliam	Ditto.
1800	Queen	Ditto.

To those twelve that we have marked as probably lost in consequence of their commanders' unacquaintance with the law of storms, might perhaps be added a portion of those wrecked in the Húgli. But independently of those, it must be evident that the proportion of wrecks to the whole number of ships afloat was very much greater in those days than now; and we believe we are not enthusiastic in the expectation, that our successors will be able to trace a still greater diminution at the end of the next half century.

We know not how it may strike others; but it does seem to us a matter of humble and hearty thanks to that God whose sublime attribute it is to "walk on the wings of the wind,"

† Date evidently a mis-print, probably 1779.

and who "maketh the winds his messengers, and the flaming lightning his minister," that he should have enabled so feeble a one of his creatures as man to attain such a power as he now possesses over so subtle and tremendous an element as the air; and we know not how we can better conclude this article than in the nervous words of our own Bacon, who declares the object of his labors to be,—“ut tandem (tanquam curatores probi et fideles) tradamus hominibus fortunas suas, emancipato intellectu, et facto tanquam majore; unde necesse est sequi emendationem status hominis, et ampliacionem potestatis ejus super naturam. Homo enim per lapsum et de statu innocentie decedit, et de regno in creaturas. Utraque autem res, etiam in hac vita, nonnulla ex parte reparari potest; prior per religionem et fidem, posterior per artes et scientias. Neque enim per maledictionem facta est creatura prorsus et ad extremum rebellis; sed in virtute illius diplomatis, *In sudore vultus comedes panem tuum*, per labores varios, (non per disputationes certe, aut per otiosas ceremonias magicas), tandem et aliqua ex parte ad panem homini præbendum, id est, ad usum vitæ humanæ, subigitur.*”

* That we may at length, as honest and faithful guardians, deliver over to men their possession, having first emancipated and enlarged their understandings: whence will necessarily follow an improvement of the condition of man and an encrease of his power over nature. For man by his fall lost both his state of innocence, and his dominion over the creatures. But both these losses can be in some degree repaired even in this life, the former by religion and faith, the latter by arts and sciences. For the creature was not by the curse made wholly and for ever rebellious; but in virtue of that commission,—*In the sweat of thy face thou shalt eat thy bread*,—is at length subdued in some measure by various labors, (not certainly by disputations or idle magical ceremonies) so as to afford bread to man, that is, to minister to the purposes of human life.

- ART. III.—1. *Hamilton's East India Gazeteer, Articles,—Ava, Tavoy, Ye, Tenasserim, and Moulmein.*
2. *Narrative of the Burmese war and Treaty of peace at Yandaboo in 1826, by Major Snodgrass, London, 1827.*
3. *Calcutta Christian Observer.—Vols. III, IV, V, and VI.—Papers on the Karens of Burmah.*
4. *The Calcutta Star, Englishman, and Hurkaru, and Friend of India, for 1845-6-7.—Various Articles on Moulmein and its affairs.*

THE Burmese War was terminated by a treaty of peace and amity, concluded on the 24th of February 1826, between the Honorable the East India Company and the king of Ava. This treaty commonly called that of Yandaboo, cedes by its 4th article “the conquered provinces of Ye, Tavoy, Mergui, and Tenasserim, with the islands and dependencies thereunto appertaining, taking the Salween River as the line of demarcation on that frontier.”

And here, at the outset, we may notice it as one proof, among many, of the comparatively small interest taken heretofore by the British public at home, in these Eastern regions, that, in the latest and most improved edition of that immense store-house of knowledge, the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Moulmein, the British capital of these ceded provinces, is *not even inserted at all!* In like manner, neither Mergui nor Ye find a place there. The only names thus honoured are Tenasserim and Tavoy; and of both, the notices are equally short, defective, unsatisfactory, and even inaccurate. Here, for example, is the whole account of *Tenasserim*—“A town and district of *the Burman Empire*. The district extends along the sea coast, from the 11th to the 14th degrees of north latitude. A *connected barrier of islands*, extending 135 miles from north to south, with a strait between them and the mainland, from fifteen to thirty miles broad, protects the west coast from the south-west monsoon. The capital of the province is of the same name. It was taken in 1759 from the Siamese, by Alompra, and was then large and populous; but is now almost a heap of ruins. Long. 98° 50' East; Lat. 11° 42' North.” The very fact of its not having been a district of the Burman empire for the last twenty years, but an integral portion of the British, is not so much as noted!

To supply such glaring deficiencies, by gleanings information

from every available source, oral or written, published or unpublished, and combining the whole into an orderly and readable statement, has been our chief design in the following article. On some points we have met with the most fearfully conflicting accounts—dogmatic assertion boldly confronting counter-assertion equally dogmatic. In such cases, it would have been infinitely more easy and more pleasant at once to cut the gordian knot rather than attempt to disentangle it. But such a process would have broken in upon the continuity of our statement, and rendered it altogether incomplete. We have preferred encountering the more arduous task; we have compared statement with statement; we have weighed, as far as we could, the evidences, external and internal, presented in favour of each; we have thus been enabled to arrive at some definite conclusion in our own mind; and that conclusion we shall endeavour to lay before the reader as briefly as possible, simply as *the result* of our own independent inquiries, without troubling him with the perplexities and contradictions of heated controversy.

The tract of country, which, by the treaty of Yandaboo, fell into the hands of the East India Company, extends from the point of junction of the Thoongeen River, with the Salween on the North, to the Pak Chan River on the South; that is from about $17^{\circ} 35'$ to 10° North Latitude; and from $97^{\circ} 30'$ to $99^{\circ} 30'$ East Longitude. It now bears the general name of the Tenasserim Provinces, and may be said to have a length of about 500 miles, and a breadth varying from 80 to 40 miles, according as the Sea Coast approaches or recedes from the range of mountains which forms the Eastern Boundary of the British territory. This chain of mountains, rich in tin ores and other valuable minerals, runs under different names from North to South; and, draining its eastern slopes into the Gulf of Siam, and its western slopes into the Indian ocean or bay of Bengal, forms a clear, well-defined boundary between the kingdom of Siam and the East India Company's possessions.

It may be doubted whether by retaining the Tenasserim Provinces the Government of India did not in reality strengthen the kingdom of Ava; for the latter, by this cession, was disencumbered of a long narrow strip of territory, which, productive to that power of little revenue, was always a source of anxiety from the distance of Tavoy and Mergui, and the difficulty of supporting such remote provinces against internal or external foes. The Tenasserim Provinces were, for a series of ages, the battle ground on which, according to the accidental circumstances which are ever in action in semi-barbarous states,

the armies of Pegu, Ava, and Siam reaped success or discomfiture. The result was necessarily inimical to this tract of country; and a less promising addition to the wide empire of British India could scarcely have been discovered than were the Tenasserim Provinces, when they became part of our eastern possessions. This, however, is not the place to enter upon a consideration of the motives which ultimately induced the Supreme Government of India to retain a territory ill-peopled, therefore unproductive, and consequently an additional burthen on our finances; but we may at once pass on to a few remarks upon the peculiar races which, thinly scattered over its plains and mountains, form its inhabitants.

The Talains form the larger portion of the population, and as their language has been entirely neglected by the numerous British functionaries employed in the Civil and Military administration of the provinces, it is impossible to take a very accurate view either of their religion, or of their social habits. Acquaintance with the religion of this people depends on the asserted fact, that their theological works are derived from the Burmese,—the Talain treatises being by some, and particularly by the Burmese, regarded as mere translations from the Burmese. The correctness of this assertion remains to be proved. There is, however, evidently but little difference between, Burmese and Talain Buddhism, and no very serious error can be incurred in drawing general deductions from those main features of the Buddhism, which both people profess, and in the main tenets of which they undoubtedly concur. Both are agreed in the statement, that Buddhism was introduced into the kingdoms of Ava and Pegu by emissaries from Ceylon: both have their religious works interspersed with Pali quotations, and refer with reverence to the land from which they received their creed. Leaving, therefore, the question open whether the independent sea-borne power of Pegu or the comparatively land-locked kingdom of Ava were most likely to have first received the missionaries of Buddhism, it may safely be taken for granted, from the absence of any marked schism between the two, that Burman and Talain Buddhism present no very material points of difference or of departure from each other: a little jealousy between the High Poongees, or priests, of the Burmans and Talains may be observed, but the jealousy has reference to temporal dignity and position, and does not appear hitherto to have produced schism.

A close resemblance may be remarked between the Brahm of the Hindus and the Buddha of the Burmese—the attributes of Buddha in his state of felicitous quiescence must be

utterly incomprehensible to any but a Brahman or Poongee metaphysician—the idea of infinite power in the periodical slumber of non-entity is certainly foreign to the Christian and European mind, and as inexplicable and unimaginable as are the fits of action in which Buddha, awaking from felicitous non-entity, assumes his operative and creative qualities and becomes incarnate as Gaudama.

If the attributes are similar, Gandama's doctrines are also in one respect analogous to those of the Vedas. The merit accruing from good works forms the basis of his system; and future rewards correspond in as infinite a ratio as there may be appreciable differences in the scale of good works.—Buddhism is therefore like Hinduism, a religion of self-righteousness. The parallel cannot, however, be further continued; for Buddhism differs from the Vedas with respect to the character of the future state of existence which it promises to its votaries between the close of the present life and final absorption in the Deity: moreover, Gaudama deals not in caste, and the future state, whether the soul be in any of the numerous heavens or equally numerous hells, is not supposed to be affected by having when on earth tenanted a body born of a particular race or class. The Ethics of Gaudama are consequently of a somewhat higher order than those of the Vedas, and are still further elevated above them from the circumstance of being free from that which is a main cause of error and confusion in the moral perceptions of right and wrong amongst Hindus, namely, the inculcation of a number of trivialities as necessary of observance, and the breach of them as involving an equal amount of guilt with the perpetration of the most serious crimes. Imperfect as Gaudama's moral system undoubtedly is, it must be acknowledged free from such gross sources of error. Unshackled by caste, and resting their hopes on individual merits, his followers are characterised by greater independence of conduct and a somewhat higher, less clouded ethical knowledge.

The worship of Gaudama is remarkably exempted from any of those cruel rites and sacrifices which render Hindu worship as loathsome to beholders as it is corrupting and degrading to the Hindus. There is no sacrifice of animal life, no self-inflicted torture, no mutilation of the person; well dressed and in orderly procession, Talains and Burmans proceed on particular occasions to their numerous Pagodas, bearing offerings of flowers, of fruits, of flags, of glittering umbrellas; and uttering their prayers and invocations, present their offerings on the small altars, or place them around and against the

Pagodas and image house; there is no shouting, no noise or tumult, but much that is gay, orderly and pleasing to the outward eye. At the full moon those who are strict in their religious observances pass a day and a night in fasting and prayer at the Pagodas, and may be seen counting their beads and muttering their prayers much in the manner of Romanists, numbering their *Pater Nosters*. It may strike the heart of a Christian heavily to see prayers offered up before the uncouth idols of Gaudama; yet, after having witnessed Hindu rites and festivals, there may be some consolation in the far more amiable features which the service of Gaudama assumes, and in the freedom of his followers from the debasing effects of impure rites and scenes of barbarous and revolting cruelties.

Another, and very important particular in which the Buddhist Religion is superior to Hinduism is, that its tenets are free from absurd restrictions as to the food. The Talain and Burman are under no rule but that of their own fancies and habits, with respect to eating and drinking, and the latitude they take, is, even to a European, matter of surprise. They are never at a loss; whatever the jungle, it is sure to afford them esculent vegetables in the form of wild roots, leaves of trees, and the like. Every description of animal is eaten by them, even to snakes, large maggots, frogs, and such other rarities, not excepting strips of rhinoceros. Unhampered by caste, fond of good living, and putting every thing under requisition with an ingenuity that would excite the admiration of a Ure or a Kitchener, their cuisine is very comprehensive. The sociability of eating and drinking in company is thoroughly well understood and enjoyed by them, and it aids in giving them a certain *bon hommie* much more English than Eastern.

The priesthood is of entirely different institution from that of the Hindus. Instead of a privileged class furnishing its members, any layman may turn Poongee, and *vice versâ*, a Poongee may lay aside his yellow cloth and re-enter upon a secular life. The priesthood is, therefore, thoroughly a portion of the people, and is intimately blended with them by origin, though separated from them by its rules. These, as is well known, are of a thoroughly ascetic character, having often been compared to the vows of monks and the ordinances of monasteries. Honored and respected as many Poongees are, there is no servile fear of them; no cringing submission on the part of the laity to their spiritual instructors. The extent of the honor and reverence in which a Poongee is held, is in general proportionate to his erudition, and to his character for strict-

ness in the observance of his inaugural vows. The sanctity of the office is not predominant over, or independent of, the sanctity of the person filling it: on the contrary, though Poongees, like monks, may figure in stories of intrigue, yet, like monks too, many of them have been revered.

Besides the spiritual instruction of adults, and the expounding to them the doctrines and ethics of Gaudama, the Poongees are entrusted with the system of national education; and it is in this respect that they act a most important part in the social system of the Burmans and Talains. Few villages are so small, or so poor, that they cannot afford to build a Kioung, that is, a suitable residence for one or more Poongees; large villages have more than one; towns have many; and very considerable sums are expended in these structures which are the pride both of villages and towns, and are held to be works, so meritorious as not only to confer much present celebrity but great future felicity and reward on their founders and endowers. Thither all boys and youths are sent to be taught reading and writing; the age at which boys are entered; the time they stay in the Kioungs; and the progress made in reading, writing, arithmetic, and the study of Buddhist Scriptures are very various: the effect, however, is, that although the scale of acquirements be in general low, very few Talains are unable to read and write Talain, and some few can in addition read and write Burmese. The result of the system is the general prevalence amongst the male population of a mere elementary degree of education; indeed, such is the state of education amongst the teachers, the Poongees, that but few of them are really capable of imparting other than a rudimentary knowledge; but, were their ability and attainments greater than they are, their pupils in consequence of the short time they for the most part attend the Kioungs could not be expected to make much progress in Buddhistical lore. The system of education is in some respects remarkable;—the boys remain at the Kioungs, and are wholly under the charge of the Poongees. The latter employ their scholars out of school hours in a variety of ways; the Kioung must be swept and kept clean; the grounds around need some care and labour; the Poongees when they sally forth of a morning on their eleemosynary promenade must have a long file of students, armed with capacious receiving vessels for holding the charitable donations of rice and other eatables which the lay community (chiefly the women) are liberal in bestowing, and which forms the day's subsistence of students and Poongees. In short the Kioung boys, combine with study, such assistance

as by their personal services they can render to their preceptors. Before break of day a chaunt is heard proceeding from the Kioungs; this is the opening prayer, the invocation to Gaudama, which the teacher leads, and in which all the students join. The chaunt is not devoid of solemnity, and is followed by one more rapid and recitative, of short sentences, with the time always well kept though the utterance is quick and voluble; this is the scale of consonants with their combinations, and strange as it may seem the effect of this peculiar chaunt is not unmusical. With these elementary recitatives the day commences;—sweeping, promenading, cooking, and a variety of minor operations succeed; then writing, reading and study are resumed and continued for a time. At sun-set the invocation chaunt again sounds, followed by what may be termed the alphabetical chaunt. If a person looks into a Kioung at this time he will probably find the Poongee preceptor seated; in front of him are the neophytes who have assumed the yellow or clerical cloth; beyond them are the younger students; all is order; the low voice of the preceptor leading is scarcely heard in the full chorus, in excellent time, of the whole assembly—one or two glimmering lamps shed a feeble light upon the group, upon the gilt cases containing the theological manuscripts of the Kioung, upon sundry marble and wooden images of Gaudama, and upon the dingy though frequently highly carved and ornamented roofs and sides of the wooden structure. Suddenly the chaunt ceases; the Poongees lie down in small chambers or the more private parts of the Kioung; neophytes and scholars stretch themselves out where they please or can, but a little clear of their preceptors; and all but the Kioung dogs, a noisy watchful set, are soon at rest. Such is the daily routine of a Talain Kioung.

The women have no education, but such as in solitary instances they accidentally acquire. The circumstance it will be seen does not prevent their taking a very prominent and active share in all business. To the Poongee, however, they are but little indebted for the influence and position they enjoy in society. Celibacy is one of the vows of a Poongee, and it is profanation to one of the sanctimonious fraternity to touch a female, even were it his own mother needing aid when in danger. Nevertheless, nothing delights a mother more than to see her son in the Neophyte's dress, except it be to see him take upon himself the vows and life of a Poongee: for, although their influence is not so great or pernicious as that of Brahmins, yet a well conducted Poongee acquires great power and authority, is an object of general respect and reverence during life;

and of pompous funeral obsequies when dead. Talain and Burmese women, though they may have little for which to feel grateful to Poongees, are highly indebted to the Talain and Burmese version of the law of Manu, the avowed foundation of the various law treatises. No stronger contrast can be imagined than that which exists between the state of woman on the west, and that of woman on the east side of the Bay of Bengal; woman in India, and woman on the Tennasserim Coast. True it is that Burmah and Pegu having escaped the yoke of Islam, the Mahommedan example of the close seclusion of women has not in either country had the opportunity of operating in the same pernicious manner as where Moslem conquest has introduced Moslem prejudice and feeling; and the fact must be borne in mind when the above comparison is instituted. Still, the main cause must be looked for in the clear, legally defined rights of women in Burmese and Talain law. That law admits an extreme facility as to Divorce, both on the part of husband and wife; a facility by no means as favourable to the morality of either as it is to the independence of the weaker sex; so long as ill treatment is a legitimate plea for seeking a Divorce, no woman need long remain under the roof of a harsh and tyrannical husband; and as the rights of property are, in all cases of Divorce from whatever cause, clearly defined and the whole not inequitable, woman is well defended in this essential particular, and her independence not compromised. Her position in society as compared with that in other eastern countries is therefore very remarkable; she enters her husband's house not as his slave but his helpmate; there is no seclusion behind a purdah, but open participation in all the pleasures and business of life; bonds, receipts, &c., bear her name as well as her husband's; both names appear on the village records connected with the tenure of land and on the Government revenue rolls. The wife is frequently more expert in the management of business than her spouse, and may be often found prosecuting suits before the Courts; in general the most careful and industrious of the two, the affairs of the household, even to the charge of the money and valuables, are usually in her hands; in a word, no class of females play a more prominent part in social life than the Burmese and Talain women. A custom, (indeed it may be termed a law, being enforced and regulated by specific rules) which probably first originated in the scanty population and the high value of labour has also tended to favor the condition of women. A newly married couple do not proceed to the husband's house, but to that of the father and mother of the

bride, and there they reside for a considerable period, from one to three years,—the son-in-law aiding the father of his wife in all his agricultural and domestic labours. The bride does not, therefore, at once pass from under the rule of her parents to be subject to the unchecked authority of her husband; parental authority and protection still exercise considerable influence over her, and also inevitably over her husband. The result is far from being always favorable to the happiness of the couple, but it is decidedly protective of the bride, inasmuch as parental affection will not easily brook the ill-treatment of a child, and is ever ready to support her in whatever custom and law concede as her rights.

Thus, in those matters which so much affect the character of a nation, namely, religion, education, and position of woman in the social system, the people are under far more favorable circumstances than are the Hindus or even the Mussulmans; and a corresponding effect has been produced upon the character of the nation, which is less eastern than that of any class of our Cis-Gangetic subjects.

In a country intersected by numerous rivers and their tributaries, and having extensive alluvial tracts of ground, well calculated with the aid of heavy periodical rains for the cultivation of rice, the inhabitants will naturally devote themselves to such culture, and to fishing. The streams will be the high roads, and the inhabitants will group themselves in such situations as are alike favorable for the superintendence of their agriculture, and for facility of water communication. To manage a canoe will be as essential an acquirement to man, and even to woman, as to know how to cut the rice, and cleanse it from its husk. The population will therefore be found planted on the river banks, and more inured to aquatic than to land travelling; regarding the rivers as their high roads and having all their habits moulded accordingly, distance will be measured by the number of tides, or parts of a tide, which a canoe takes in traversing it; and time, by the cooking of a pot of rice, or the smoking of a cigar if short intervals are under discussion, or the movement of the sun if longer ones are under consideration. Boat racing will be a national amusement, and a canoe be a normal idea of the people. Accordingly even the musical instruments of Burmans and Talains are some of them canoe-shaped, cattle are fed out of canoes and drink water out of canoe-shaped troughs, and sometimes drag canoe-shaped carts in which Poongees may be occasionally seen to embark on land. No where is the Burman more at home, more intelligent, more indefatigable than in a canoe; occasion-

ally singing an extempore song in the chorus of which all join in admirable time, a crew will pull for hours, apparently but little wearied and always good-natured. Here lies their forte; for on land they are soon fatigued, being, though possessed of muscular, well-made limbs, but sorry pedestrians; and tenacious of the rule of conduct that a man should never walk when he can go in a canoe.

Rice, the staple of their food, requires somewhat additional to relieve its insipidity. Napee, a sort of shrimp caviare, is the most common and cheapest adjunct, being made in large quantity throughout the provinces. Milk, usually in the east a favorite article of food, forms about the only thing to which the omnivorous Talains have a positive aversion; various reasons are assigned for this singular prejudice.

Smoking tobacco, in the form of cigars, is universal amongst men, women and children; and an unfinished cigar, or one not commenced, may be often seen carried in lieu of the ear-plug which this people deem ornamental.

Neither men, women, or children, are handsome; and the custom above alluded to of wearing large plugs in the lower flap of the ear does not improve the Tartar countenances of this ill-favored race. The men have their thighs tattooed as low as the knee, and much pain is endured in undergoing the operation; since the Chinese have settled in the provinces, and have introduced their favorite drug, opium is often administered, with the view of rendering the business of tattooing less painful; but no gentleman can escape this fantastic ornament which the ladies very wisely altogether eschew.

The houses are admirably adapted to the climate; timber being abundant, no masonry or earthwork is used, but stout posts being sunk into the ground, the floor of the house, usually of bamboo, is laid from five to seven feet above the level of the ground. According to the means of the individual the walls are of plank, of bamboo mat, or of common mat; and the roof is a timber frame-work, carrying a bamboo trellice bound on with rattan, and covered by a thatching of leaves of the dunnee (a salt water palm). Well raised above the damp of the soil in the rainy season, and from its refracted heat in the dry, the houses are cool, dry and healthy: much cannot be said for their cleanliness, still they present a more comfortable appearance than the huts of a Bengal population, and are far superior in salubrity.

From their interior may at times be heard musical sounds, which from their sweetness of tone will arrest the stranger; for both Talain and Burmese music is superior to that of

India, and some of their instruments, particularly a species of lute, considered the accomplishment of those of family and means, are capable of more than the native performers can produce from them. Their airs are pretty, though monotonous, and the accuracy of ear of the performers, when two or more play together, is at times truly remarkable. This, as before stated, is a characteristic of the people, and may be observed in all their occupations and amusements.

With the ally of music, dancing, both men and women are acquainted; it is, however, rather ceremonial, choral gesticulation, than what Europeans consider dancing, and may be seen to advantage on such festive occasions as when a Poonjee of noted sanctity dies. His body being embalmed, and a day fixed for his incremation, it is preceded by a month of practice on the part of bands of men and women dancing to their own choral singing. When the day arrives the coffin of the Poonjee, mounted on a high and gorgeously decorated car, is dragged to the selected spot, accompanied by a procession of these bands in gay attire: each party of fifty or more men, is usually in a particular costume intended to represent that of some foreign country; the ladies appear in their own costume covered with all the gold ornaments and jewellery they possess; now and then before a house, a group, or a person of importance, band after band stops and goes through a kind of ballet in admirable uniformity of time and gesture, the procession meanwhile moving on slowly. This continues until the car reaches the spot, when other rocket-impelled cars are launched at it, and the whole, holy Poonjee included, are consumed.

Again, when a person is very sick, superstition will sometimes originate a ball. Nats, that is fairies, are held in a strange mixture of fear and reverence by Talains, and are supposed to take a very active part in the domestic affairs of mankind. The Nat master or mistress, whichever it be who in a district has acquired by universal suffrage or has arrogated the fame of intimacy with the Nat gentry, is called and consulted, and sometimes prescribes a dance, in order to induce the good people to remove the disease. The remedy is expensive; the neighbours are invited, and a feast is given; the dance follows and is continued until the neighbours can dance no longer, when, it being presumed that the Nat ought to be satisfied and appeased, the dancers disperse. The skill of the Talain in gesture dancing is perhaps most conspicuous when, suddenly, part or nearly the whole of the crew of one of their long light very crank racing canoes spring up, and on their precarious craft,

which the slightest awkwardness or mistake upsets, dance shouting and flourishing their paddles. These canoes hold from forty to sixty men, and on such an occasion one bad ear and false gesticulation as to time might easily capsize a boat.

In another very favorite amusement of this people are combined their music, singing and dancing. A "Pwey" is a species of mask or mystery, such as the old English revels and the Romanist festivals of our ancestors often witnessed, the chief difference being in the subject of the Pwey and its usual duration; it is passionately loved by the Talains and Burmans. On various occasions those who can afford the expense, gratify themselves, their popularity, and their neighbours by hiring a set of actors and musicians, erecting a temporary shed for the performance, and notifying to their friends and neighbours when the exhibition is to commence. The throng is usually great on the appointed night; and the audience as attentive and interested as if the stage were of much greater pretension. These temporary Drurys and Covent-gardens are of extreme simplicity; a bunch of boughs stuck up in the centre forms the "scene;" three or four earthen basons on the top of sticks hold the oil and tow which enlightens the audience and actors; a large vessel of oil, with a wooden ladle, enables the actors occasionally to replenish the basons; the green-room is distinguished by a string of masques used by the actors, who put on and off their costume, whether of kings or devils, in a manner which must be very instructive to the people as to the toilet of such important personages; the musicians are grouped at the green room and form the point of entrance and exit of the actors; a certain space round the central boughs and lights is kept clear as the stage, and the audience sit and stand around this somewhat circumscribed area as they best can, some under but most outside of the shed;—a King, his Premier, a lovely Princess, an enamoured Prince, a Beloo or Devil, and the attendants of these several worthies are the standing personages. The plot may be easily conceived as to the mortals, but the roll which the Beloo plays, his tricks, the endeavours to catch him, his escapes and wonderful feats are not so easily imagined. He is a sort of mischief-loving, tricky Harlequin, and bamboozles king, prince, and attendants to his heart's content,—of course favoring the loving couple in the end at the expense of king, queen, and commons. There is much dancing, the dialogues being always followed by music and pantomimic action; much flourishing of swords; hunts after the Beloo round the bough, i. e. through imaginary forests; appearance and disappearance of personages to each other who remain

strangely visible to the audience; *bon mots* which produce rounds of laughter and applause from the amphitheatre of heads; love-making and sentimental talking; in short an interminable trash of comedy, tragedy, pantomime, singing, dancing, capering, and music, which lasts for four or five consecutive nights, and to which there appears no limit but the purse of the host, and the not easily satiated enjoyment of the audience. The whole exhibition is, however, exceedingly characteristic of the people,—love, war, and boat-songs are common amongst them; the sentiments and imagery of their songs are of course thoroughly Talain and Burmese, and a European may often be amused by what to him must appear the strange notions of beauty, feeling and heroism which they convey.

Such are the general habits of the bulk of the population of the Tenasserim provinces; a people inferior to the Hindus in agricultural skill and industry, but superior in general character, being more independent of spirit, less degraded by their religion and its superstitions, free from caste, from slavery to a load of trivial observances, and owing to the more favourable condition of woman and her rights, having a better social system; also, more advanced in the general diffusion of elementary education. Fond of amusement and idleness, and inhabiting a country, which, from its soil, climate, and streams, affords an abundance of food with the exaction of no great amount of labour, the people cannot be held as remarkable for their industry. Though fond of money they are not fond of toil, and as the price of labour is high from the scantiness of the population, a very little exertion suffices to enable a man to indulge in a protracted enjoyment of idleness; continuous exertion is therefore a rare quality amongst them.

Although not subject to the action of debasing rites and ceremonies such as those of the Hindus, a puerile superstition has a very strong-hold upon the minds of the Talains. The Nats receive much attention; they appear to parcel out the country into distinct jurisdictions and endowed with every variety of character, disposition, and occupation; they are the Dianas of the chase, and must be courted by the elephant-catcher and the game-killer; very influential with tigers, upon whose heads they ride, they can, when propitiated, shut the jaws of their steeds and render them of lamb-like innocence. Nats too have agricultural propensities, are not averse to meddling with horticultural pursuits, and can blight or favor a fruit season at pleasure; Nats are the only members of the faculty who can cope with cholera and small-pox, and who

without a diploma, thoroughly command the various ills which men are heirs to. Again, Nats are as domestic as cats, and those which have a turn for house-keeping exact a good deal of in-door consideration: they appear almost as touchy and treacherous as their feline rivals, and it is only with a salvo to the influence of the Nat that a man is master in his own house. There are Nats of the water as well as of the land, and go where one will, there the Nat is on the mind of the Talain. Still, Nats are not very ill-natured nor very greedy; a cocoa-nut, rags of red cloth, flowers, paper streamers, and the like, are the offerings which are esteemed propitiatory and gratifying, and being easily obtained, there is no very good reason why every Nat in the country should not retain its good humour. The Nats play a still more prominent part amongst a race, the helots of Burmah and Pegu, namely, the Karens.

This very curious and interesting people now occupy the various mountainous and difficult tracts of country throughout Burmah, Pegu, the Tenasserim coast, and parts of the Shan and Siamese countries. The Karens are a timid and oppressed people, speaking a language wholly different from both the Burmese and Talain, and are regarded by the nations amongst whom they are scattered as an inferior race. Long subjection has led them to form the same estimate of themselves, and to imagine that nature has doomed them to a subordinate condition. Their only resource from tyranny and oppression is the refuge of their loved mountains and forests, and to these they cling with a warm affection for the wild life, which, in the absence of a more manly spirit amongst them as a people, is the only one that can secure to them comparative liberty and the absence of oppression.

The Karens are Deists, and amongst them are traditions of the creation of man, his fall, the deluge, the subsequent peopling of the earth, and of the growth of idolatry amongst its inhabitants which appear to have a Mosaic origin. They are not idolaters, but have fallen away from the purity of the worship of one only God, and have sunk into a superstitious dread of Nats, and a system of endeavouring to secure their favor which borders closely on Nat worship. It would almost seem as if they considered that the Nats had full liberty from an incensed Deity to plague earth and its inhabitants. Nat houses, looking like children's play-things from the diminutive size, are constantly met with in the forests, and at the foot of some gigantic tree would be passed almost unheeded, but for the request that the traveller will not disturb the dwelling and the offerings of the Nat.

Their system of cultivation is suited to the nature of the country they occupy, and is therefore different from that of the Burmese and Talain who occupy the rich, well-watered alluvial plains. The Karen, having cut down a tract of jungle, fires it when the end of the dry weather facilitates the operation. He then plants his rice after the first fall of rain has moistened the earth, and enabled him without difficulty to make the small holes in which he plants his seed. He seldom takes more than two or three crops from the field he has cleared, but proceeds to take more virgin soil from the jungle and forest. When, in the course of this system, the fields are getting somewhat remote from a village, and the distance is felt to be inconvenient, the village is deserted and another built near to the new patches of cultivation; as the houses are entirely constructed of bamboo and posts cut in the jungle, material is always at hand, and a few days' labour is all that is requisite for the completion of a new village. In the course of years a deserted clearance is covered with jungle, and in five or six years the process of cutting and burning may again pass over it. Thus a village of Karens wanders within certain limits, and occasionally after a shorter or longer period may go over its old clearances a second time.

The domestic habits of this race are more filthy than those of the Talains; they seem to have an aversion to frequent ablutions, and the clear waters of their mountain streams are much neglected; several absurd legends are assigned as the cause of this hydrophobic humour of the Karens, for them a most unfortunate prejudice. There is a remarkable absence of selfishness amongst them; they may be almost said to have things in common; whatever they have they will always willingly share with their village brethren. They are, as a race, handsomer, according to European notions, than the Talains or Burmans. Karens are fond of spirituous liquors, and on festive occasions the women are kept employed distilling the rice spirit upon which their husbands are getting drunk. Having originally no written characters in which to express their language, their laws and customs were orally transmitted from father to son. Bigamy was deemed dishonorable; adultery was punished with death; and the elders were in all matters of moment the judges and the leaders of the people. They have a singular custom of taking the bones and ashes of their dead to some place in the jungles known only to themselves; for this no sufficient reason is assigned by them, and the Talains and Burmese attribute the custom to the fact that a portion of the wealth of the deceased

is placed along with his bones and ashes; fear that these should be disturbed on account of the valuables deposited with them, induces secrecy as to what may be termed the sepulchral spots. The Talains assert that the revenge of a Karen is sure to follow the disturber of the remains of his fathers; be this as it may, the departure of a soul to the land of spirits is a festive occasion, and the friends and relatives meet to sing wild dirges, and drink till they can sing no longer.

Karens are lazy and averse to exertion, but good-tempered, very credulous, and more truthful than their more intelligent but less scrupulous neighbours. The arts are at low ebb among them, though some of their manufactures, particularly the bead-ornamented apparel of the women, are curious; the dress of the men is extremely simple, consisting usually of two blankets or pieces of the coarse cloth made by the women, sown together, so as to form a kind of armless coat or frock, with a part in the centre unsown, through which the head passes, and the same at the sides, for the arms. Karens are fond of singing and their airs are wild and pretty; the language being by no means unfavourable to the musical propensity of the people, and in itself exacting the greatest nicety and delicacy of ear and of pronunciation from the great play and variety of the vowel sounds which are distinguished in both dialects of their language.

Cholera, fever, and small pox are so much dreaded that Karens desert their villages and remove to other situations as soon as they are invaded by these scourges. The infected, unless they can move themselves, are left to their fate. Change of air and site seems the chief medical resource of the Karens; for their secondary ones, namely, offerings to the Nats of whatever they deem calculated to tickle fairy palates, do not appear to produce many very remarkable cures, though frequently resorted to.

Karens are, in their own way, bold hunters, and not above eating their own game even when a rhinoceros. They are however not bolder than the Talains, some of whom gain a livelihood by catching elephants, and prosecute this occupation in a most perilous manner; two men, mounted on a trained elephant and carrying a spear and a lasso made of leather rope, manage to get amongst a herd of wild elephants and then single out one to whom they give chase. The lasso is cast so as to catch one of the hind legs of the wild elephant; the other end of the lasso is fastened to the girdle of the trained animal, and the duty of the second man is to sit on the back of the elephant and to hold the coil and cast the lasso at the right moment;—

if the wild elephant turns, he is kept off by the spear point and the tame elephant; he usually however makes off as fast as he can, accompanied by the trained animal, who must have good paces; when the wild one is tired, or as soon as he affords his hunters a favorable opportunity, his further flight is arrested by a turn being taken round a stout tree, to which the lasso is ultimately made fast. Starvation for a time, and then the gift of food soon renders the wild animal manageable. Such a method of elephant hunting is, for many reasons, very perilous; but strange to say the men employed in this hazardous occupation have a greater dread of the tiger than of the elephant, being more frequently a prey to the former than to the latter; for nights must be passed in the jungle to watch for the herds of wild elephants, and for fear of scaring these, the usual precautions against the tiger cannot be taken, so that the elephant-catcher runs greater risk from the stealthy and murderous spring of the tiger than from the infuriate violence of his gigantic game, the elephant. No bolder, yet more superstitious Nat worshippers than this class of hunters!

In Amherst province a portion of the people are Tounghoos; they are the best cultivators in the province, being the only people who understand the use of the plough. Distinct from the Talains, Burmese, and Karens by language, dress, and habits, their original country is not well ascertained; the name implies a hill man, and the use of the plough with a metal blade argues a higher country than the plains of Pegu, and a soil which required a more laborious culture than has been forced upon the people of the land of their adoption. Their pipes, their dresses, and other minor peculiarities indicate a more ingenious people; but their language and its literature remain unmastered by Europeans, and therefore little or nothing is known of the race except that they are esteemed good cultivators.

In the province of Mergui there is a considerable mixture of Siamese blood amongst the Talains and Burmese, but as the Siamese have intermarried with, and conformed to the laws and customs of, the people amongst whom they emigrated, no particular description is necessary.

Such may be said to have been the different races whom we found inhabiting the provinces ceded to the East India Company by the treaty of Yandaboo. Moguls, Jews, Armenians, Chinese, natives, of the Madras and Bengal provinces, followed in the wake of our troops; and as soon as possession of the country was fairly taken, settled down, chiefly at Moulmein, in considerable numbers; but, like the Europeans, being

foreigners, they need not here be more particularly adverted to.

After the conclusion of the treaty of Yandaboo and the cession of the provinces to the East India Company, the question of selecting a suitable position for the main body of the force to be cantoned was a matter of great importance. At first, it was in contemplation to have stationed the troops at the mouth of the Salween at Amherst, but Sir A. Campbell ultimately selected the point of junction of the Salween, the Gyne, and the Attaran river for the permanent cantonment of the force. The advantage of this commanding position is so apparent, that in former days, most probably when the Portuguese took a part in the struggles of Pegu, it had not been overlooked, and the British troops found a spacious irregular quadrangle, on which to establish themselves, already surrounded by an earthen mound or rampart of considerable antiquity.* Besides the numerous advantages of position in a military point of view, with reference to the protection of the frontier, the command of the rivers, and a close watch on the Burmese town and province of Martaban, the cantonment of Moulmein, is well raised, well drained, very healthy, and well supplied with water; whereas a difficulty on the latter point was found to exist at Amherst. The subsequent rise and progress of the timber trade, and the sufficiency of the river as a good port for shipping, had confirmed the wisdom of Sir A. Campbell's selection of Moulmein.

The population of the provinces, when they fell into our hands, has been variously estimated, one calculation making it as low as ten thousand souls: but this is evidently an error; for the provinces of Tavoy and Mergui have been very stationary in the amount of population; indeed, the best informed persons doubt whether since our tenure of the country the people have on the whole increased or decreased. The same, with the exception of Moulmein, may be said of the northern province styled by the British province, Amherst; its villages afford no satisfactory proof of any remarkable increase of population since it has been in our possession. On the contrary, the increase is peculiarly slow—instead of 10,000 souls, the following would seem to be a fair estimate of the population before the Burmese War, caused a temporary fluctuation and disturbance:—

* A similar enclosure, also of great antiquity, may be observed at the head of the Amherst inlet; it is seldom visited and but little known. In the local legends it is attributed to one of the ancient kings of Pegu.

Amherst.....	40,000
Tavoy.....	35,000
Mergui.....	15,000
	<hr/>
Total.....	90,000
	<hr/>

And it may be supposed that upon our occupation of the provinces and the restoration of order, there was no material difference in the numbers, except such as was due to the camp followers and troops stationed at Moulmein, Tavoy and Mergui.

Our rule necessarily commenced by disturbing as little as possible the systems of revenue, police, and justice, to which the people had been accustomed under their Burman Rulers. This, the usual course adopted in the administration of a recent conquest, was accompanied by an error, which has elsewhere been the concomitant of our extension of territory in the east. In lieu of restoring to the people the use of their own language, the Talain, that of their conquerors, the Burman, was by us continued as the official medium of communication and accounts. We thus, from the first, deprived ourselves of that support which the strong feeling of Talain nationality would have afforded; and the error was the more grievous, because, during the conduct of the war with Ava, every advantage was taken of one feature of Talain nationality, implacable hostility to the Burmese; and ordinary gratitude as well as policy, pointed out the propriety of restoring to our allies, when they became our subjects, the use of their own language, if only as an honorable acknowledgement of the sense entertained of their services. Far higher advantages would however have resulted from such a step; for it would, in all probability, have caused such an influx of the Mon or Talain population into our provinces as would shortly have rendered them much less a burthen than they have hitherto proved: and very possibly instead of a burthen, the receipts from these provinces might very shortly after occupation have covered, if not exceeded, their expenditure. By retaining the Burmese language as that of office, and by long indecision as to the permanent retention of the ceded provinces, we failed, when fear of Burman vengeance, was still operative to hold out any inducement to our Talain allies to settle under the protection of our Government; and thus neither benefitted ourselves nor them, but the Burmese, who in consequence of the course we pursued, retained the greater portion of a people that were otherwise ready, if en-

couraged to have crossed over to British protection. The population is now as follows :—

Mergui.

Town and suburbs.....	12,000	
Province.....	8,000	
	<hr/>	20,000

Tavoy.

Town and Suburbs.....	10,358	
Province.....	26,996	
	<hr/>	37,354

Amherst.

Moulmein and Suburbs.....	30,000	
Province.....	45,000	
	<hr/>	75,000

Total..... 1,50,415

A very thin population for the area of the provinces, and the productive powers of their soil !

REVENUE.—The chief portion of the state revenue, derived from the land, was, by the Burmese, levied in kind ; rice, the staple article of food is grown throughout the provinces ; and one-fourth of the crop was nominally the share claimed by the government, although in reality owing to the exactions of unchecked subordinates it was larger. Garden produce and fruit trees of all descriptions, when bearing, likewise yielded revenue—other items of receipt were from the farming of fisheries, of turtle-banks, bazars and town dues. As the provinces were distant from the court of Ava, and were therefore not under good control, they were a prey to the Burman governors and their subordinates ; tyranny and exaction rendered the revenue demands much more oppressive than any simple statement of the basis of the system conveys. With the exception of receiving the revenue derived from rice cultivation either in kind or commuted in money, we adopted the above fiscal system, conducting it by means of the same instrumentality as had been employed by the Burmese. Simple and well suited to a native government, and theoretically favorable for the cultivator, the system of taking revenue from the land in kind fails under British officers : for, having little or no knowledge of the language and of the habits or customs of the people, they have small power of coping with the dishonesty and cunning of interested subordinates ; the exact limit of their power is well

known, and it is not difficult for native craft to frustrate the best intentions and to mislead in the exercise of power.

Melancholy as the fact may appear a more intimate acquaintance with the Burmese language and the habits of the people has not in general been found productive of corresponding advantages; for, however much to be deplored, historic faithfulness requires it to be stated, that Government functionaries, especially in former times, have too often acquired such knowledge by forming connections calculated neither to secure the respect of the native community, nor to heighten their own moral sensibilities; connections which inevitably surround them with needy favorites and relatives, whose whole aim is corruption and extortion. Through the machinations of such a home circle, as it may be called, the advantages of a more intimate acquaintance with the official language, manners, and feelings of a people are at least nullified, and have too frequently been turned to their positive disadvantage; the native favorite never forgetting that it may be the privilege of the wife of a judge or governor in Burmah, as elsewhere, to assist in the decision of suits, to hold their own courts, and to exercise as much power as the faculty, not to say corruption of their protectors, can connive at. Of the two classes of functionaries, the man of comparative ignorance, free from the baneful influence of such connections, has usually been found more respected and better able to check the malpractices of subordinates, than is the case with a man whose misfortune it has been to have acquired greater knowledge of the vernacular language and the habits of any people, through a medium corruptive of his own character, qualities, and efficiency.

With fluctuations and many errors the Burman system was continued from the first occupation of the provinces until Mr. Blundell made a vain endeavour to introduce a seven years' settlement, and a money assessment founded on the value and area of land under cultivation. He failed in his attempt in consequence of the opposition of subordinates to which he yielded; indeed with the high rates of assessment which he adopted and enforced, it was impossible that any system could stand,—the burthen being so severe and the administration so lax and oppressive, that much land was thrown out of cultivation; and the evil of excessive assessment, increased by a year of murrain among the cattle, threatened to be most fatal to the prosperity of the provinces.

The evils of the existing system quickly presented themselves to Major Broadfoot when he assumed charge of the Tenasserim provinces in April 1843, and he zealously set about

their reformation. He attacked corruption in its various forms and positions, and supported by the Governor-General, Lord Ellenborough, checked by severe examples the malpractices which had become habitual. Shameless as was proved to have been the conduct of one of the British functionaries, and compromised as was that of others, Major Broadfoot was made the subject of calumny and misrepresentation for the line which he pursued. In the provinces much more was known than came to Major Broadfoot's notice, but, in so far as it came to his knowledge, he, confident in the support of the Governor-General, acted boldly in putting down dishonesty.

Occupied with the punishment of corruption, Major Broadfoot became keenly alive to the constant opportunity which the then existing system offered to subordinates for exaction and malpractices, and he therefore determined to supersede the old by an entirely new land assessment. He accordingly altered the whole fiscal system of the provinces, substituting a fixed money payment in lieu of the levy of one-fourth of the grain in kind or commuted in money; he abolished taxes on trees and garden produce, and those on turtle-banks and fisheries; in place of the latter he established a species of poll-tax so regulated that a cultivator paid about one-third of what was exacted from a non-cultivator. So radical a change in the revenue system of the provinces, one so novel to the people and to the subordinate officials through whom it must necessarily be carried into effect, required, even if advisable, more of thought and deliberation than was given to it; greater preparation of instruments; and far more knowledge of the country than was to be found amongst the officers of the commission, who, to a man, were ignorant of all revenue matters; had never turned their attention to the subject: and who, moreover, owing to the great number of native subordinates removed from their charges for corruption, found themselves unaided by the new and thoroughly inexperienced native functionaries given to assist them.

However faulty in principle a system of taxation may be or appear to be, it has usually arisen gradually and adapted itself to the habits and circumstances of the people, and any sudden change which may sweep away such existing system will be found productive of great confusion and difficulty; general principles, however correct and admirable in theory, having by no means the property, by their bare enunciation, of suddenly altering the habits, feelings, and prejudices of a people. The old system, as administered under facile British functionaries, had, however, been so severe in consequence of the

universal corruption and malpractices of the native subordinates, that, when the cultivators, as in the neighbourhood of Moulmein, were under the influence of the presence of Major Broadfoot and of the encouragement and hopes which he held out to them, the new system was apparently well received; the people were ignorant of its working, but as nothing could be worse than the old they had no objection to try the new. Major Broadfoot had only time to introduce it in province Amherst, where a commencement was made and with apparent success.

Matters were in this state, when, in September 1844, Captain Durand relieved Major Broadfoot, and assuming charge of the provinces, had immediately to take up the question of the revenue assessments. In the provinces of Tavoy and Mergui a set of revenue rules, abrogating the old system, and announcing the basis of the new, had been promulgated, but nothing done towards carrying the new measure into effect; he, therefore, assembled in each province the elders of villages, and having caused the new system to be long and carefully explained to them, effected through their agency a land assessment in each province,—the people in fact taxing themselves. The new system, thus introduced, was favorably received in spite of its novelty, and the experiment of acting through the people proved not only productive of satisfaction to them, but also no loss to the Government; on the contrary a small increase of receipts has steadily followed this, in the east, a rather unusual method of taxation; and the provinces of Tavoy and Mergui are quick and ready in paying in the annual revenue. In province Amherst, the land assessment, newly established by Major Broadfoot, was found too heavy, and was, after laborious enquiry and several revenue circuits, considerably lowered by Captain Durand, who, on a personal inspection, discovered the unequal working of the new system, and that land nominally assessed at two rupees per acre, was paying from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to five rupees the acre of cultivation. Dr. Richardson was ordered to institute a careful inquiry and to survey the richest district in province Amherst, that of the island of Beloogyoon. Aware of the importance of the duty entrusted to him and anxious to benefit the people, he devoted himself to the work with a zeal which cost him his life, but not before he had collected data on which to found an assessment of an equitable and reasonable character. The same course was to have been pursued with the other districts of the province, but the sudden loss of Dr. Richardson and the want of any officer who could replace him in carrying out the measures, delayed its execution. Pending its completion, however, and with reference to the diminished

quantity of specie thrown into the country in consequence of the great reduction of force carried into effect by Captain Durand, he largely lowered the land assessment in province Amherst; and if the system introduced into these provinces by Major Broadfoot is to be maintained, namely, that of a money assessment, the measure commenced by Dr. Richardson must not be too long delayed, otherwise, timely lowered as the assessment was by Captain Durand, it will nevertheless not continue to work well or satisfactorily.

Since the provinces have fallen into our hands a branch of revenue has arisen unknown to their former Burman holders, namely, that derived from teak forests. Upon the acquisition of the provinces in 1825 the existence of teak became known, and, in 1827, Dr. Wallich was deputed to explore and report upon the forests. He partially explored those on the Salween and Attaran, and gave a favorable account of the timber to be found in them. The Commissioner Mr. Maingay then proposed that licenses to cut timber upon certain conditions should be granted to private individuals; but there does not appear to have been much anxiety on the part of speculators to support the proposition, and the Government continued to hold its forests. To attract attention to them, and with the view of developing their resources, a limited experiment was made, and, in March 1828, a shipment of 511 logs for Calcutta was despatched, but the experiment had been so conducted as to be very costly, and the cost not being covered by the price which was obtained at public auction for the timber, Government became alarmed at a result which in reality proved nothing except the folly of an experiment, so conducted and on such a small scale. The further preparation of timber for Government was henceforth discontinued, and Mr. Maingay, in 1829, received the sanction of Government to throw open the timber trade under certain rules which he published, and which fixed an *ad valorem* duty of fifteen per cent. as that to be paid to Government on timber brought from the forests. The impulse thus given to the trade began to be felt in 1833, by the June of which year 7309 tons of converted, that is, sawed and squared teak, had been exported since the opening of the forests in 1829; three vessels also had been built, and four were building at Moulmein. From that period the timber trade and ship building increased rather rapidly, and the temporary prosperity of the provinces was furthered; but it was so, at the expense of their resources, owing to the absence of any effective conservancy or check upon the timber-cutters. It is true that the permits

to fell timber were revocable at will, and that the holders were always so informed; also that trees, of less than four feet girth, were liable to confiscation, if felled; but the conservancy establishment of one forester and eight or ten coolies was not well calculated efficiently to enforce any set of rules; and the revocation of permits for abuse of trust and destruction of forests could not well be enforced when the forests were unvisited by any European functionaries, and no pains were taken to ascertain the conduct of the parties holding the permits. Mr. Blundell became alive to the necessity of affording some degree of protection to the long-neglected forests, and in 1837 suggested a revocation of permits and the establishment of a conservancy department. Dr. Helfer, Lieut. Halsted, and Capt. O'Brien examined the forests, and the latter officer reported strongly on their waste and rapid destruction, combating the opinions of others who deemed them inexhaustible, and earnestly recommending an efficient conservancy. After much deliberation, a conservator, Captain Tremenhoe, was appointed at the beginning of 1841, but the revocation of permits was not then acceded to. The subject of forests appears to have occupied the attention of Government during that year mainly in consequence of the supply of teak timber to Her Majesty's dock-yards from the Tenasserim Coast, forming matter of consideration. Dr. Richardson had been sent into the Shan States, and reported on the resources of the tracts he traversed; Mr. Seppings was deputed to Moulmein and reported favorably on the facility of supplying teak timber to the British Naval dock-yards, and of building ships of war at Moulmein. Thus circumstanced Mr. Blundell submitted a set of rules for the working and preservation of the teak forests in the Tenasserim provinces, the value of which had then been ascertained; and he obtained the sanction of Government to the promulgation of the rules. The idea of drawing supplies of teak timber for Her Majesty's dock-yards not being immediately acted upon, the mercantile demand for timber rapidly increasing, and the conservator of forests being able to pay but small attention to his charge, the holders of permits were unchecked in their proceedings; and immediate profit being the sole object in view, no attention whatever was paid to the rules of 1841.

Matters continued in this state until Major Broadfoot turned his attention to the subject, being forced to do so in consequence of the state in which he found our relations with the Burmese. The reckless conduct of the timber

merchants on the Salween had well nigh embroiled us in hostilities, and had rendered this frontier river, down which all the teak timber coming to Moulmein is floated, a scene of confusion and violence.

Engaged with these and other difficulties he had not either time or opportunity more than very partially to turn his attention to the question of forest conservancy, though forced to check anarchy and wanton violence along the Thoongeen forests by closing them against the timber merchants and prohibiting the felling of timber along this the north east frontier of the province; a strong measure, but essential for the preservation of peace and good order.

Timber Revenue.

	RS.	AS.	P.
1833.....	13,457	7	10
1836.....	20,803	14	4
1839-40.....	21,727	10	10
1840-41.....	29,244	15	7
1841-42.....	55,108	9	1
1842-43.....	52,924	2	4
1843-44.....	43,008	10	6
1844-45.....	20,897	0	0
1845-46.....	107,048	13	4

The above table sets forth the gradual rise of the receipts from this branch of the revenue; from 1829 to 1841-42 there was a steady increase, but in 1842-43 there occurred a sudden depression in consequence of the misunderstanding which arose with the Burmese, and the disorderly conduct of the timber dealers. In 1843 Major Broadfoot having adjusted our frontier relations with the Burmese, and thus facilitated the raftage of timber down the Salween, and having also introduced some system in the department of the timber duty collector, the nominal receipts rose to one lakh and thirty-one thousand rupees, but the amount was not realized,—upwards of 98,000 rupees being at the end of that year unsettled. His prohibition to felling and removing teak from the forests of the Thoongeen caused the receipts for 1844-45 to fall to about 21,000 rupees.

The prohibition suddenly imposed was a hardship upon those dealers who had laid out capital on the felling of timber in the Thoongeen forests by making advances to the foresters, and though the complaints on this account were in general very gross exaggerations, and frequently entirely false, Captain Du-

rand temporarily removed the prohibition in order to give full time to such persons as might really have laid out cash advances in the felling of timber, to remove the same. Precautions were also taken to afford greater security to the floatage of timber in the upper part of the Salween river both at the Boom below the falls, where the timber is collected together into rafts, and also below this point, where, in consequence of rapids, rafts are often endangered. The revenue receipts again rose in 1845-46 to a lakh and seven thousand rupees of fair payment into the treasury.

Captain Durand's measures nevertheless excited great hostility to himself amongst those engaged in the timber trade; he traversed the Thoongeen forests and made himself acquainted by local examination and inquiry with the system which had there prevailed; he also obtained information as to the conduct of the holders of permits where such had been granted, and as soon as Captain Guthrie took charge of the Conservancy of the forests, that officer's attention was called to the subject.

Captain Guthrie, after a thorough and most careful examination of the forest, found that the permit-holders utterly neglected the forest rules in force, and were destroying the Government property in a shameful manner, utterly regardless of every consideration but present profit. Conservator and superintendent of forests, he very properly brought the delinquents forward, and it happened that the first, or amongst the first, were the agents of the firm of Messrs. Cockerell and Co. in whose hands was the Megwa forest. No better instance of the manner in which the occupiers of Government forests fulfill their trusts could well have been brought forward, for the firm is one of the leading ones, having an establishment at Moulmein, and is known to be influential in Calcutta, and to stand high, and deservedly so, in general estimation; if from any attention to conditions was to be expected, their agents might be anticipated to set an example. This did not prove to be the case, or at any rate the example set was a very bad one. In the course of *ten hours* the officials of the Forest Department measured and recorded upwards of 600 undersized trees killed but not felled, and upwards of 260 undersized trees felled,—making in all above 860 undersized trees killed. Besides the foregoing, 164 full-sized trees, ninety-three undersized, and ninety-nine rooks (valuable in ship-building) were found burning!!

The Megwa Forest contained at the time about 2,400 growing teak trees, six feet girth and upwards, and two

thousand (2,000) under that girth, besides two thousand (2,000) killed and ninety-four felled under the proper girth. The rapid exhaustion of the Forests under such a mode of procedure may be easily understood, as also the necessity for checking such waste of valuable public property.

Captain Guthrie decided that the Megwa Forest should be resumed. In the meantime Messrs. Cockerell and Co. appear to have addressed themselves to the Deputy Governor of Bengal, Sir T. H. Maddock, complaining against the proceedings of Captain Guthrie, and to have succeeded in obtaining the transmission of an order to the Commissioner, directing him on its receipt to restore to Messrs. Cockerell and Co. the forest resumed.

These instructions,—passed, we may presume, in entire ignorance of the merits of the case, except, perhaps, as these might very naturally be represented by the firm, whose pecuniary interests were at stake,—reached Captain Durand after he had passed his decision on the appeal made to him by Messrs. Cockerell and Co. and had remitted the award,—having found, on examination of records, that the penalty clause, the only one by which the Rules promulgated for observance could be enforced, had been temporarily suspended, though not abrogated, and that therefore neither the Commissioner nor the Superintendent of Forests, had any power whatever to check the most unscrupulous violation of the Rules nominally put forth for the preservation of the Forests! In remitting the award, however, Captain Durand did not conceal his entire approval of the decision of Captain Guthrie, passed as it was in ignorance of the trap undesignedly laid for him by this secret qualification of the publicly notified Rules of 1841, and intimated that these Rules would in future be enforced,—naturally anticipating that it required but a clear statement of the facts of the case to insure immediate instructions to enforce, where in future requisite, the Penalty clause.

The holders of Forests were but little pleased that such a warning should be given, and such an exposure made of the care and attention paid by them to their trust. The utter neglect of the Government stipulations was further well exemplified by the fact, that, in consequence of Captain Durand's temporary removal of the prohibition on the working in the Thoongeen Forests, 8,922 trees were brought from thence, out of which 4,497, that is about two-thirds of the whole amount, were undersized, and therefore ought by rule to have been confiscated. Captain Durand ordered that a small extra

duty should be levied on this undersized timber, remitting the extreme penalty of confiscation, but warning the public that the ensuing season it would be enforced;—a measure absolutely necessary on public grounds, and favorable to the real interests of the timber market, but disagreeable to the shortsighted selfishness of many private interests.

The very natural alarm of Messrs. Cockerell and Co. and of other timber dealers, was not diminished by the fact of the Supreme Government of India again taking up the idea first mooted in 1841, during the time that Lord Auckland was Governor-General. In March 1846 the Commissioner received orders from the President in Council, Sir T. H. Maddock, to purchase for Her Majesty's Navy all the best teak timber suitable for ship-building at Moulmein, and to report without delay the extent to which he would be able to procure supplies of timber for the Navy from the Tenasserim provinces. There was a great demand for timber in the home market at the time these instructions were received, houses in Moulmein having obtained advices of £15 per ton for good teak as having been given; but, from the state of the money market both in Calcutta and at Moulmein, there was at the latter place a great dearth of cash, and consequently, with the exercise of some discretion and judgment, the orders of the Supreme Government could be effected at a more moderate rate than would have been the case had money been more plentiful amongst the mercantile community at Moulmein. Forming a Committee, composed of the Commissioner as president, Captain Guthrie the Superintendent of Forests, and Captain Rowlandson, the Commissariat Officer, as members, Captain Durand, in obedience to positive Government orders, towards the end of March 1846, commenced making extensive purchases in the timber market. As Captain Rowlandson, in the faithful discharge of his public official duties, had for some time been engaged in despatching small quantities of timber to the Madras presidency, his purchases for the Supreme Government at first called forth no surprise; but, as their sphere increased, the fact excited observation, and ultimately, though not till the far greater part of the timber had been purchased, the object of the Government in thus entering the market became known at a time when the fact could exercise little or no influence on prices. The whole of these transactions were of course unpalatable to Messrs. Cockerell and Co. who had embarked with so much vigour on the timber trade, and who, together with the remainder of the timber dealers, could not be expected

to admire the intimation contained in a circular, which, with reference to pending measures, Captain Durand thought it but fair to the traders to issue.*

On the 7th July, Messrs. Cockerell and Co. in their own name and that of others, petitioned Sir T. H. Maddock against the proceedings of the local authorities, because at the expiration of the time for which Captain Durand had opened temporarily the Thoongeen Forests, those Forests, reserved by order of the Court of Directors for Government purposes, were closed to the native contractors of Messrs. Cockerell and Co. and the others interested in the timber trade. This renewal of the prohibition was quite in accordance with the specification made, when it was temporarily suspended—affording ample time for the removal of felled timber by those who had a claim to it. No one had any right or title to work the forests, not even a permit to show, though the agent of Messrs. Cockerell and Co. had once the hardihood to file, in the course of a suit, which was in appeal before the Commissioner's Court, a document by which the right was made over to the said agent not only of an extensive tract of country on the left, or British bank of the Thoongeen, but also a similar tract on the right or Shan side of the river! The person who made this notable transfer was a common forester engaged by Messrs. Cockerell and Co.'s agent on contract to bring down timber from the forests for that firm! However, on receipt of the petition, orders were immediately issued by Sir T. H. Maddock to suspend all further measures or purchases for the supply of Her Majesty's Navy; and thus were suddenly brought to a close transactions which would have secured a constant supply of excellent teak for the British dock-yards. Captain Durand, not satisfied with the mere resources of the provinces, had secured the readiness of the Chief of the Kareni country to give, at a most reasonable rate, to the British Government, the whole of the fine teak in his country: the British Government might thus have calculated on an annual supply of good teak, varying, as might

* CIRCULAR.

Moulmein 12th June 1846.

GENTLEMEN,—Although awaiting further despatches, which have not as yet reached me, I think it right, in consideration of any effect which the circumstance may have on the interests of those engaged in the timber trade, at once to inform you, that the Government for the future looks to the resources of the Tenasserim provinces for supplies of timber for Government purposes, and that these supplies will be procured through the agency of its own officers.

(Signed)

H. M. DURAND,

Commissioner T. P.

be its wants, from ten to twelve thousand tons, from the port of Moulmein, at one-half the price for which they can now purchase it; at the same time the Supreme Government would have had its reserve forests not overworked, and the resources of the Tenasserim provinces, under their own control, not drained and exhausted.

Messrs. Cockerell and Co., as we understand, in their petition to Sir T. H. Maddock, had, not unnaturally, recourse to the old expedient, so thoroughly well understood in these provinces, of applying to have the whole forest question examined into, and the system placed on a permanent footing, and that in the mean time things should be allowed to proceed as timber-dealers wished. The question had been under consideration for the last fourteen or fifteen years; and the request, we say not in intention, but certainly in effect, was synonymous with an application for permission to exhaust the Thoongeen Forests with the same ruthless rapidity as has been allowed in those for which permits have been granted, and which are now in the hands of Messrs. Cockerell and Co. and other firms and individuals.

Captain Durand, it is well known, spoke as plainly officially as privately on the character of these proceedings, but the request appears to have been virtually acceded to,—the Government having hitherto promulgated no definite orders or instructions, except notifying a reference to the Home Authorities, i. e. a reference which may probably ensure several years of active, unchecked Forest destruction. Be this as it may, the revenue derivable from the duty, or properly speaking, rent, on the timber, is a considerable item in the receipts of these provinces: but the timber trade, as carried on at Moulmein, is very much of a gambling character. And the Salween River, the channel by which the timber reaches Moulmein, being the Frontier stream to the British, Shan, and Burman countries, and the latter people making a good deal of money by any timber they can intercept, and being thus under a constant temptation to take advantage of the rights which possession of one of the river banks affords them for interference, and of the opportunity which accident may present to them;—this trade, carried on in the manner it is, and by the class of persons locally engaged in it, forms a constant source of misunderstanding and danger to our relations with the Burmese authorities.

A clear notion of the teak timber resources of the Amherst province will be obtained by noting that there are at present growing in its forests, on the left or British bank of the Thoongeen, 51,000 trees under six feet girth, and 29,000 above;

Houndrao Forests 1,121 under and 473 above ; Wengo Forests 5,825 under and 3,279 above ; Zimmai Forests 7,088 under and 1,821 above ; making a total of 65,034 undersized and 34,573 full sized above six feet girth. From these Forests, without detriment, 3,250 trees, or about 5,000 tons, might be taken annually. The Forests occupied by private individuals are—on the Salween and Hlaing Boag Rivers 10,000 under and 2,900 above six feet girth ; Wengan River 14,485 under and 2,202 above ; Zimmai River 35,898 under and 17,820 above ; making a total of 60,383 trees under and 22,922 above six feet girth ; consequently, from 2,100 trees per annum, or about 3,000 tons might be taken, without detriment, to the Forests. Altogether, therefore, without injury to the Forests, above 8,000 tons of teak cannot be taken, if the object kept in view, be, that the number of full-sized trees taken, be equal to the number of undersized coming annually to full size.

The quantity of timber brought to Moulmein is much larger than the foregoing from three causes ; first, no attention is paid to the Forest rules, and, as before shewn, nearly two-thirds of the logs brought to market are undersized timbers ; secondly, much timber is brought from the right bank of the Thoongeen, which is rich in teak ; thirdly, some timber is brought from the Kareni country, though far less than is pretended,—much which comes from the Thoongeen being styled Kareni, in consequence of the name the latter has justly obtained for quality. The whole of the timber brought along the Salween has to pass down the falls of that river, for which purpose the rafts are broken up, and the timber is allowed to be swept down in single pieces. It has then to be collected below the falls at a place where a boom is made across from the British side by the attachment of a rope to a rock on the Burmese side of the river : pieces of timber are bound to this hawser, and the floating trees are thus stopped and drawn in to the shore by the parties in canoes on the look out for their own property.

When it is considered that many different rafts are thus to be cast loose above the falls and re-collected below them ; that the marks stamped on the timbers are easily effaced or cut off, and other stamps put on ; that the boom place, the rendezvous for the foresters and rafters, is notorious for the riot and disorder in which spirit and opium shops afford the opportunity of indulgence ; and that persons, old hands at the trade, are always on the spot to take advantage of the confusion which exists ;—when all this is duly considered, some idea may be formed of the tricks played and the honesty-pervading operations carried on

at a spot some eighty miles from Moulmein. If to this be superadded not only the real risk from the Burmese but the fictitious use frequently made of the same, a still clearer conception may be formed of the gambling character of the trade, and the complexity of the endless disputes arising amongst the dealers.

The profits of the trade may be imagined from the fact that the average rate of contract with the native foresters is twelve rupees per tree delivered at Moulmein; sometimes the contracts are as low as nine rupees per tree; occasionally they are as high as fifteen or even seventeen rupees the tree, according to distance and difficulty of transit from Forests. The full-sized log gives on an average one and a third ton of squared timber; the shipper coming to Moulmein for cargo does not get fair timber on board at less than fifty rupees the ton; and in England it has lately sold as high as £15, or 150 rupees per ton.

It will be seen by the following table that there has been a steady, though a slow increase of revenue receipts in the Tenasserim provinces :—

	RS.	AS.	P.
1833.....	3,32,164	9	4
1836.....	3,33,186	15	6
1839.....	4,01,238	11	11
1839-40.....	4,55,777	14	2
1840-41.....	4,37,695	7	2
1841-42.....	4,54,776	3	2
1842-43.....	4,40,928	15	4
1843-44.....	4,70,135	10	6
1844-45.....	4,53,590	8	10
1845-46.....	5,17,034	15	9

The civil expenditure of the provinces may be taken at four lakhs of rupees; the military expenditure has varied much more than the civil. In 1833, it appears to have been about 4,16,357 rupees; in 1836, it rose to 6,44,226 rupees; in 1839, to 11,71,930 rupees; and continued at about 12 lakhs of rupees until Captain Durand, by heavy retrenchments in the Commissariat Department and by dispensing with a regiment of native infantry and a regiment of European infantry, reduced it to less than one-half that amount.

These reductions were completed at a time when the actions of Múdkí and Ferozshah were not understood by our Burman neighbours to have been very decisive of our supremacy, and both in Calcutta and in Moulmein it was thought that the Commissioner hazarded much in stripping the pro-

vinces so bare of troops; but the result proved that Captain Durand's confidence was not erroneous, although left with only one corps of Native Infantry, a police corps without arms, and an inefficient river police.

Much military expenditure was in contemplation in the early part of 1844, upon fortifications, but it does not appear to have met with more encouragement from Captain Durand than did the excessive Commissariat establishments; after his arrival no more was heard of the Moulmein Fortifications and the thousands they were to cost. He, however, slightly increased the civil expenditure by proposing additions to the officers and establishments, and by separating his own office and Court from that of the magistrate of the province. A General Hospital, which he established, cost the Government nothing additional, and has proved a blessing to the port and town of Moulmein.

The prospect of the provinces being able to cover their Civil and Military Expenditure is remote, unless British capital can be induced to turn to them. The want of population, and the consequently very high price of labour, is unfavorable to any such diversion of capital, though nowhere can land, admirably adapted for the culture of sugar, be more easily obtained, and that in the neighbourhood of excellent water carriage. In all the provinces there is much valuable land, but particularly in that of Mergui, where many tropical productions can be grown, and where the sugar-cane thrives remarkably well. So scanty, however, is the population, and such their agricultural habits, that no sugar speculation would succeed, unless coolies from the Madras and Bengal Coasts were imported, and a sugar cultivating colony formed with their aid.

Coal and Tin have been worked in this province, but with inconsiderable success and small profit. Tin works ought, however, to succeed in consequence of the great abundance of the metal, the ores being very rich; but the barbarous system followed by the few Chinese speculators at Mylewan on the Pak Chan is not calculated to produce a favorable out-turn to such a venture as that on which they engaged.

The Chinese settlers in the Tenasserim provinces are chiefly petty traders and carpenters, attracted to Moulmein by the work and high wages which ship-builders give them. Except a few gardeners, the Chinese have shown but little disposition to enter upon either agricultural or horticultural pursuits; were they, however, to turn their attention to these branches of industry, the improvement in the provinces would be much more rapid than has hitherto been the case.

The export of rice from the provinces is inconsiderable, its price being much higher than in the neighbouring provinces of Arracan. In 1846, in consequence of the dearth on the Madras Coast, several cargoes of rice were shipped, and there are usually a small number of junks which export grain to the Straits settlements, but this branch of traffic is, comparatively speaking, very trifling.

POLICE.—The Police system of the provinces has continued on the Burman model. Each village has its Thoogee, or head man, assisted by one, two, or more Kyedangees, according to the size of the village. The Thoogee assists in the collection of the revenue, and has charge of the village accounts and records, such as they are. What with his revenue functions and his Police duties and responsibilities, the post is one of importance and an object of ambition. He receives 10 per cent. on the revenue collected in his district, out of which allowance the Kyedangees are paid by the Thoogee, who makes his own terms with them. The office of Thoogee is filled either by an election amongst the villagers, confirmed by the Commissioner, or by the latter himself, appointing a capable individual,—the one or other course of filling up vacancies being resorted to according to circumstances.

Each province is divided into a certain number of large districts, at the head of each of which a Goung Gyouk is placed. These officers issue orders to the Thoogees on all matters connected with Police duties, and with the good order of their charges, receiving their own instructions from the officers in charge of provinces, that is, the Magistrates.

Except a few peons attached to the Magistrate's Courts and to the Goung Gyouks, there is no provincial Police, the Thoogees exercising their functions through the instrumentality of the Kyedangees and villagers, when delinquents have to be pursued or apprehended. A Police Corps was raised by Major Broadfoot, the head-quarters of which are at Moulmein, and detachments at Tavoy and Mergui. This body of men takes the Police duties of the towns of Moulmein, Tavoy, and Mergui, and are intended to strengthen in case of need the hands of the Magistrates. The corps is about 600 men strong, having usually 400 men at Moulmein, and 100 at each of the towns of Tavoy and Mergui. In addition to its Police duties, that of guarding convict parties at work is assigned to it; and with the view of attaining some degree of despatch in the transmission of information and reports, a party of fifty men, mounted on the small ponies of the country, are dignified with the appellation of the mounted company. From the foregoing it will be

observed, that with the exception of the Police corps, the provinces are free from any such pest to the native community as is the police of Bengal.

On the Salween, for the protection of the river, there is a Flotilla of gun boats and guard canoes, but much cannot be said of its efficiency,—the Bengal lascars of which it is composed being but ill calculated for the duty. Dakoity is by no means uncommon on this frontier river, and is carried on with more or less activity, according as the vigilance of the Magistrates and their subordinates is more or less remarkable. The river and Moulmein itself were never so free from dakoity as during the time that Captain Impey commanded the Local Corps, and was Police Magistrate at Moulmein. The neighbourhood of Martaban and the Burmese provinces, with the intricacies of many creeks and nullahs and of numerous islands, renders the escape of dakoits comparatively easy, and their pursuit in the heavy monsoon rains of this coast difficult. Moulmein and its neighbourhood, as the richest field, is of course most liable to depredation, whenever want of alertness on the part of the Magistrate and the Police afford a fitting opportunity; in 1846, neither courage nor ingenuity was wanting amongst the dakoits, and the Police, both on land and river, was completely baffled by them; they were said, in the province of Tavoy, with which some of them were connected, and where the ringleaders were well known, to have an excellent understanding with a native who stood high in the confidence of the province Magistrate, and who had been entrusted by him with the command of the swift armed canoes employed with the view of aiding the Flotilla in suppressing dakoity—but which of course did nothing.

The late Commissioner, Captain Durand, was known to have in contemplation the remodelling of the Flotilla, with the view of rendering it a more efficient river police. Gun-boats are useless on a river so rapid, that the strength of the stream prevents their being of any service, except as floating stations for the crews of the guard canoes: the departure and return of these from the gun-boats are easily watched from either bank of the river, and the operation of pouncing on dakoits not facilitated by their exact knowledge of the movements of the police. Some change is advisable to adapt the Flotilla to its object and to render it more efficient; what Captain Durand's contemplated changes may have been, was never promulgated, though after experience of the working of the Flotilla, his dissatisfaction with the constitution of this expensive and inefficient branch of police was well known.

Considering the peculiar circumstances of the provinces,

the Police is on the whole more efficient than might be expected. It is under the control of the Commissioner, who is vested with the powers of Superintendent of Police.

JUSTICE.—The Burmese Law, and therefore the Burmese courts, makes no clear distinction between Civil and Criminal Law; the judge or Tseekay hears both Civil and Criminal cases indifferently as they may come before him. Though in their treatises thus mixed together, yet the Civil Law, in its main features, admits of being clearly enough defined and extricated from this fusion with the Criminal Law. Its principles with regard to property, to marriage, to divorce, to hereditary rights are distinct, and our courts have nominally endeavoured to administer to the Talains and Burmans their own Civil Law. Their Criminal Law is less clear in its principles; on material points, not compatible with our ideas; and therefore not followed by our courts, which can accordingly scarcely be said to have administered any one particular code of Criminal Law.

The Courts are furnished for their guidance with a set of “rules for the administration of Civil and Criminal Justice in the Tenasserim provinces.” The rules are few and simple, but evidently drawn up by some one better acquainted with the theoretical works of one or two English jurisconsults than with the circumstances, habits, and character of the different races forming the population of the Tenasserim provinces; they therefore contain provisions which have never yet been carried into effect, and the inapplicability of which Mr. Blundell, when he first received the rules, pointed out.

The officers entrusted with the exercise of judicial functions are

1. Commissioner.
2. Assistants.
3. Tseekays.
4. Goung Gyorks.

In civil cases the Goung Gyorks may receive, and try original suits, to any amount arising within their districts. The Tseekays may do the same in their districts, and take appeals from Goung Gyorks' decisions referred to them by the assistants. The assistants try appeals from the decisions of the Goung Gyorks and Tseekays; they may call for and try any original suit pending before Goung Gyorks or Tseekays, and may remove any suit pending in the Court of one Goung Gyork to that of a Tseekay, or to the Court of another Goung Gyork.

The Commissioner may receive and try all appeals from

decisions passed by his assistants, and all special appeals, and he may also call for and try any appeal or any original suit pending in any tribunal within his jurisdiction; and may remove such from any one court to any other court.

In criminal cases the Goung Gyouks can try petty charges, and can sentence to imprisonment in the stocks for twelve hours. Tseekays can sentence to double the amount of fine and imprisonment that can be assigned by Goung Gyouks.

Assistants can sentence to imprisonment with or without labour for two years, or to fine up to 500 rupees, commutable, if not paid, to a further imprisonment for two years. Every assistant may before or during trial, remove any case from any one to any other subordinate court.

The Commissioner may receive and try all cases upon commitment by an assistant, and may sentence to unlimited imprisonment or fine. Sentence of death must be confirmed by the Nizamut Adalat. The Commissioner may remove any case before, or during trial, from any one court to any other court.

Such are the powers of the several Courts in civil and criminal cases. It may be noted that the Tseekays are somewhat analogous to Principal Sudder Amins in India; they are four in number; two at Moulmein, one at Tavoy, and one at Mergui, and are the highest native judicial officers.

The rules contain a series of sections regarding juries, by which all serious or heinous offences of such a nature that the accused, if convicted, would be sentenced to imprisonment for more than six months, or to fine commutable to such imprisonment, shall be adjudged with the assistance of a jury. Then follow various rules as to the annual publication of lists of qualified jurors, rotation of jurors, notice, attendance, pay, &c. &c. Mr. Blundell, on receiving the rules, pointed out the extreme difficulty which besets the sections relative to juries, and their inapplicability to the state of the provinces and courts; he abstained from promulgating the rules, which were never published until Major Broadfoot took charge of the provinces. The latter officer caused the rules to be printed and published, but never took any step towards either himself paying attention to the institution of trial by jury, or to causing his assistants to do so. The sections in question, therefore, though published, were never acted upon, and remained in abeyance not only during Major Broadfoot's, but during Captain Durand's administration. The latter officer, however, made the only effort towards the introduction of trial by jury which has been as yet made, for he early enjoined on his assistants, the more frequent use of assessors in civil suits

as an introductory step to the partial use of juries, which he was desirous, in conformity with the rules, of calling into operation on criminal trials.

The forms of the courts are as simple as the rules which guide them, and there is neither complexity nor in general much delay, and law is administered if any thing at too cheap a rate. There was at one time a good deal of confusion in consequence of the province and police courts, which both sit at Moulmein, not having their several jurisdictions clearly defined; civil suits could be entered in either indiscriminately, and litigation could thus be protracted by the same suit being entered, slightly modified, in one court after the other. One of the first measures of the late Commissioner, Captain Durand, was, clearly to define the jurisdictions of the province and police courts of Moulmein, then presided over by Captain Macleod and Captain Impey. Another measure not less needed was the separation made of the Commissioner's Court from the province court; Captain Durand found both together, and a consequent fusion of the authority of the two courts unfavorable to that distinctness which should exist between the appellate and a lower tribunal. He obtained the sanction of Government to the construction of a Commissioner's Court House; and, pending its completion, the Commissioner's was separated from Major Macleod's court by the sessions of the former taking place at his office. The measure gave satisfaction both to Europeans and Natives, and was on every account of principle and expediency advisable.

The courts at Moulmein have to deal with a very mixed population, consisting of Europeans, Chinese, Moguls, Bengalis, Burmans, Talains, Madrassis, Hindus, and Mussalmans, Karens, Shans and other tribes. Interpreters are few, and generally bad; the working of jury trials may be easily conceived where the elements would be so discordant, and the powers of intercommunication so limited. The European part of the community affords most trouble to the courts, and, until Captain Durand obtained commissions of justices of the peace for his assistants, the courts could with difficulty cope with some of the bad characters, particularly in the police, where the Magistrate of Moulmein has, in dealing with a population of such heterogeneous parts, very arduous duties to perform; the better characters amongst the Englishmen can necessarily afford him but little assistance, whilst the low Europeans either directly, or indirectly, by inflaming the natives, excite much trouble and disorder.

The jails in the Tenasserim provinces are much larger than is

requisite for the local provinces from having to accommodate the convicts transported from India to this coast. The main jail at Moulmein will accommodate about 1,500 convicts, whilst those at Tavoy and Mergui will hold together upwards of half that number. The convicts from India are chiefly Thugs, murderers, and heinous offenders; a portion however are transported for minor offences. The convict system which Major Broadfoot found in force appeared to him so lax that he altered it for a much more rigid one; he found convicts having wives, cattle, and property, and living a comfortable life out of jail; others were clerks in offices, private servants, and employed in a variety of ways; he ordered all into jail and took away from the convicts the license they had enjoyed. So sudden a change produced many daring attempts at escape, and many successful ones not unattended with crime; a spirit of desperation from the absence of any hope of alleviating their state arose amongst them, and gave much trouble and uneasiness; the more so, in consequence of the insecurity of the main jail and the utter inefficiency of the hired peons for jail guards. Captain Durand introduced a similar system to that in the Straits settlements, drawing the convict police from the convicts themselves; thus holding out an object and reward for good conduct amongst this unhappy class of men. He also separated the life, from the fourteen and seven years convicts, retaining all life-convicts at Moulmein, the seven years convicts at Tavoy, and the fourteen years men on Mergui; the worn-out life-convicts are sent to the jail at Amherst. A tolerably complete classification has been effected by thus simply taking advantage of the different jails in the provinces, and the man banished for stealing a piece of cloth is no longer made the companion for seven years of experienced Thugs and murderers. The new convict system works well, and the lines of road made by the convicts at Moulmein, Tavoy, and Mergui are valuable improvements; but had system been earlier introduced, the provinces might by this time have been traversed by good roads; now the three above mentioned towns are the only places where a passable road can be found.

In the Judicial Department much was done to introduce order and system into all its branches by the late Commissioner, Captain Durand, who devoted a great deal of attention to the practical working of the Courts, and spared no pains to introduce arrangement and care, as well as an exact performance of duty. Whether or not, on several occasions, he was too severe, or only did what every honest man in his position ought to have done, is a question the answer to which will

very much depend on the pains which any one may take to make himself master of the real and not the misrepresented facts, as well as on his own moral perception of right and wrong. When we commenced this article it was our intention, in order to its completeness, distinctly, though at the same time, rather cursorily, to allude to those judicial acts of Captain Durand's government which have gained for it so much notoriety. But already, with reference to the timber trade, we have found ourselves involuntarily dragged into a longer dissertation than we had either intended or wished—such a dissertation having appeared absolutely necessary to a proper understanding of the essential merits of the subject. And so now, with reference to the other transactions alluded to, we find, on a closer inspection of our materials, no alternative between entering greatly more into detail than we had intended, and abandoning the discussion altogether. To adopt the latter branch of the alternative, after the extreme publicity which the whole subject has acquired at home and abroad, would not be compatible with our sense of assumed duty. And, as simple lovers of justice and fair play, we feel more reconciled to this necessitated resolution, inasmuch as the more minute and careful examination of the varied evidence which patient research has brought to our notice, has tended to disabuse our own minds of a great deal of antecedent misconception and doubt, arising from imperfect or insufficient information, and to place the whole conduct and character of the Commissioner in a very different light indeed, from that in which both have hitherto been ordinarily represented, primarily, by manifestly interested parties on the spot, and, secondarily, by others at a distance, who, however honest in their intentions, could scarcely help being misled by partial and distorted statements. Our great object has been to ascertain the *precise facts* of every case. And the conclusions at which, after a long and laborious investigation, we have been constrained to arrive, we shall endeavour to state, not controversially but didactically, with all calmness and dispassionateness; because, with us, *the interests of truth and justice must ever be held sacred and paramount to all other considerations.*

Captain Durand, having held, as already intimated, the confidential situation of private Secretary to the Governor-General of India, Lord Ellenborough, was, after the recall and departure of that nobleman for England, sent by Sir H. Hardinge to relieve Major Broadfoot in the Tenasserim provinces. The appointment, we have reason to know, was wholly unsought by him. And thoroughly acquainted as he

was with the feeling existing, not only in these provinces, but also amongst many high officials, with whom, according to general report, "no name was bad enough," for Major Broadfoot, who had exposed a long system of misrule which had grown up and thriven under their surveillance; intimately acquainted too with the state of the Punjab and with the impending necessity for the departure of the Governor-General for Upper India, and having some reason to fear that such departure would at once remove his chief hope of support from the Government of Bengal,—nothing, as we have been credibly informed, but confidence in the support which he felt himself entitled to expect in the honest discharge of his duty from the Governor-General, could have induced Captain Durand to hazard undertaking a charge under such unfavorable auspices.

Except Major Broadfoot, with whom he was personally acquainted, Captain Durand knew no officer in the Tenasserim provinces; and so far as his subordinates were concerned, he came to his charge far freer from bias than Major Broadfoot, who, with his old friendships and old enmities, originating when he was Commissariat Officer at Moulmein, could not be supposed to come with an entirely impartial mind. The larger sphere of action and the momentous questions with which Captain Durand had been engaged as private secretary to Lord Ellenborough, could not, we may reasonably presume, but give an air of comparative insignificance to the petty local matters of Moulmein;—a feeling which must have gone far to secure entire impartiality, if not indifference, as regarded persons and things. His sense of the comparatively minor importance of his new charge was well known at Moulmein, and plainly exemplified when his first assistant Major Macleod (having received and shewn to several officers at Moulmein a letter, the tenor of which was that the appointment of Captain Durand was held unfair to Major Macleod, by a person, who, whatever his own private opinion, ought, the appointment being once made, to have abstained from any expression of it to Captain Durand's subordinates) submitted a remonstrance on the subject of his "supercession," which he was about to forward to the Supreme Government. The late Commissioner, anxious to promote his views, advised him to alter a word which might lay him open to the reply, that the Government could not regard sending a person from the post of private Secretary to the Governor-General to that of Commissioner of the Tenasserim provinces as *supercession of an assistant in those provinces*.

So long as the Governor-General Sir H. Hardinge retained charge of the Government of Bengal, affairs went smoothly in

the Tenasserim provinces ; but, from the time that Sir T. H. Maddock was made Deputy-Governor, things took a very sudden and unexpected turn, which was generally observed and commented on at the time by the Residents at Moulmein. That there was any connection between these events, as cause and effect, it would be presumptuous on our part to say. We merely note the coincidence of them as to time, simply as a matter of fact, which gave occasion to many surmises and shrewd remarks. The first occasion on which this apparent change attracted general notice, was, when a reference was made to the Government of Bengal on the following matter:—

It was very well known—indeed a matter of universal notoriety—at Moulmein, that no mutual good-will existed between the first assistant, i. e., the Province Magistrate, Major Macleod, and Captain Impey, the Police Magistrate ; the rancour originated in other causes than that on which it first broke out, which latter was a silly business, in consequence of which Captain Macleod had to apologize to Captain Impey. Shortly after his arrival, bickerings on trivial points came before Captain Durand, who held them as puerile and treated them as they deserved. At length, however, a favorite revenue writer, formerly for a long time, Captain Macleod's confidential servant, was called up before Captain Impey in the performance of his magisterial duties, and was reported to Captain Durand as having entered the main jail ; held communications with, and made promises to a notorious dakoit imprisoned by Captain Impey ; and as urging that he did so on authority from Major Macleod. The latter was referred to on the subject ; not satisfied with the simple acknowledgement that such was the case, Major Macleod accompanied it by a gross attack upon the public character of Captain Impey as a Magistrate, and endeavoured at the same time to ruin him in the estimation of the Commissioner by a charge of the blackest kind upon his private character. Captain Durand dealt with the official charge as was his duty. The attempt to ruin Captain Impey's private character was met, by this officer being at once informed of the report which had been made, accompanied by the assurance on the Commissioner's part that the intimation was made to Captain Impey solely to warn him against the possibility of such seeming malevolence disturbing the peace of his family, but with no other object as it met with no shade of credence. The name of the tale-bearer was withheld from Captain Impey, who, however, had no difficulty in concluding as to the person, from the circumstance that Major Broadfoot had once had occasion to speak to him

exactly in the same manner as Captain Durand, and for the same purpose.

In the course of the official steps taken by the Commissioner to ascertain whether there were grounds to entertain the charges made by Major Macleod, it became apparent that the feeling of party and hostility had spread from the superiors to the subordinates, and that it was essential for the orderly conduct of business that one of these two Magistrates should be removed from the field of their squabbling, Moulmein. Finding Major Macleod's charges not to merit attention, Captain Durand referred to the Governor-General, Sir H. Hardinge, the propriety of removing one of the two officers; and as Captain Macleod was in every respect the most blameworthy, his removal to Tavoy was suggested, as in every way most convenient for the public service; Dr. Richardson being an officer who could ably replace Captain Macleod at Moulmein, whereas there was no officer fit to replace Captain Impey, if the latter were removed to Mergui;—a fact sufficiently borne out by subsequent experience. The opinion of the Commissioner and his recommendation to Government had been kept secret; Captain Macleod applying for a copy of this opinion was refused; upon which he addressed himself directly to the Government, and after himself having taken the depositions and evidence of various individuals, some of them of infamous character, against Captain Impey, of whom he was the accuser, forwarded a mass of papers direct to the Deputy-Governor declining to submit copies to the Commissioner.

Sir T. H. Maddock's decision, which soon was bruited about, we are unable to account for, and must simply presume that there were some reasons known to the Governor, of which the public could not be aware. But be that as it may, the only facts of which the public really became cognizant, were these:—The Governor found, that Major Macleod had clearly committed errors; had lost his temper; had permitted himself to impute malicious motives to Captain Impey; had even gone the length of demanding that an immediate investigation should be set on foot into the conduct of all his subordinates, and that Captain Impey should be called on to produce his charges and substantiate them (he having made none;) had committed a gross error in deliberately disobeying the orders of the Commissioner; and, the Deputy-Governor might have added, made ridiculous charges against Captain Impey, and then taken the law into his own hands;—yet, Sir T. H. Maddock settled the matter by finding fault with the Commissioner for giving his assistants verbal orders,

and punished Captain Impey by removing him to Mergui, because a junior officer to Major Macleod.

Captain Durand contented himself with intimating to the two officers the decision of the Deputy-Governor, and with expressing his satisfaction that the blame found with himself had partly exonerated them. At the same time he could not but see clearly, and with awakened apprehensions, the degree of support he might anticipate from Sir T. H. Maddock, as did every one else at Moulmein : for the remarks and observations of the Deputy-Governor respecting the Commissioner were said to be very unreserved, and became *the common topic of conversation at Moulmein*, as also the reception given by Sir T. H. Maddock to Major Macleod, who immediately after the decision proceeded on leave to Calcutta.

So circumstanced it was not surprising that when intelligence of the hostilities on the North West Frontier reached Captain Durand, and when, in consequence of the actions of Múdkí and Ferozshah, a call for European troops was made, he should take the opportunity of placing himself in such a position as would enable the Deputy-Governor of Bengal to relieve him without dishonor, and to place some one at Moulmein, whose authority he might be prepared to support. Captain Durand accompanied the wing of the 84th regiment to Calcutta, no doubt influenced by the soldier-like desire of being in the field, when so many officers of his corps, old and young, were suddenly summoned to the frontier; and of seeing the continuation and close of a contest, which to him must have been long foreseen;—influenced also, whether right or wrong, as the few in Calcutta and in England to whom he opened himself well knew, by his growing sense of insecurity under Sir T. H. Maddock, and his desire, on an honorable occasion, to afford the Deputy-Governor the opportunity, which appeared likely to be not unwelcome, of placing some one else in his charge. The course pursued, however, was, under some unintelligible mistake, as we may suppose, to reprimand Captain Durand severely for that which he did not do; that is, he was censured for volunteering, when in fact he had carefully abstained from any presumption of the kind,—only reporting that he thought it a duty to his Government when so excellent an opportunity presented itself as that of accompanying the troops in the fast steamer under his orders, to place himself in such a position that if his services as an officer were required, the Government might, without inconvenience or delay, order him to the frontier;—making no request to be sent, but simply studying the convenience of Government and leaving it to them to order him to

the frontier or back to Moulmein, as might be thought most useful to the service. Captain Durand, in proceeding to Calcutta, did nothing more than some of his civil predecessors, necessarily without corresponding motives, had been permitted to do unreprimanded; he returned to Moulmein with a severe censure, and, as the only fruit of his journey, arms for the local corps, then fifteen months without them.

After a while, Lord Ellenborough having become first Lord of the Admiralty, the Supreme Government of India ordered the Commissioner to make purchases of teak timber. Having formed his committee to carry this measure into effect, Captain Durand had to proceed on circuit to Tavoy and Mergui. Whilst at the latter place, and when on the bench, nearly the whole detachment of the local corps, in a body, came openly into the court, and marching up to the very bar, were about to address the Commissioner, who at once informed them that that was neither the place nor the manner for soldiers to make a complaint, and ordered them out of court, informing the men in what manner to make any complaint they might wish to bring to his notice, and that it would be heard. Shortly after, the native officer came into court, and stated that the detachment had refused to receive the month's pay due to them, and demanded an additional month's pay. Captain Place, the officer in charge of the province, was called, and on being questioned, stated, that he intended to have before reported what had taken place, but the men had forestalled him; that the detachment, when paraded to receive their month's pay, then fully due to them, and which had been sent from head-quarters for them, had refused to receive the pay, and had demanded an additional month's pay *not due to them*, and which had not been forwarded from head-quarters, or at least had not been received. Captain Durand, deeming it essential at once to check such a spirit of insubordination, ordered the ringleaders to be tried; Captain Place tried, convicted, and punished them; the remainder of the detachment then quietly received their pay.

The additional month's pay demanded was for the month *not expired* at the time the men made the request in so improper a manner. Since, however, only a few days were wanting to its termination, and since Captain Place had not received more than the month's pay he issued, Captain Durand made inquiries on his return to Moulmein relative to the transmission of pay to the detachments, with the view of preventing delay or mistakes in future. Several references had to be made between Lieut. Sharp, the adjutant of the local corps, and Captain Place, in the course of which the latter officer rebutted a charge of

error and neglect made upon him by his junior, and proved the latter, Lieut. Sharp, to be entirely at fault. In the course of these references, Lieut. Sharp lost his temper, and reflected upon the conduct of Captain Place in punishing the men, and took the opportunity,—being temporarily in charge of the local corps, in consequence of the departure of the commanding officer,—to advocate the cause of the ringleaders and to make applications for their pardon or another inquiry. The Commissioner issued both to Captain Place and to Lieut. Sharp orders on the subject, which they were informed were final, and directed all further communications respecting it to cease. Instead of attending to this order, the junior officer, Lieut. Sharp,—after a month's interval, during which time false accounts of the transaction were published in the Moulmein Press, and thence copied and reprinted in other Indian journals,—again renewed the subject, requesting, that, if Captain Durand did not accede to his (Lieut. Sharp's) proposals in favor of the mutineers, the matter should be referred to Sir T. H. Maddock. This latter alternative Captain Durand of course acquiesced in: but, as Lieut. Sharp had proved himself wholly unfit to command a corps, by the example of disobedience which he appeared to be setting, and by the encouragement which, consciously or unconsciously, he was affording to a young untrained corps to mutiny, and find support from their officers, the Commissioner suspended him, and recommended his being sent to his corps to learn subordination. At the earnest interposition of Lieut. Sharp's former commanding officer, and the equally earnest entreaty of Lieut. Sharp himself, who requested to be permitted to withdraw his objectionable letters, Captain Durand, *out of consideration to a young and misguided officer, pardoned him, and permitted him to return to his duty.*

In the mean time another subject of a disagreeable character had arisen. With the view of a considerable reduction of Commissariat charges* in the keep of many hundreds of cattle, Captain Rowlandson had proposed a system of paying respectable farmers a certain sum per head for taking charge of them. The measure was, in itself, an excellent one, and as Captain Rowlandson applied to the civil authorities to render him assistance in carrying it out, he was referred to Major Macleod, the officer in charge of the province, who was instructed to

* This gentleman, whose name has already appeared in connection with the Government transactions in timber, is an officer belonging to the Madras Presidency, where, as we have been credibly assured, previous to his appointment to the Commissariat Department at Moulmein, he established for himself the highest character for aptitude in official business, practical sagacity, sterling integrity of principle, and devoted faithfulness to the Government which he so zealously serves.

render every assistance in his power. The manner in which this injunction was obeyed, was, by his handing over the whole matter to the arrangement of the favorite and confidential native, before noticed, as the cause of the charges brought against Captain Impey by Major Macleod. This native, as might have been anticipated, made a job of the whole affair,—giving out the cattle not to respectable land-owners capable of carrying out their engagements, but to his own creatures. Captain Rowlandson was new to the place, and could not, therefore, at once detect that his cattle-farmers were men of straw; but the loss of public cattle, and the wretched state of the remainder soon forced him to withdraw the Commissariat cattle from the farmers, and to report the manner in which the affair had been mismanaged;—a manner so disgraceful that the Brigadier in command of the troops expressed himself very strongly. A hundred and twenty bullocks had been lost in the course of a short time, and the hundreds alive were in a wretched state,—so fallen away that the artillery had to be fed on such meat as could be purchased by the Commissariat Department in the bazar.

About this time a circumstance occurred, well calculated to excite, in many minds, some degree of surprize. While it was not known that the foregoing transaction had attracted any attention at head-quarters, it seems that two paragraphs of the *Moulmein Chronicle* were held of sufficient importance to induce their transmission to the Commissioner with a call for a report upon the statements they contained. One of these paragraphs related to the mutineers at Mergui; the other accused Captain Rowlandson of occupying ground not belonging to him, and of which the owners after a fire had been dispossessed by order of the Commissioner. Every one in Moulmein knew the utter unfoundedness of the statements contained in both paragraphs: but the bare fact of a reference being made by Sir T. H. Maddock, upon such anonymous mis-statements, was virtually, though we are bound to believe, on his part, most unintentionally, a fulfilment of their object; and encouraged the parties concerned, in following out a course, which,—founded on the opinion, they openly but surely without sufficient warrant avowed, that the Governor-General was so much in dread of the press as not to dare to act in contradiction to its voice, and, as we may presume, the equally unwarrantable opinion, that they could securely, and at all hazards, rely on Sir T. H. Maddock's support,—was calculated to mislead the public as much as possible. This call for reports on anonymous paragraphs did not, however, reach

Moulmein, until subsequently to events which have to be mentioned.

Captain Rowlandson, in the Committee for the purchase of teak for the navy, was entrusted with the accounts and the making of purchases. Having in the course of this duty bought fifty-six logs, the agent, to whom they were given over for delivery to Captain Rowlandson, abstracted four, and only delivered fifty-two logs of timber; the man who did this was a Mr. Lenaine, who had lately been head-clerk in Major Macleod's office; and that circumstance, coupled with the fact of his subsequently continually hanging about that officer's court, as a pleader, naturally tended to establish the general impression that he had great influence in that court. Captain Rowlandson, finding that this individual had no intention of giving up the Government property abstracted, lodged a criminal charge against Mr. A. Lenaine before the officiating Police Magistrate, Lieut. Sharp. The case was called, partly heard, and deferred to a subsequent day. In the interval, Mr. Lenaine waited on Major Macleod, who, after seeing Mr. Lenaine, went the same day to Lieut. Sharp, and had a conversation with him on the subject of Captain Rowlandson. The object of Mr. Lenaine's visit appears to have been thoroughly well understood by the pleaders of the Courts, for one of these, a Mr. Gordon, wrote to Captain Rowlandson, "I hear Lenaine went to Major Macleod yesterday morning, begging he would save him. The Major went shortly afterwards to the Police office, and had a conversation with Lieut. Sharp. What the nature of it was I can only imagine, but I have reason to believe from this and information ——— little circumstances with which I am acquainted, that you will not obtain a decree against Lenaine." When the case was called for continuation before Lieut. Sharp, Captain Rowlandson found the proceedings so conducted as to corroborate the information he had thus, in a way so unsought for, received; and when the Court closed its proceedings for that day, he communicated with and obtained the sanction of Lieutenant-Colonel Thomson, the officer commanding the troops in the Tenasserim provinces, to wait on the Commissioner, and make an official report of the circumstances; this he accordingly did, and applied for the Commissioner's interference. Captain Durand pointing out the serious character of the step taken, requested Captain Rowlandson to think the matter over, and if, on reflection, he deemed it a public duty on principle to bring the matter forward, to address Captain Durand officially in writing on the subject. After deliberation, Captain Rowlandson, on a

subsequent day appealed by letter to the Commissioner, as the highest judicial authority in the provinces, to interfere in the case, alleging that he, Captain Rowlandson, was prevented from conducting the prosecution, since his witnesses were cross-questioned in such a way, as to get confused and completely mystified, and the ends of justice thus defeated.

The written application did not distinctly allege a corrupt cause, for the treatment of which Captain Rowlandson complained; the Commissioner, uncertain whether his evident reluctance to have the conduct of two Magistrates hastily implicated had deterred Captain Rowlandson on consideration from again assigning undue interference as the cause, acted on the powers vested in him by Section VIII.* of the Rules for the administration of justice,—a power he had never before exerted, but of which the occasion seemed to demand the exercise. The Magistrates of the Police and Province Courts (the only two lower Courts at Moulmein) being the parties implicated, the case was removed for a hearing to the Commissioner's Court.

Two days after this, and before the case had been heard by the Commissioner, Captain Rowlandson addressed an official letter to Captain Durand, stating that he had been informed that the injurious treatment of which he had complained had resulted from the most improper interference of Major Macleod with the presiding Magistrate,—he, Major Macleod, having had the prisoner at his house immediately previous. On receiving this letter Captain Durand sent for Lieut. Sharp, and ascertained from him, that a conversation, calculated to affect his judgment in the case, being highly detracting to Captain Rowlandson, had taken place between Major Macleod and himself. Having thus ascertained that there were grounds for Captain Rowlandson's charge of an indubitable character, Captain Durand, anxious, if possible, to avoid the scandal of a *public* inquiry, directed both Major Macleod and Lieut. Sharp to state in writing, and without intercommunication with each other, what conversation regarding Captain Rowlandson and Mr. Lenaine, pending the criminal investigation, had taken place between them. Any semblance of collusion between these officers would necessarily frustrate the object of avoiding, if at all practicable, the great scandal of a *public* inquiry. Lieut. Sharp, however, chose deliberately to refuse, because "Captain Durand had no right to

* Section VIII.—"The Commissioner may remove any case before or during trial from any Court to any other Court."

call for what passed privately," on public and judicial matters, between himself and Major Macleod; and, after communicating the substance of his conversation and letter to Major Macleod, he simply informed the Commissioner that he had done so. Major Macleod's reply was received after this intimation of Lieut. Sharp's conduct had reached the Commissioner some time, but it made no mention of the forbidden intercommunication which had taken place; and as Major Macleod's statement of the conversation held with Lieut. Sharp and of the mention made of Captain Rowlandson, differed essentially from Lieut. Sharp's acknowledgement on that particular, Captain Durand, finding his pacific wishes and intentions disregarded in a manner calculated to remove all confidence, and having to bear in mind what was due to Captain Rowlandson, ordered all three officers to appear before him.

The XXXIV. Section of the Rules for the administration of justice in the Tenasserim provinces runs thus—"The Commissioner will superintend and control all the Police officers of the provinces, superior and subordinate. He may appoint, suspend or dismiss, and delegate to his assistants the power of appointing, suspending, or dismissing all officers below the grade of assistant, and he may suspend any assistant;" but the Rules do not of course delegate such powers except on enquiry and investigation.

When the three officers appeared before Captain Durand, only two persons were called forward by Captain Rowlandson,—Lieut. Sharp offering to save the time of the Commissioner by making a statement. This he did, and Captain Rowlandson having heard it said, that the production of evidence was rendered unnecessary, and would only be a waste of time,—Lieut. Sharp's statement being sufficiently clear and explicit as to the nature of the conversation which had passed between Major Macleod and himself. Major Macleod then made his own statement; according to which, Mr. Lenaine was permitted to request his intercession and interference in the pending case. According to Lieut. Sharp's statement, Major Macleod, when he called at the police office, after having seen Mr. Lenaine, took the opportunity of introducing the subject of the difficulty he experienced in adjudging wood cases; conversed for a few minutes on the causes of this difficulty, and then proceeded to allude to Captain Rowlandson, observing that he had had Captain Rowlandson a great deal in court; that Captain Rowlandson was mad about wood; that, in a case between Mr. Bondville and Mr. C. Dias, Major Macleod had committed several of Captain Rowlandson's witnesses for forgery and

perjury. This led to Lieut. Sharp's mentioning the case of Captain Rowlandson and Mr. Lenaine, then pending before him. It appeared before Captain Durand, that Captain Rowlandson had not been a great deal in Major Macleod's court; that Major Macleod had not committed a single witness of Captain Rowlandson's for forgery or perjury; and that Captain Rowlandson, represented as mad about wood, was simply discharging, in a way the most conscientious, a public duty to Government very onerous, and, on his part, quite uncoveted. The natural result of such detractions was rendered apparent by Lieut. Sharp's introduction of his then pending case, in which Captain Rowlandson was concerned as a principal, on account of Government.

The questions for the Commissioner's decision were, 1. whether Major Macleod, a sworn Justice of the peace, was acting in conformity with his oath of office, when he permitted, unchecked, a person under a criminal prosecution to come to his private house, and hold most improper communications,—begging interference with the presiding officer of the court trying such person. 2. Whether, after having admitted such a communication, Major Macleod was acting in conformity with his oath of office, as a Justice of the peace, in proceeding that same day to hold a conference with the presiding officer, Lieut. Sharp, highly detracting to the prosecutor in the case in which interference was asked, and calculated to prejudice the mind of Lieut. Sharp against the prosecutor. 3. Whether these officers, both Justices of the peace, holding such conferences, and neither of them making any report or mention of what had passed, were acting as was their bounden duty. Most men, we should suppose, whose ideas of right and wrong are not perverted or entangled in a mesh of mere quibbling legal technicalities, will be disposed to concur in the opinion that Captain Durand, the highest judicial functionary in the Tenasserim provinces, and vested with special powers as Commissioner to check anything affecting the purity of the administration of justice, would have been as culpable as the parties themselves, had he, on their own admissions, arrived at any other conclusion than that which he adopted, namely, that such proceedings evinced a want of the requisite official probity.

Captain Durand so reported to the Deputy-Governor of Bengal,—at the same time suspending both officers, and noting strongly the conduct of Lieut. Sharp, whose sad, if not habitual disobedience, nothing affected by the leniency and consideration but a month before shewn him, had thus brought on a public investigation. The Commissioner also suggested, that, if

further proceedings and inquiry were deemed advisable, their conduct should be entrusted to some one else than himself,—his own opinion on this preliminary inquiry having been formed and expressed.

Shortly after this investigation it came to the Commissioner's notice, that Mr. Hough, the Government School Master, was, in direct contravention, as appeared to him, of a positive order of Government, and of his own pledged word, in close connection with the *Moulmein Chronicle* Press. When Major Broadfoot was Commissioner, he received instructions, dated the 19th June, 1843, that His Honor the Deputy-Governor deemed it quite inexpedient that Mr. Hough, or any other public servant, should be connected with a Local newspaper; and requested that his sentiments should be made known to Mr. Hough, and that the latter was expected to disconnect himself immediately from the press alluded to, or, to relinquish his situation under Government. The option was given to Mr. Hough, who determined to retain the Government school, and *promised to break off all connection with the press*. The manner in which the promise was kept would seem to indicate, that he was acting, for the time, under some strange mistaken idea or mental obliviousness; for, although Mr. Hough, when first questioned by Captain Durand, asserted that he *had obeyed the order of Government*, yet, *subsequently*, when it was known that Captain Durand's information was clear as to the real state of affairs, Mr. Hough *acknowledged to having written for the Newspaper in question, corrected its proofs, and penned editorials*. Notwithstanding such acknowledgments, Mr. Hough was led to assert that he had "never in a single instance been consulted by the Editor as to its contents." The upshot of this case, was, that the Commissioner, though with the utmost reluctance, and solely under a painful sense of public duty, felt himself called on *temporarily* to remove Mr. Hough from his situation. How far the views of the Commissioner, as to "deliberate disobedience of a Government order, breach of promise, and conduct wanting in veracity," on the part of Mr. Hough—which views alone seemed to necessitate this suspension,—may be substantiated or proved to be erroneous, must of course depend, not on plausible theories, but on the properly interpreted contents of that documentary evidence on which the judgment was founded. No one, we presume, would be more happy than the Commissioner himself to find, that the whole indicated a simple error of judgment on his part, rather than a series of moral offences on the part of Mr. Hough.

Mr. Hough's case was sent to the Government about the same time that that of Major Macleod and Lieut. Sharp was forwarded. Mr. Hough applied for permission to proceed to Calcutta, which was granted; and he accompanied the papers notifying the steps taken respecting him. Of the nature of his object in proceeding to Calcutta there could be no doubt: Neither can any one reasonably blame him for attempting to do whatever lay in his power, to further his own cause, if he felt himself really aggrieved. The appearance of certain articles in one portion of the local press, co-incidental with his presence in Calcutta and its vicinity, or closely consequent on his departure, originated various, no doubt, idle surmises respecting the supposed sinister activity of his exertions and the alleged one-sided influence of his representations. But with these, and all the varied and all but incredible gossip relative to the rumoured effect of the sayings and doings of himself, and certain members of his family, in swelling the cry that had begun to be raised against Captain Durand and his proceedings—we wish to have nothing to do. The only material point, which it is of some importance to note, is, the undoubted fact, that, after a two months' absence, Mr. Hough returned to Moulmein. In his own case, which, most of the residents at Moulmein thought rather a plain one, no orders had been passed; but he brought back and spread the intelligence that the Deputy-Governor had decided on removing, so soon as a plausible pretext could be found, the Commissioner, Captain Durand,—and that it was determined to send Mr. J. Colvin, or Mr. Grant to relieve him. On whose authority such information should have been so prematurely and irregularly propagated, or whether on any adequate authority at all; or whether the whole may not have been the result of a mere rational surmise or well hit inference, arising partly from his own natural wishes and partly from a fortuitous glimpse of some of the stray shadows which coming events cast before;—whether originating in any of these ways, or in any other unknown to us—we cannot say. But of the fact of such information having been propagated there can be no doubt. Neither can there be any doubt, that, in consequence of the associations which, right or wrong, it was generally believed Mr. Hough had been enabled to form in Calcutta and its neighbourhood, the information, thus studiously propagated at Moulmein, came to be regarded by the residents in the light of a true prophecy.

In reply to the reference respecting Major Macleod and Lieut. Sharp, we deem it best simply to state, without note

or comment, that the Deputy-Governor cancelled their suspension,—pronounced that not the smallest impeachment rested upon their characters—and held the investigation to have been an act of official indiscretion on the part of the Commissioner calculated to embarrass the Government!

It has been before observed that two anonymous paragraphs, extracted from the *Moulmein Chronicle* were sent to Captain Durand, in order that he should report upon their allegations. They were received after Mr. Hough's matter was settled in the local court by his removal from his charge, and were, as we understand, accompanied by a letter which shewed that it had not escaped the observation of the Deputy-Governor, that the Editor of the newspaper, by ceasing to conform to the act of the Supreme Government relative to Newspapers, Printing-presses, &c. at the time these paragraphs appeared, had laid himself open to punishment. In this letter the Commissioner was instructed to enforce attention to the act in future. The act had, however, always been in force in the provinces since its first promulgation, and the injunction could not, without an injurious implication, on the part of Captain Durand, of the intention of the Deputy-Governor to screen the offender, be taken otherwise than as calling the attention of the authorities to the due enforcement of its provisions; not as abrogating the act up to the date of the receipt of the injunction, a power not vested in the Deputy-Governor of Bengal, and which the Commissioner naturally, therefore, was not at liberty to suppose that he wished to exercise.

The paragraph respecting the mutineers at Mergui was met by despatching all the papers connected with the subject,—ending with Lieut. Sharp's temporary suspension for disobedience of orders, and his ultimate restoration. The other paragraph respecting appropriation of ground was sent to the officer in command of the troops, because the person accused of taking in ground was Captain Rowlandson, an officer under his orders. The replies of Col. Thomson and the inquiries he made were sent to the Deputy-Governor, and shewed clearly the entire falsehood of the allegations. In reply to the latter communication, no orders were passed by Sir T. H. Maddock; but the case of the mutineers came, some how or other, to be mixed up with the investigation relative to the conduct of Major Macleod and Lieut. Sharp with which it had no connection whatever; and thus, by untowardly and inexplicably blending things distinct and separate, and so unhappily confusing all as much as if confusion had been the purposed object, the conduct of Captain Durand was censured in ordering Captain Place to

try the mutineers, and for his leniency to Lieut. Sharp, whose subsequent suspension was stated to be only re-enforced and submitted to Government in consequence of Captain Rowlandson's charges against Major Macleod and Lieut. Sharp; whereas, as before noted, the papers were necessarily sent up when the report on the anonymous paragraphs was called for.

The tone of this communication to the Commissioner was felt by him to be so unnecessarily offensive, and both subjects were dealt with in a manner so thoroughly unaccountable, and, with what appeared to him, such an evident pre-resolve to attach blame to what he conceived to be the faithful execution of his duty and to deny him all support, that it is not at all surprising, that, with these strong convictions in his own mind, he should at once have appealed against the decision to the Governor-General of India. The Deputy-Governor, however, it appears, refused to forward his appeal, and referred Captain Durand to the Court of Directors. As the Governor-General of India, when he separated himself from his Council, was vested by act of the Supreme Government with all the powers of the Governor-General in Council, except those of legislation, this denial of an appeal was regarded by the Commissioner as unconstitutional. But be that as it may, from the course pursued by Sir T. H. Maddock in this particular, some months passed before Captain Durand, apprised that his appeal to the Governor-General of India was refused, could take steps to appeal to the Court of Directors; and the delay obtained afforded time for the erroneous impressions so sedulously spread by interested parties to take root before they were met by a clear statement of particulars, and a correction not only of the gross calumnies prevalent, but also of the mistaken decisions of authority.

The call for reports, on the two anonymous paragraphs made by Sir T. H. Maddock, produced results scarcely to have been anticipated, and which brought more trouble on the Commissioner,—placing him in that position as judge, that he must either shrink from what he honestly regarded as the plain but painful duties of his office, or make up his mind to encounter the fresh shafts of calumny, and possibly to further conflict with superior authority.

Captain Rowlandson, naturally hurt that an inquiry as to his conduct, with reference to the appropriated ground, should be made in consequence of the notice taken by Sir T. H. Maddock of scurrilous, anonymous assertions in a low and disreputable newspaper, deemed it incumbent on himself not to remain

quiet under abusive and libellous imputations which attracted the notice of a Deputy-Governor of Bengal—imputations, however, which without that notice, he would have continued to treat with the contempt they deserved. And, finding that the editor had avoided amenability to law on one point by discontinuing, when inserting such vituperative articles, attention to the provisions of Act XI. of 1835 of the Supreme Government, he determined, under the best legal advice at his command, to enter a criminal charge against the editor on the points on which he conceived him amenable to law, namely, for specific breaches of the act in question. With this view he lodged a petition before the Commissioner, which, on being received, Captain Durand directed Captain Rowlandson, if he had any complaint to make, to prefer to the officer officiating as Police Magistrate during the suspension of Major Macleod and Lieut. Sharp,—Captain Kenny. This officer admitted the case as a criminal prosecution for breaches of the act, and entered upon its hearing; but, after consideration, he sent the case up to the Commissioner's Court, deeming the Police Court and Magistrate, with reference to the amount of penalty and punishment awardable by the act, incompetent to adjudicate in the case. Being thus transferred to the Commissioner's Court by Captain Kenny, it became imperatively incumbent on the Commissioner, in compliance with Sec. V.* of the rules for the administration of justice, to hear the case and to pass a decision. The breaches of the act were clearly and distinctly proved, and the Commissioner sentenced the editor to such penalty and imprisonment as the case appeared to merit, but considerably under, in amount of penalty, what by the act he was empowered to inflict. The editor requested and was granted an appeal to the Sudder Court—and as he could not pay the fine awarded, the press, types, &c. were attached by order of the court, but not sold, in consequence of Mrs. Hough, in the absence of Mr. Hough, then in Calcutta, claiming them as the property of her husband.

In addition to applying for appeal, the editor addressed a petition direct to Sir T. H. Maddock, said to be grossly erroneous in sundry of its statements, and requesting his in-

* Section V.—“Provided that every Goung Gyook or Tseekay, who, before or after the completion of a trial, may think the sentence fit to be passed heavier than that which he is empowered to pass, shall transmit the proceedings to the assistant, to whom he is subordinate, and shall also cause the parties and their witnesses to appear before the assistant, and the assistant, who shall be of like opinion, before, or after trial of any case, shall in like manner commit it to the Commissioner for trial, and shall cause the parties and their witnesses to appear before him at such time and place as he may appoint.”

terference. On receipt of this petition, the Deputy-Governor at once, and apparently in entire ignorance of the merits of the case then in appeal before the Sudder Court, directed the suspension of the award of the Commissioner's Court, and the release of the prisoner;—an order, which, however unusual or seemingly irregular, was immediately obeyed.

Captain Durand had convicted Mr. A. Lenaine, on trial of the charges preferred against him for feloniously abstracting Government timber, and had sentenced him to a lenient punishment. Mr. Lenaine applied for and obtained an appeal to the Sudder Court, but also petitioned direct to Sir T. H. Maddock.—The latter, being informed that the cases for which he called were in appeal before the Sudder Court, applied to that court, who replied that they had ruled that the court could not receive them in appeal,—this being the opinion of the majority of the court. Sir T. H. Maddock then requested that the court should report on the cases without trying the appeals. This the Sudder Court complied with, and, in so doing, is believed to have fallen into sundry grave errors, partly, we may presume, in consequence of their ignorance of the fact that trial by jury had not, as prescribed by the promulgated rules laid before them, been established; and of their little acquaintance with the customs of the trade and place. That, as some have alleged, the judges should have been unconsciously influenced in their decision, by the mass of mis-statements and calumnies abroad at the time, may, or may not, be true; though, if it were, it would in no wise reflect on their official integrity, seeing that judges are but men, who, like others, must ever be exposed to such insidious influences.

In Mr. Lenaine's case the majority of the judges pronounced, that he ought to have been acquitted, though some of the ablest lawyers, as we are credibly informed, have expressed their concurrence in the strong opinion of the minority, which entirely bore out the decree of the Commissioner. In that of the Editor, the judges, as we understand, took very different views of the act and its provisions; of the competency of Captain Rowlandson to prosecute; and of the breaches of the Act established. Some thought a nominal fine should have been inflicted, and the prosecutor referred by the Court to an action for libel; some objected to the fines for contempt of Court; others approved and upheld them; some objected to the call of the Court for, and the weight given by the Court to the character of the Editor, as an element to guide discretion in the award of penalty and imprisonment, which by the Act might be any thing up to 5,000 rupees and two years of imprisonment. They how-

ever held, on one ground or another, that the prosecution was illegal,* and that the sentence ought to be remitted. They thus upheld the judgment of Sir T. H. Maddock, who had indeed already cast the weight of the Government, without stay or hesitation, against the proceedings of the Commissioner's Court. The case lay in no very recondite subtleties; the Editor, whilst convenient to himself, had discontinued to print his name on the paper, and had otherwise not conformed to the provisions of the Act; the breaches were as clear, as the Act itself is, to all ordinary readers, whose moral sense may well recoil from such fatal facility of escape from the consequences of scurrility and calumny.

Mr. Hough, as already stated, had long before ventured to make known by anticipation, the arrangement said to be in contemplation for the removal of Captain Durand; and as it had been also long shrewdly surmised, that the only person in the Tenasserim provinces, who was not to expect support, was the officer placed in charge of them by the Governor-General of India, a systematic cabal had been formed, the meetings of which and their fruits, in monthly communications direct to Bengal, were the common topic of conversation at Moulmein. Their object, as was well known, was to embarrass the administration of Captain Durand as much as possible, and to create all the trouble and disturbance which ingenuity could devise, without actually exposing the members to the proceedings of a public officer, who made all men see that nothing daunted him in the execution of duty; and that, though wholly unsupported by superior authority, yet so long as he remained in his position, he would fearlessly do what he thought principle demanded. There is also a limit beyond which if cabal steps, whatever the countenance secretly assured of, it cannot be longer permitted to exist; every occasion, however, on which clamour could be raised, or a reference made, was seized, and people directly and indirectly encouraged to adopt all such steps as could in any manner tend to cast disrepute upon Captain Durand, hamper his measures, occupy his time, and distract his attention from more important matters. One single act of vigorous support to authority would have put a stop to such proceedings; but there seemed to be something like an understanding between this Moulmein cabal, and persons who ought to have been ashamed to countenance such underhand transactions. The shamelessness with which matters were carried on was the astonishment of all honest men

* Since this was originally written, it has transpired, that one of the most eminent London Counsel has given a deliberate opinion in favour of the legality of this trial throughout, and has commented, in no measured terms, on the verdict of the majority of the Sudder Dewany.

at Moulmein; but honest men are silent, and the union and activity of the dishonest, with the absence of all scruple, and the aid of a libellous Moulmein press, effectually prevented the truth from becoming known.

The Brigadier commanding the troops was one day, during the rainy season, surprised to find the guard of regular infantry removed from the inside to the outside of the main jail, and placed in a shed in no way calculated for the accommodation of the guard at such a season. As the main jail contained about a thousand convicts and prisoners, and being, by the regulations of the Madras army, responsible for the posting of this guard, he naturally inquired by whose orders the guard had been removed. The Commissioner referred to Lieut. Wilson, the officer in subordinate charge of the jail, to ascertain. Lieut. Wilson, after some delay, replied that it was by his orders, and sent in, as his reason for having acted without instructions from superior authority, a statement containing a series of charges against the conduct of the guard, a detachment of the 52nd M. N. I., whilst within the jail. These communications were forwarded to the Brigadier, Lieut. Colonel Thomson. The allegations were various, and were held to affect the character of the 52nd M. N. I. deeply. Major Baillie, the officer in command of the corps, held a regimental inquiry, and the result of the proceedings of the military authorities, was, that the Brigadier requested that Lieut. Wilson might be called upon to prove his allegations or to apologize for having made them. He chose to be permitted to prove and substantiate before a Court of Inquiry what he had advanced against the conduct of the guard,—stipulating however that no officer of the 52d M. N. I. should be a member of the Court. To this strange request from an officer belonging to the 52d M. N. I. the Brigadier acceded, and assembled the Court of Inquiry composed without a member from the regiment in question, the only one in the provinces. When Lieut. Wilson came before the Court, he objected to one of the members on a ground over-ruled by the Brigadier, who directed the Court to proceed with its inquiry. Lieut. Wilson again refused—urging that he had reasons to communicate, which he wished permission to state, but not to the Court. It was evident that Lieut. Wilson was trifling with the Court, and acting in a very contumacious manner, because, being attached to the local corps, which he considered a civil appointment, he could baffle the regular military authorities with impunity. The Brigadier complaining of this conduct, Captain Durand placed Lieut. Wilson temporarily under his orders; Lieut. Wilson was then directed by the Brigadier to proceed with the business before the Court of Inquiry, stating any

reasons he might have for objecting to proceed to the Court itself. Lieut. Wilson refused, and the Brigadier then instructed the Court to record its opinion, which it did. Both the Brigadier and the officer in command of the 52d M. N. I. then sent in a series of charges against Lieut. Wilson to the Commander-in-chief of the Madras army, and application was made to the Commissioner, that Lieut. Wilson should be placed under arrest. Captain Durand could not but comply with the request, and suspending Lieut. Wilson from his functions in the Commission, placed him, at the requisition of Lieutenant-Colonel Thomson, under arrest. Sir T. H. Maddock, on receiving a report of the circumstance, replied, by sending the copy of a communication which Lieut. Wilson had forwarded direct to the Deputy-Governor, without transmitting it through his superiors, on the alledged grounds that the Commissioner had refused to forward it; the real fact being that the Commissioner had never seen the paper, and had never had the option, much less the power of refusing to forward it. On this paper thus forwarded, Sir T. H. Maddock directed that Lieut. Wilson should be released from arrest, and that if Captain Durand were satisfied with the reasons which Lieut. Wilson had refused to assign before the Court of Inquiry, assembled at his own request, Lieut. Wilson was to be released from suspension. Captain Durand obeyed the order as to release from arrest, but declined, on his own responsibility, to release from suspension an officer whose conduct had been alike subversive of all Civil and Military authority.

The removal of Captain Durand seems to have been understood as an event determined on so long prior to its execution, that a gentleman, holding one of the highest offices of state, when he went to the Cape for his health, nearly a year before, was heard to mention the circumstance of the intention to remove Captain Durand, and to relieve him by Mr. J. Colvin. When the latter gentleman long afterwards returned from Ceylon, this measure was carried into effect.

To most people it will occur that there is no very clear connection between the efficiency and good order of an administration, or the welfare of the Tenasserim provinces, and the removal of a judge for punishing leniently a man guilty in the opinion of the minority of the judges of the Sudder Court of the charge legally by the prosecutor brought against him, namely, the fraudulent taking of Government timber. Neither will most readers perceive how the welfare of the provinces or the efficiency of the administration could be very seriously affected by the Editor of a low and scurrilous newspaper, being punished by a judge for the proved wilful breach of a Penal Act of the

Supreme Government, which it was the bounden duty of that judge fearlessly to enforce ; for our readers will probably be of the opinion that " Judges ought to remember that their office is *jus dicere* and not *jus dare*, to interpret law and not to make or give law," least of all to abrogate existing laws ; and that the Judge,—who feared the vituperations of the slanderer, and shrunk from enforcing a Penal Act, because a man, who in defence chose to urge the sheltering interference of a high authority, is the culprit,—should be driven with dishonor from the judgment seat. Few of our readers too will perceive the connection between the welfare of the provinces or the good order of their administration, and the cancelling of the suspension of officers conducting themselves as Major Macleod, Lieut. Sharp, and Lieut. Wilson did. And so with other cases. In the simplicity of unofficial understandings, most readers would have expected that want of energy and decision in moments of political difficulty, in checking mutiny, in curbing factious opposition to authority, would have been legitimate reasons for removing the administrator of provinces ; that negligence of the interests of the people and their welfare, or the permitting them to be weighed down by grinding exactions would also have been sufficient grounds for such a step ; that a failure of revenue, owing to mis-management traceable to the administrator, might have been a reason for such a measure ; nay, that any gross act of oppression brought home to Captain Durand would have subjected him with propriety to such an exercise of Superior power ;—but few would have expected that the suspension of Justices of the Peace, forgetful of their oaths of office ; the suspension of an officer who set at nought both civil and military authority ; the punishment of fraud and the enforcement of a law of the Supreme Government, and such like, would be esteemed to warrant so grave a step as the removal of an officer entrusted and sworn to administer justice without fear or favor ! The only creditable solution of the matter, is, that the Governor, already overburdened with the manifold cares of state, had been temporarily misled by statements, the erroneousness of which he did not suspect, or had not leisure by inquiry to expose.

Captain Durand carried into effect measures from which others in his place had shrunk ; he excited the animosity of certain members of the mercantile community by an uncompromising hostility to all jobbing. And once made to pay as much per ton for the tonnage engaged to take wrecked troops from the Andamans to Calcutta, as if the troops had been going to England, he never again, when, by using Government vessels, he could avoid it, employed hired tonnage. He reduced the force, and

therefore the quantity of money and stores thrown into Moulmein. He grappled honestly with the forest question and alarmed influential houses of agency. He carried out a stern, though for the safety of the cantonments and of the Ordnance and Commissariat Stores of the force, a necessary measure, when he forbade, after a calamitous fire, the re-occupation of the ground around the barracks, magazines, and stores of the troops, which had all repeatedly been in imminent peril from such conflagrations, and were only on that occasion saved by the exertions of the European Regiment. These were all very unpopular acts, and it might have been supposed that when he gave the community of Moulmein a month's warning that he was to be removed, that complaints would have thickened against the man so evidently denied the confidence and support of superior authority; yet, the very men,—who were the greatest sufferers from the last mentioned really stern though necessary political measure, and not small sufferers from some of the others—the Mogul merchants and the native community,—came forward with an address which is best given in their own words,—their English, though not very pure or grammatical, being not inexpressive of their feelings:—

TO CAPTAIN H. M. DURAND,

Commissioner of the Tenasserim Provinces.

SIR,—The native residents of this town of all classes, having learnt with sincere grief that you are on the eve of leaving these provinces, in the administration of the affairs of which you have afforded them the greatest satisfaction, cannot suffer you to leave them without, along with their unfeigned regret, expressing their unqualified approbation of the manner in which you have acquitted yourself under very trying circumstances which must have rendered the discharge of your public duty extremely arduous. We have invariably found you ready to afford protection to the poor; to distribute justice in the most impartial manner; and to hear and investigate cases brought before you with a patience we have rarely met with any where. We have always approached you without fear under the conviction that you are ever ready to afford redress; we have been listened to with attention; and have departed with satisfaction at the impartiality of your decisions. The firmness you have exhibited in carrying out your measures had led us to hope that had it pleased the Government of Bengal to prolong your administration of these provinces, most if not all of the defects still existing, as naturally they must wherever the Acts and Regulations of Government have not been enforced, would have been gradually rectified; regularity would have been established, and the rights of the people defined and secured, and adjudicated with certainty, which has not been the case since the formation of these settlements, nor could have been expected under the crude system in vogue. We have marked with satisfaction the straightforward manner in which though surrounded with peculiar difficulties you have conducted the important affairs entrusted to your hands; and we beg respectfully to assure you that the native population have duly appreciated your solicitude for their wel-

fare, doubly enhanced by the mildness and affability you have invariably shewn them, creating that confidence, which should be felt by those who have occasion to approach the dispensers of justice. We have appeared before you with a firm persuasion that the object of our complaints, the case under trial, or the matter represented would be listened to and investigated with calmness, and decided and disposed of without partiality or favor. We leave it to you then, Sir, to judge of the extent of the satisfaction we have experienced under your administration, and the nature of the sorrow with which we contemplate your approaching departure. We can scarcely venture to indulge the hope that the voice of the native community of this town would have sufficient weight with the Supreme Government to restore you to them again, although you have accomplished what in other places subject to the East India Company, has rarely occurred, namely, giving general satisfaction to the bulk of the *native population*. What remains for us to do, we do it most cordially; we beg respectfully to tender you our grateful thanks for all that you have been to, and done for us, to assure you that our sincere best wishes will always attend you wherever you may go, and in whatever situation it may please the Supreme Government to place you; and that our prayers will always be offered up for your welfare and happiness.

We have the honor to be, Sir,

Your most obedient Servants,

Moulmein, Dec. 1846.

750 OR 800 SIGNATURES.

The above was followed by an address from some of the most respectable of the European merchants of Moulmein:—

TO CAPTAIN H. M. DURAND,

Commissioner of the Tenasserim Provinces.

SIR,—I have the honor in the name of the parties who have signed the enclosed address, to transmit the same to you, and which, taken in connection with a separate address to the same effect presented by the native inhabitants, I have much pleasure in stating to express the sentiments of a large portion of this community.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

JOHN PATERSON.

TO CAPTAIN H. M. DURAND,

Commissioner of the Tenasserim Provinces.

SIR,—We the undersigned merchants, and other inhabitants of this place, have heard with regret of your intended removal from your present appointment, and take this opportunity of expressing our entire confidence in your ability for the proper performance of your present or any similar appointment.

We are well aware of the difficulties attending the proper fulfilment of the duties of Commissioner of these provinces, and although some of your public measures may have been disapproved of, yet we are confident every such measure was meant for the benefit of the provinces under your jurisdiction, the prosperity of which we are convinced you have at heart, and we regret that time and opportunity have not been afforded for carrying your contemplated measures for the advancement of the provinces into effect.

We also desire to express our satisfaction at the impartial and able manner in which justice has been administered in the Court over which you preside, and your unremitting and zealous attention to the numerous and intricate cases continually brought before you where all parties felt confident that none other than a conscientious and unbiassed decision would be given.

In conclusion we beg to express our conviction that your duties as Commissioner of the provinces have been administered in an able, honorable, and upright manner, and with sincere wishes for your prosperity in whatever appointment you may now be called to,

We have the honor to be Sir,

Your most obedient Servants,

JOHN PATERSON.
HENRY S. ANSTEN.
RIDINGD. WISE.
JNO. CUMMINS.
THOMAS FEWSON.
J. LYSTER.
C. F. CECIL.
JAMES C. TODD.

M. COTTON.
L. A. AVIETICK.
H. HARGELWOOD.
JOSEPH W. FASE.
G. E. LIMOUSIN.
RICHARD SNADDEN.
JAMES INNES.

The removal of Captain Durand has been termed a great moral lesson to the service. It is so; for it teaches public officers that they must be prepared, in the honest performance of duty, to incur calumny and gross abuse,—that success may be held from them, and much trouble and disorder unhappily arise from the absence, at the right juncture, of that proper support to which every man entrusted with an important charge is entitled, and which heretofore has seldom been refused, except where either a mean pusillanimity or still meaner motives have been in operation:—and that, however hard it may be to endure base calumnies, they must hold on, in the fearless performance of duty, submitting the issue, so far as their own interests and names are at stake, to the will of God. The lesson is more than a moral lesson to the service; for it proves that a local press, like that of Moulmein, is not to be held as a true mirror for the representation even of local facts, or the accurate chronicling of local events, but rather the organ of the individual feelings or incensed passions, of individuals, who have been balked and thwarted in their selfish or dishonorable designs, by the vigilance and faithfulness of local authority. It also proves, how, even, the most respectable press elsewhere, though not swayed by local prejudices, may yet be temporarily misled by artful, one-sided, or defective representations, which, from its distance from the scene of action, it has not the means of promptly correcting. Captain Durand, when he received the following address, signed by such holy and eminent men as Judson, Binney, &c. must have felt no ordinary

gratification ; and the unmerited abuse of the Moulmein Press, if he ever cared for it, must have sunk to its proper value :—

To CAPTAIN H. M. DURAND,

Commissioner of the Tenasserim Provinces.

DEAR SIR,—Allow us, members of the American Baptist Mission, on the eve of your departure, frankly to express to you our grateful sense of the numerous favors you have conferred on the various departments of the Mission during your residence in these provinces.

The effective but unostentatious methods you have constantly chosen to promote the cause of education and religion among the people assure us of your sincere desire for their highest interests.

We will not attempt to enumerate the various methods by which a salutary influence has been felt at all our stations, and widely diffused throughout the several departments of our labours, nor the particular instances in which special and timely assistance has been promptly afforded.

We beg to assure you that we have not failed duly to appreciate the very liberal pecuniary assistance you have given to the work in which we are engaged ; nor have we been less sensible to the aid you have rendered us by a deportment alike adapted to administer the most severe rebuke to vice, and afford the strongest supports to virtue and religion.

It is our sincere desire, and an object for which our prayers shall not be wanting that our Heavenly Father may still direct you in a way in which your labours may be highly useful to mankind, as well as a source of increasing delight to yourself, and that you may finally receive the ultimate reward of those who continue faithful until death.

With these sentiments, we remain,

Your's very sincerely,

J. M. HUSWELL.

THOS. J. RAMSAY.

J. G. BINNEY.

E. A. STEVENS.

H. HOWARD.

L. STILSON.

A. JUDSON.

Moulmein, 21st December, 1846.

That the abuse of the local press had had no effect in exacerbating his feelings was shown by the circular order issued to the officials in the Tenasserim provinces, shortly before Captain Durand's departure. This, his last public act was called forth by the silly references made to him on several occasions concerning anonymous paragraphs in the local newspapers. As this circular order is of far more general application than to the officers of the Commission in the Tenasserim provinces, and is no bad lesson to the services, Civil and Military, we shall not refrain from calling the attention of such of our readers as belong to the East India Company's Service to the advice it contains :—

“ CIRCULAR.

Several of the officers attached to the Commission having lately made lengthy references upon the subject of remarks ungrateful to them, in the local newspapers, it becomes necessary to inform all officers, superior and subordinate, in the employment of Government in these provinces, that the

time of the Commissioner cannot be given to such references. His opinion of their conduct depends upon the manner in which he finds the duties entrusted to them performed, and not upon the opinions expressed by the local newspapers.

The Commissioner recommends to those officers of the Commission from whom he has received the references which originate this circular, and indeed to all in the employment of Government in these provinces, to make such use of the remarks of the press as is most conducive to the good of the public service. This will be best accomplished, not by long references to their superior, upon remarks deemed ungracious or erroneous, but, by noting all really useful suggestions which the press may afford, and by confidently trusting to integrity of purpose, and vigilance in the discharge of duty, as the instruments by which they cannot fail of securing to themselves, not only the approbation of their local superior, but also of the Government they serve.

H. M. DURAND, *C. T. P.*

Moulmein, 28th November, 1846."

Much as we have written about Captain Durand and his proceedings, we have yet omitted much;—such as the establishment of regular steam communication with the provinces, to which he pressed Colonel Irvine and the Government—his shewing up and obtaining the introduction of order and strict regulation into the system of Coolie emigration to the Tenasserim shores, assuming, as that system was rapidly beginning to do, the worst and most odious features—and a variety of law reforms and other general measures of improvement which could not, without too much lengthening, be properly introduced. Neither on the subject of the troubles of his Government, have we advanced a tithe of what we might have done. It was not his fault but his real misfortune, that, when he reached Moulmein, its affairs should have been in so unsettled and chaotic a state—that the elements of strife and discord, crewhile so rife, had not been extinguished, but survived in a smouldering condition, ready to ignite by the first spark, into violent combustion. His bearing, in the midst of trials encountered in the upright discharge of painful duties, was truly magnanimous. In this respect, we feel that we have not done him any justice, or any thing like half justice. Were we fully to avail ourselves of the mass of papers in our possession,—in the miscellaneous forms of notes, memoranda, testimonies, and letters by sundry individuals of the highest character and intelligence,—we might ensure for Captain Durand not a tame vindication merely but a glorious triumph. But our present object has not been to gain for him a triumph at the expence of his enemies, or of those who, unconsciously led astray by artful misrepresentations, have been led to censure his conduct. No; our simple object has been,—on the score of naked justice, and on the principle of "doing unto others as we would be done by,"—to pave the way for rescuing his good name from undeserved obloquy and re-

proach. And if we have not done vastly more than this, with such ample materials at our disposal, it has been solely out of respect to the feelings of other parties, some of whom we personally know and sincerely esteem—parties, therefore, respecting whom we have a moral assurance, that, as they have merely been the victims of partial and erroneous information, they will be ready to receive the corrections of truth and soberness, and rejoice, in due season, to make all the reparation in their power. And such is our faith in the justice, in the long run, of the British Government at home and abroad, that we cannot doubt, when once they are in full possession of all the explanations so often needed to compensate for and illustrate the necessary brevity of official documents, that they will, in the spirit of genuine magnanimity, make ample amends to an officer, whom those who know him best, have constantly represented as one of the most conscientious, upright, humane, and high-minded men in a service which has proved so prolific of natural and moral worth.

Notwithstanding the unexpected length to which this article has been carried, a few words must be added upon the present state of the moral and religious prospects of the provinces.

A general sketch of the Kioung system of education has already been given, and the fact noted of the general spread amongst the people of an elementary education. The Government schools, two in number, were established by Mr. Blundell; the one at Moulmein under the Rev. Mr. Bennett, that at Mergui under Mr. Lachapelle. They were opened in 1834, and that at Moulmein remained under the charge of Mr. Bennett, until 1837, when this gentleman, a member of the American Baptist Mission, being unable to compromise his own opinions on the necessity of religion as an element of education, and therefore unwilling to conform to the Government scheme of education, gave up the charge of the school, and was relieved by Mr. Hough, formerly a member of the same Mission. The Moulmein school continued under Mr. Hough until he was removed from his charge by Captain Durand. The attendance at the two Government schools is subject to constant fluctuation from the loose habits of domestic discipline prevalent in the homes of the scholars. Those most regular in attendance are the children of the Christian clerks in the public offices; the deserted children of officers; and a few children and youths of native subordinates in the public offices who have learned to appreciate the value of the knowledge of English, and are desirous that their sons should acquire that language.

Besides these Government schools are those connected with the American Baptist Mission, which are as follows:—

MOULMEIN.

	<i>Average attendance.</i>
The Burmese Boarding School under the Rev. H. Howard	90
Burmese Theological School in charge of the Rev. E. A. Stevens.....	8
Burmese Day School under Mrs. J. Ranney	20
Karen Theological School under the Rev. J. G. Binney	36
Karen Normal School under Mrs. Binney	17
Syan Karen Boarding School under the Rev. J. Vinton	154
Phyo Karen Boarding School under the Rev. E. B. Ballard ...	40
Amherst Day School under Rev. J. M. Haswell	56
Total.....	431

District schools are maintained at Chet Thaing's Village, Newville, Bootah and Dong Yahn; the Mission School Statistics for Province Amherst are therefore as follows:—

2 Seminaries, 24 pupils.	Whole number of pupils 467.
3 Male Boarding Schools, 174 pupils.	11 Teachers, Members of Churches
3 Female Boarding Schools, 90 pupils.	159 Pupils, Members of Churches.
6 Day Schools, boys 120, girls 59.	Cost of Schools, 4,459 rupees in 1844.

IN THE PROVINCE OF TAVOY.

	<i>Average attendance.</i>
1 School for Native Assistants under the Rev. M. Cross	23
1 Phyo Karen School under the Rev. M. Mason	12
1 Karen Boarding School, under Mrs. Bennett and Mrs. Wade	25
1 English and Burmese School under the Rev. Mr. Bennett ...	30
	90

Eleven schools under Native assistants are maintained in the Mission District Stations, but the average attendance of scholars is not noted.

In addition to the foregoing Government and Mission schools is a school maintained by subscriptions and charitable donations of the Children's Friend Society. The scholars, both boys and girls, are the children of officers, and it is melancholy to add that the funds of this society are by no means adequate to enable the institution to admit, provide for, and educate many children of this class, whose fathers have deserted them, and who are consequently growing up in the darkness and ignorance of the heathen atmosphere in which they live.

Too much praise cannot be bestowed on the labors of the American Baptist Mission, in the educational department. Their schools are far superior in every respect to the Government schools at Moulmein and Mergui, and are producing amongst the Karens very remarkable effects. It should be premised that the Mission had in the Karen, not only to master the two dialects of that language, but also to give a written character to the people. The progress made has been wonderful; their pupils have gone forth into the villages, and have imparted to

their brethren the seeds of knowledge; and no less to the surprise than to the gratification of the Rev. Messrs. Vinton and Binney, Karens from distant provinces, within the dominions of the King of Ava, and from Arracan, have presented themselves at Moulmein with the view of there prosecuting their studies, and of thus advancing from their elementary to higher attainments under "the teachers" as the Mission gentlemen are denominated.

The theological class under Mr. Binney is thus described by that gentleman—"But few of these (students) are from the immediate vicinity of Moulmein; nearly all are from Burmah proper, and a few of them are from Arracan. They have come to us through many difficulties, from about thirteen different places, at distances of from four days to sixteen days' walk to this place.

"Thirteen of the number have their families with them, and every effort is made for their improvement, as it is deemed important to place the assistants in as favorable circumstances as possible to be useful amongst their fellow-countrymen. And we are convinced that their permanent improvement will be secured only as their wives also are improved in knowledge and in habits of industry, neatness and order.

"As their future business is to be to teach and to preach the Bible, the Bible itself is made their first and great subject of study. The Old Testament is not yet translated into the Karen, so that their chief attention has been given to the New Testament. The plan adopted has been to investigate this in chronological order, with a harmony of the Gospel. Every verse is explained, and the main subject of every paragraph is elicited, which each pupil is required to commit to writing for future reference. The first class have thus studied the four Gospels and the Acts, together with the following Epistles; viz. Galatians, first and second to the Thessalonians, Titus, first to Timothy, first and second to Corinthians, Romans, Ephesians, Philipians, Colossians, Philemon and James. These have all been reviewed once, and some of the books have been reviewed the third and fourth time. This class have also studied and reviewed a brief epitome of the Old Testament. They devoted a considerable attention to Geography and to Arithmetic, also to reading and writing; besides which they have other daily and weekly exercises.

"The other classes are pursuing a somewhat similar course, and are in various stages of advancement. Those who have concluded to continue with us for a longer period are engaged in mathematical studies with the Rev. Mr. Vinton.

"The pupils all appear to feel a deep interest in their work.

‘ They have made a good improvement, considering their circumstances, and we have every encouragement that we could reasonably expect. There are difficulties to be overcome; these, however, were anticipated, and it is with great pleasure we are enabled to say, those difficulties had not been so numerous nor so great as were at first feared. Were we to notice the most prominent points of encouragement, we should mention the deep conviction on the part of many of the assistants, that they *must* be more thoroughly qualified to preach the gospel—the comparative cheerfulness with which this jungle-loving people spend the dry season in the city for study—and the resolution of some to remain with us at least four or five years, to prepare themselves for their great work. We therefore hope, we think with much reason, that the society will not in vain have so liberally aided this institution.”

Who can foresee the amount of benefit which shall result to the Karens from this school for village pastors? Who foretell the result? Who that knows the Karens and their passion for their own hills and jungles, could, three years ago, have prognosticated that a stronger feeling was to supplant it in the breasts of these children of the forest, and that they would be brought to undergo with willingness the irksomeness of a long confinement to a town life? Such, however, is the power of truth and the love of its acquisition. In a climate where neither the European nor the American Missionary can brave the long and heavy monsoon rains, which, commencing in May, end in October; where neither of them can risk, with impunity, exposure in the districts for at least two months after the close of the rainy season, and where, consequently, there are only four months in which they can actively labour in the districts, it is palpable that the mission, in thus forming a class of village pastors, are adopting the only efficacious course to disseminate knowledge and Christianity. The American Missionary will be most advantageously employed in training the native labourers who must go forth into the vineyard and take the rough toil; the “teachers” can do no more than visit, advise, and strengthen their native preachers; the preparation of the latter should be their great work; they cannot successfully do more.

The Karens have shown great aptitude in a variety of useful acquirements. Mr. Vinton has turned out from amongst his pupils fair Algebraists, and very good land measurers; and a Karen, selected from his institution and entrusted with a mission to the Kareni chief by the Commissioner Captain Durand, attained the objects of his Mission, and conducted himself with equal judgment and caution. Spread as this people is throughout the mountain tracts, which traverse the countries of Burmah, Pegu,

the Shan and Siamese countries, and the Tenasserim provinces, what fruits, under the favor and blessing of God, may not be anticipated from this rapidly extending web of Christianity, interlacing, as it will, these wide spread regions; and to human apprehension how great the pity that the want of funds should check the rapid progress of this branch of the American Mission. At the present rate it will take fifty years to accomplish that which might only occupy ten, were there funds sufficient to increase the willing number of native assistants. Surely, as it is in vain to expect the Government to assign funds to the educational exertions of a Mission, it only requires to be better known amongst Englishmen how nobly and disinterestedly their transatlantic brethren are laboring in provinces under British Rule, to lead them to extend the aid which might be productive of such rapid effects.

Not less nobly, because with less remarkable success, labours the Burmese branch of the Mission under the father of the American Burman Mission, the Rev. A. Judson. They have had to struggle against a formed literature, and a regular priesthood to whom from time immemorial the education of the people has been entrusted; still their labour has not been unsuccessful. And whether the light of Gospel truth and Gospel education spread fastest along the mountains or along the plains, amongst Deist Karens or idolatrous Buddhists, it runs, let us hope, little chance of now being quenched; but must eventually, sunlike, wrap in one and the same flood of heavenly light, plain and mountain.

It is to be regretted that the Mission has been unable, from want of men and want of funds, to do more in the Peguan or Talain branch. Mr. Haswell is the only gentleman who has devoted himself to the study of this language, and to employing it as a medium of communication with the people. The Mission coming originally from Burmah proper, it is not surprising that the Peguan, has been somewhat neglected when men were wanting to maintain the ground gained in Burmese.*

Major Broadfoot gave an impulse to education by the introduction of land measuring and the injunction, that, within a certain time all Thogees of villages must understand not only reading and writing but also land measuring. Captain Durand continued this system and extended its operation to candidates for promotion in the local corps. He also obtained permission for the employment of Mr. Hough in a manner, which might

* Anxious that some one or more officers of the Commission should have the power of qualifying themselves in Talain, Captain Durand caused a translation of Dr. Judson's Burmese Dictionary to be made into Talain, employing on this work

have been productive of considerable advantage. Observing that the Government schools were stationary in progress—that they were inferior to the mission schools—and that the progress made did not go beyond what an under-teacher ought to be able to lead the pupils to read—also that school books were much wanted ;—Captain Durand freed Mr. Hough, whom he took to be a competent Burmese scholar, for a time, from constant attention to elementary tuition,—setting him to work on translations and the writing of school works, as a temporary occupation, until such time as a higher class of select students could be formed, when it was intended that Mr. Hough should carry on such a class into the higher branches of knowledge. The experiment had no fruit, for reasons sufficiently obvious, at least to all at Moulmein. Another measure of the late Commissioner was not carried into effect, in consequence of the disapproval of Government. Finding that the bulk of the regular attendants at the two Government schools were the children of Christian parents, Captain Durand endeavoured to induce the Government, as an exception to their rule, to permit the introduction of the Bible into the schools in the Tenasserim provinces ; this, as might have been anticipated, was not acceded to. The Government schools have thus remained without progress or improvement, and beyond a very elementary knowledge of English, Arithmetic, and Geography, imparted to a few children, chiefly of clerks and native officials, they have done little towards the diffusion of knowledge.

It is somewhat of a reproach to us as a people to find, that, in the Tenasserim provinces, by far the most efficient and the most beneficial educational establishments are those maintained by the American Baptist Mission ; a body, from a nation having no temporal interest in the country, but nevertheless, entirely devoted to the present and eternal welfare of its people. What will not the gratitude of future generations be to the names of Judson and his compeers, when the truth is preached in future ages from the translations of the Scriptures made, printed and first taught by these American teachers ; and how will it sound, when, in future times, it will be said and truly said, “ Our English Rulers were indeed the conquerors of the Burmese, and wrung from them these fair and beautiful provinces, but our American teachers were the conquerors of ignorance, and dispelled the

a good Talain scholar, who understood Burmese well, and a young native acquainted with Burmese and English. The work when finished was placed in Lieut. Latter's hands, who set himself earnestly to the task of mastering the Talain language. This officer, when about to become useful to the Commissioner, was suddenly removed by Sir T. H. Maddock, and was only restored to the Commission after the removal of his superior. When his return could be of no use to Captain Durand, whose subordinate assistants he had not joined, Lieut. Latter was sent back to the provinces.

darkness from which the English never strove to rescue us." Even, humanly speaking, whose will be the real glory, that of Judson and his brethren, or that of the rulers, who, Christians themselves, could yet establish schools for the training of youth exempt from all religion whatever; and whose countrymen did nothing to retrieve the culpable caution of their brethren in office by early sending labourers into the field. That field is now occupied, and well occupied; and the only manner in which the good work should, by the English, be aided, is by furnishing funds to enable the American Mission to extend its sphere and increase its numbers. Much is written and much said of military heroism, and when the soldier falls on a battle field, the sympathy of a nation forms his shroud; but the highest and the most enduring of all heroism passes unheeded by the world, and, though it may command the sympathy and the admiration of angels, has little earthly to support it. Such is and has been that of the ladies of the American Mission; one by one they fall at their post,—over-exertion and constant labour, shattering their weak frames, whilst they endeavour, not unsuccessfully, to rival their brothers and husbands in the labours of the Mission. Look at the abilities of some of them; their writings in their own and in the difficult tongues they have mastered; their noble characters, the late Mrs. Judson for an instance;—and then to think that paucity of numbers, that a reluctance to be removed from the scene of their labors, and to throw more work upon their husbands and friends, should, humanly speaking, cause the untimely loss of so much talent and goodness! The same, to a less degree, with the men; they too are overworked; undertake more than men can well perform; and only fall less seldom than their ladies, because the latter, in addition to their Mission cares and labors, have those which their families inevitably devolve upon them. The Mission must well know that the loss of an old Missionary, that is, one acquainted with the language and habits of the people, is not replaced by one, two, or half a dozen new Missionaries, and it is to the interests of the cause they have at heart, that their competent men and ladies in the Tenasserim provinces be neither permitted to kill themselves by over-work and exertion, nor by thinking that they have any superhuman powers of conquering sickness and disease; in short, it is essential that more hands be sent into the field;—and it will be a shame to Englishmen if they cannot aid the American Baptist Mission, should funds be any obstacle to increasing the numbers of their emissaries, on the eastern coasts of the bay of Bengal, in provinces under British rule.

ART. IV.—1. *Lois de Manou. Publiées en Sanskrit, par Auguste Deslongchamps.*

2. *Works of Sir William Jones.*

3. *Elphinstone's India, vol. 1.*

HISTORY, or Tradition which often supplies the want of history, have invariably assigned a high rank to those great spirits who first compelled a community to recognise the eternal principles of Law. They who consolidated scattered maxims, or gave stability to fluctuating and uncertain rules of life, or stamped with the seal of authority all that was good and pure in transient customs, they, in short, who substituted for the biassed opinion of one or of a number, a determinate and consistent code, have invariably come down to posterity linked with the names of mighty conquerors, founders of art, and inventors of letters. But from a variety of causes an uncertain mist hangs over the life and actions of these law-givers, even while their claims on the admiration of mankind have been as clear and recognized as the sun at midday. While soldier and scholar have been recorded by the pen of admiring companions and humble followers, it has been fated for the legislator to avoid the light, and depart to those lone recesses where popular credulity might fancy him in communion with heavenly influences, or whence it might view him with awe, descending at periodical intervals to bestow the fruits of his treasured wisdom on his erring fellow-men. That the Hindu sage should be involved in such obscurity, is no matter for wonder, when we consider the vague fictions in which Sanskrit literature has indulged. But we see the same result in the early accounts of Greece and Rome. The founders of their laws are either transformed into demi-gods, and placed as Bacon observes, second only to the inventors of arts, or are men of whom nothing is known. Grecian mythology represents Minos as the son of Jupiter on earth, and the judge of the shades afterwards. Numa must hold nocturnal consultations with Egeria before he can give laws to the rising colony of Rome. Lycurgus stands before us only as the prototype of Spartan severity. Draco is the image of legalised blood-thirstiness. Even Solon, a much more historical character, is associated with Epimenides, and must share in the traditions with which the latter's history is deformed.

Who then was Manu, and what were his objects? are ques-

tions often asked, which may be answered in two or perhaps more ways. Of his antiquity, and we may say, his reality, there can be no doubt. For though the plan of the work is evidently dramatic, yet it is as clear that the code was compiled by a Brahman well versed in the lore of the Vedas, and to a certain extent in the ways of the world: combining secular and book knowledge at once. Nor again is there any doubt as to Manu's being the main fountain, whence the religious observances of a country, where every custom is based on religion, the hopes and fears of the Hindu for this life and the next, the various regulations of society and intercourse, marriage and inheritance, birth-rites and funeral pyres, spring and are perpetuated. He is indeed the Shashtra to which learned and unlearned alike appeal. The well-read Pundit, when we inquire of him the reason for this or that custom, will base his answer on a text of Manu. The secular Hindu, nay the unlettered Ryot, while pleading in extenuation of some grave folly sanctioned by the transmission of ages, unconsciously repeat the substance of some time-hallowed sloke. But most Hindus, if asked the age and date of their great legislator would answer in a breath, that he was the son of the "self existent," that he was taught his laws by Brahma in one hundred thousand verses, and that he finally delivered them in an abridged form to his son Bhṛigu, who gave them currency in the world.

The European scholar, acquiescing in the antiquity of Manu, has often busied himself with speculations as to his identity with law-givers in other countries and ages. We shall avoid what we cannot but consider a needless waste of time, and forbear to inquire whether Manu be the same with Minos, or with the Moon, or with the Sanskrit word *Manas*, whether it was the first of that name or the seventh whom Brahmans believe to have been preserved in an ark from the deluge; whether the divine bull of Dharma has an affinity with the Egyptian Apis, or with the Cretan Minotaur, or whether several precepts of extraordinary stringency are to be considered as applicable only to the three first and more pure ages of the Hindu world. Such questions we hold to be entirely abhorrent from the true province of Historical investigation. They can never be perfectly settled to every one's satisfaction, and speculation on them only raises up another hypothesis to which every one has some point of dissension to urge. But viewing Manu as a graphic picture of the manners of a somewhat advanced state of society, and as a combination of religious precepts and human laws, which to a certain extent supply the materials

for History, we think that a considerable deal of valuable knowledge may be extracted from the book, if tested only by the legitimate rules of philosophical inquiry. Manu's system is not one of uncompromising ambition or unmingled priestcraft *suddenly* erected by some one enterprising Brahman, for those whom his arms had vanquished in the field. It is not a code springing at once into life from the superior intellect of a single individual, like armed Pallas from the head of Jupiter. It is a strange compound of mœurs and enactments. It is not a mere picture of domestic manners, for it has several chapters expressly devoted to politics and law. It is not a mere code of jurisprudence for it dives into the minutest economies of private life. It displays all the elaborate arrangement of the Pandects with an equally elaborate provision for those household duties which other legislators have deemed excluded from their province. It attends on the King or Rajah in his hall of audience or in his closet; it follows the husbandman to the field, and waits on the mahajan in his shop. It prescribes rules for the Brahman at his great sacrificial supper, or at his homely repast; it regulates his carriage, his very look, the stick on which he leans, his address to his superiors or inferiors: all his outcomings and his ingoings. It extends its universal sceptre over every social relation, from the pleading of causes in court to the earliest studies of the student in the four Vedas, and from the ceremonies consequent on the birth of a Brahman to the day when he shall quit his mortal frame, "as a bird leaves the branch of a tree."

This is but a necessary part of the great Hindu system. Religion, minute in its observances, was to be the foundation on which every rule of life was based, and the whole code pursues this object with undeviating attention from first to last. We shall endeavour to show hereafter who or what the author must have been. But call him Manu, Bhrigu or Sumati, give him the name of any other ancient Hindu sage, his work is a remarkable instance of what an Eastern intellect can produce. Whoever the law-giver was, his imagination, as Elphinstone well remarks, must have been singularly impure. He is liable to the charge of unhealthy superfluity, which every reader of satire brings against Juvenal, and which Johnson denounced in Swift. He revels in ideas from which others would shrink with disgust. He fears no pollution from the contact of pitch. He evolves with scrupulous accuracy those offensive particulars, which we could hardly imagine as uttered in the very depths of the confessional. He presumes to dictate to conscience what she would amply pro-

vide for by her own unwritten laws. He recalls with tedious minuteness and wearisome amplification what a well-regulated mind would never think of at all, or only think of to banish for ever.

And yet amidst all this admitted impurity—one eminent characteristic of Hindu literature—we find many traces of a high and even a noble spirit. It is in fact this mighty mixture of the mean and the great, which so distinguishes this composition from others, and excites in turn our pity, our enthusiasm, and our contempt. In some passages the code would have aroused the lavish encomiums of Voltaire: in others it might have called forth the philosophic sneer of Gibbon: and, viewed as a whole, it would certainly have brought into action the compassionate criticisms of the high-souled Pascal, as exhibiting in one compendious volume a striking picture of the frailty and the majesty of man. Never before or since have the follies of the wise, and the weaknesses of the strong, and the ignorances of the learned, and the contrarieties of human passions, and virtues with their adjacent and their opposite vices, been so signally blended and placed side by side. He who would acknowledge the truth of the foregoing words must peruse deliberately the three thousand couplets which make up the total. There, in startling relief, contrasting as strongly as the vivid lightning on the black thunder cloud, will he see, in perhaps one and the same page, puerilities of thought joined with masculine vigour of mind: Baconian profundity and bald truisms: the maxims of Confucius or of Socrates linked with those of the most jesuitical dishonesty: Draco's sternness, and the simplicity of patriarchal justice: the politeness of Chesterfield, and the rampant pride of Brahmanical domination: wise saws straight as a sunbeam, and casuistry tortuous and at variance with itself: sensible views of natural history and vague and childish solutions of the most common phenomena: truth and falsehood: darkness and light: and much that is noble and admirable in morals, with all that is vile and degraded in superstition.

It seems as if the author had been partially aware of these contradictions, but either from a secret unwillingness to hold them up to the world, or from inability to combine and digest, had been blinded to the incongruous result. We are perpetually reminded in the perusal of one engaged in useless struggles after a purer state in the midst of gross and earthly realities. The author had evidently two objects in view—to restrain and check the sins and crimes of his cotemporaries, by establishing something of the Satya Yug in place of the Kali or iron age,

and to give by law that license which men had hitherto assumed from interest or violence. But all his endeavours only prove incontestably that the golden and silver ages have long passed away, and that brass and similar materials are those whence his society is moulded. He talks, indeed, as if in the Republic of Plato, but he reminds us incontinently that we are with him in the very dregs of Romulus. Here he indulges in the pleasing vision of giving laws to a people whose thoughts and deeds are bowed in perfect obedience to his controul. He dreams of a time when all Brahmans shall go regularly through the four stages of life, poor and content: with every man's hand open before them, and yet refusing more than the subsistence of the passing day: when the king and Kshatriya shall watch over the contented ryot: when the Vaisya shall engage in harmless mercantile pursuits, and the Sudra reclaim the ground into the payment of its annual tribute: when cows shall graze unrestrained over every man's land with sages and penitents for their keepers: when the tender young shall no longer die, nor deformed animals be born; when knowledge shall be esteemed before worldly advancement, and silent meditation before sacrifice: when the upraised hand shall be no more seen nor violence of the tongue heard: when truth, justice, and plenty shall walk hand in hand over the smiling provinces, and war and rapine be no longer known. A few steps onward and the cherished dream has vanished away. We are recalled to an advanced, and to a *certain extent*, a civilized state of society, where worldly interests are at work, and human passions clashing, and vice, sin, and crime contending for the division of a fair and goodly heritage. It is allowed by the severest rules of historical enquiry that special and minute provisions laid down argue the case provided for as one not by any means of uncommon or remote occurrence. Still further it is conceded that frequent incidental allusions to grave offences, to dark spots in society, to vice and crime in their various phases, are sure and incontrovertible testimonies to a low state of morals. —Allusions indeed resemble the preamble to a modern enactment: provisions laid down are the clauses of the act itself. It needs no ghost from the grave to tell us, that a legislator does not summon up phantoms merely to exorcise them, or, like Dominie Sampson engaged in a controversy with lawyer Pleydell, fire upon the mere dust kicked up by his antagonist. He does not lay down cautions with scrupulous definitiveness against visionary shadows which may possibly flit about at some future time. He points his battery of eloquence

against notorious and crying offences, arraigns delinquents whose deeds are clearly recognised, and endeavours to check irregularities which his own experience teaches him, are of hourly birth. Viewed by this test, for which we shelter ourselves under the approval of philosophic historians, Manu appears to us, partly in the light of a *Reformer* at an age when civilization had certainly reached to a considerable height, but when society was pervaded by the spirit of Ahriman exactly as it is now. When perusing the code with even ordinary attention, we can easily distinguish between the command and the permission: between the direct injunction to abstain from this crime or to perform that duty, and the permission granted in cases of special difficulty to the tender conscience. In some places an existing evil is sanctioned that good may come, or at least that a greater evil may not ensue. Abduction is actually *legalised*, as we shall prove hereafter, and classed under one of the eight sorts of marriage, and pious frauds and perjuries declared not only allowable but even admirable. Frequent references are made to "immemorial custom." Its authority is allowed the pre-eminence over all others. It is to be the solution of every riddle: the explanation of every difficult case. It is to expound the law in doubtful or obscure points, and to supply it where absolutely deficient. It is the acknowledged basis of the code itself when promulgated; it is to meet every future contingency, and moreover is to be expounded by learned Brahmans alone.

Before proceeding to discuss any particular part of the Institutes, we must venture a protest against the useless expenditure of time and trouble in which those orientalists indulge who are anxious to elucidate curious particulars in the domestic economy of the Hindus. Unquestionably superficial knowledge is often most pernicious, and a thorough investigation imperative on all who desire a right view of either books or men; but the object must be worth the cost. We gladly ourselves engage in antiquarian researches on the manners and customs of ancient Greece and Rome. Or if the pen be not taken up by our own hand, we joyfully avail ourselves of the labours of others. Nations, who either maintained the freedom of Europe inviolate against the encroaching despotism of Asia, or whose elements, mingled with the Teutonic, are the component parts of nations at this day—whose taste and appreciation of physical and intellectual beauty have passed into a proverb—whose laws were "written out" on the face of all those with whom they came in contact—who are majestic in their zenith or venerable in their decline—whose grandeur awes us, or whose

exquisite loveliness invites—such nations deserve to be studied in their foreign policy as well as in their household economy, in the forum or market as well as by the homely altar or fireside, in their ways of social intercourse, in their national aims, in their individual objects of ambition. We pursue all such with an affectionate importunity, which will not be baffled, and in part repay the obligations under which they have laid us by elucidating every point in their manners and filling up every omission in the great historical painting. But it is surely not so with Sanskrit literature or with the ancient Hindu. He has no claim on the obedience of mankind or the admiration of nations, who were yet in their cradle while he lorded it at Panchala. To him the world is under no debt. No element in mixed oriental society is deducible from him. He has lived for himself, and can now demand nothing from the Pilgrims of the East or the West. Even in books of real value, like the one we are discussing, there are many parts hardly worth the passing glance of a moment. Rules regarding purification or sacrificial suppers, or diet, or penance, or unmeaning observances, with which one-half the code is taken up, are surely not worth the labour of the most ardent orientalist. It is very praiseworthy in classical scholars to puzzle themselves, in endeavours to get at the truth of that “hitherto unsolved problem,” the construction of the ancient trireme, or in building a model of Virgil’s almost incomprehensible plough. We feel shame if we do not remember that a Roman dinner began with eggs and ended with apples, but we really have not the slightest anxiety as to why buffalo meat was once permitted at a Śraddha, and why it is now banished from that entertainment. We care to learn at what age the young patrician assumed the manly toga, but we have no solicitude as to the different epochs when the youthful Kshatriya shall receive the sacred investiture. The epicure will give a sigh at the mention of Lucrine oysters or Copaic eels, will smack his lips over the Parvenu’s dinner in Horace, and not refuse compassion even to Smollett’s pedant and his repast after the manner of the ancients. But no one is distressed at not knowing the quality of ghee in the days of Vicramaditya, or the different kinds of rice-messes which Manu’s Brahmans might lawfully eat. Let Pundits meditate on what Pundits wrote. What different births a grievous sinner will have to endure: what is the difference between a perivetti and a perivitti: how many degrees of relationship may be admitted after the offering of rice: why a man with whitlows on his nails must be excluded: how many times a Brahmachari is to

sip water when he wakes: which quarter of the heavens he is to turn to if he seeks long life, and which if he desires exalted fame: when the girdle may be made of the munja and when of the khusa grass: why the Pitris (manes) should be satisfied for ten months with the flesh of wild boars and eleven with that of rabbits: why the moment when the shadow of an elephant falls to the East should be one of unusual purity; what are the distinctions between Sapindas and Samanodacas—these and such like questions, which deter many from any inquiry into orientalism, have been invariably deemed the particular province of the bigotted pedant, and the legitimate target of the satirist, and are those which Bacon would most certainly have included in the sentence denounced against *fantastic Knowledge*.

Leaving, therefore, all such speculations, we will see what real value may be extracted from the code. But it may not be altogether irrelevant to state the circumstances under which Manu was first made available to the mass of English readers. Eastern literature is here under a deep obligation to Sir William Jones, and it is to his sole endeavours that we owe an English version of the Institutes. When he first endeavoured to win entrance into the temple of Sanskrit lore, bigotry met him at the threshold and barred his further progress. The precepts of Hindu sages were for once acted on to the very letter, and in the most uncompromising spirit. The chief native magistrate or Foujdar of Benares (query a Mussulman?) endeavoured to procure a Persian translation of the work, but the Pandits were unanimous in their refusal of assistance. Even the guru with whom Jones read, earnestly requested that his name might be concealed and would only read on certain days and under certain "planetary influences." But wealth or interest found out a means of satisfying Sir William's wishes. A rich Hindu at Gaya, by Mr. Law's request, caused a version to be made by his dependants, and Jones partly leaning on this doubtful aid, and partly depending on his own untiring energies, gave the result of his labours to the world in the shape of a translation. The work, divided into the orthodox number of twelve books, has since been revised by Haughton, and is generally speaking accurate and expressive. We will venture to find fault with two or three phrases of Sir William's, which however are important as they tend to convey a false impression of the state of society at the time. We do not see why the Sanskrit words Brahman or twice-born should almost invariably be rendered by the term "priest." From the evi-

dence of the code itself, we can say, with confidence, that not one Brahman in five hundred ever maintained that character through the four stages of his life, or even through the first two. Apart from the distinct European notion of a "priest," it is quite clear to us that to call the Brahman a priest, or in other words a holy man, devoted to religion and austerity, or to sacrifice and reading, is to call him exactly what he was *not*. From the permission granted to the Grihastha or householder, to engage in sundry secular employments, not to speak of the natural difficulties of the order in its advanced stages, we are compelled to believe that almost all Brahmans rested contentedly at the second periods. Licensed to trade, and all his worldly duties provided for, the Householder was satisfied when he had "lighted his lamp," i.e. when he had surrounded himself with a family and had no more intention of wandering in the jungles, or of undergoing the penance of five fires, than any of the portly Banerjis and Mukarjis have at the present day. Here and there we doubt not, a solitary instance might be seen of a man who had become "a wood-goer," to end in the Sannyasi, if he was lucky enough to escape the tigers. But as a general rule we should wish the word priest to be exchanged for the simple word Brahman. As little do we see why that useful scavenger the jackal should be metamorphosed into "the shakal," and still less why the bird *baka*, or as we now call it, the *bogla*, should be translated "bittern." Had the great orientalist made a mofussil trip to Kishnagar for so little purpose, or in his evening constitutional walk from the Supreme Court to the Gardens, had he never by any chance seen a common *paddy-bird* flying by the side of the Moti Jheel?*

Leaving however these slight blots in a work otherwise

* We cannot refrain from mentioning an anecdote of Sir William Jones, though not immediately connected with our subject; as it illustrates forcibly the state of the metropolis at that time. Sir William was in the habit of walking from the court to the gardens where he lived, and from the gardens to the court. On one occasion he was stopped by a soldier, who demanded his purse. Sir William gave it. The soldier then demanded his watch. Sir W. refused to give it up, saying that it was a gift of his mother's, and that nothing should induce him to part with it. At the same time he put himself into an attitude of defence with a staff which he carried. The soldier struck with his demeanour offered to return the purse, saying that he would not take *his* money. Sir W. desired him to keep it as a means of procuring him an honest livelihood, and then walked on. The facts of this case were told by the soldier, who was afterwards executed for a highway robbery, to a gentleman who visited him when in prison after his condemnation. The soldier added that if he had followed Sir W.'s advice, he would not have been where he was. The gentleman subsequently mentioned the case to Sir W. who would neither admit nor deny its correctness. But the party who mentioned it felt quite assured of its truth. We hold the above anecdote from the *most unexceptionable* authority.

unexceptionable, we must next state that to the readers of Manu in the original a great help is afforded by the commentary of Kalluka. This worthy has shared the fate common to other scholiasts; for but little is known of him and even that much is told by himself. The Pandits who "care little for genuine chronology," are unable to tell us his age or date, even whilst they name him with applause. He informs us that he was a Brahman of the Varendra tribe, whose family had long been settled in Gour or Bengal, but that, with a view doubtless at greater acquirements in Sanskrit learning, he had fixed his residence at the sacred city of Benares. It is due to the author of the code to state that he is never *dishonestly* obscure. He never labours to give his words a double interpretation, which the evil-minded might torture into a sanction or even a command. Wherever he enforces a moral precept, or expounds the great laws of conscience, or denounces crime, or thunders against sin, he is clear, straight-forward, and explicit. If in several passages his moral standard is lowered, there is no effort at disguise. The fact is avowed in the most frank unblushing manner. Whenever his sentences are dark or vague, it is when descending to some frivolous observances, or when fixing the days and hours of a penance, or the number and species of devotional offerings. And when there is a doubt as to the proper fortnight, or the lucky planet, when Pandits might differ as to the degrees of relationship or the amount of fine to be levied from the four classes severally, Kalluka comes in, to settle the dispute and give currency to the right reading. Aided by Sir William Jones' English, the un-oriental scholar may become acquainted with Brahmanical learning almost as pure as if drawn from the fountain head; and aided by Kalluka, the Sanskrit beginner will find his labour smoothed whilst poring over the excellent Paris edition, whose title we have prefixed to this paper.

Though not intending to touch on the merits of the Sanskrit language in this paper, we may remark that the style of Manu throughout is simple and expressive. Here and there perhaps it is tinged with rough and antiquated forms of expression or mixed with sterling old couplets from the Vedas. But it is void of all those endless aliterations which occur in the later writers. Words are yoked together no farther than is consistent with the unchanging laws of Sanskrit euphony, and we have been unable to find throughout a single instance of that truly eastern conceit, a play upon words or a *pun*. With every allowance for the tendency of Pandits and poets

to engage in these absurdities, we should still have been staggered on meeting them in the Institutes. A *pun* occurring in the grave Hindu code of law and morals would have created in us the same astonishment as if we had seen one in the last draft of a new act read before the Governor-General in Council.

We here take our leave of the purely critical part of our subject, and return to topics of more general interest. Our first wish naturally is to obtain some insight as to the particular part of the country where the law-giver resided, and though his private history or fortunes are quite matter of conjecture, he tells us in plain language and good geography, where a Brahman may lawfully reside. The first land on which the conquerors set foot was that between the Saraswati (Sarsooty) and the Drishadvati (Caggar,) a tract to the north west of Delhi, about sixty miles long by twenty broad, and termed Brahmavartta, or "that frequented by Gods." This, however, was manifestly insufficient for the progressive spirit of Brahmanism, and a larger space, comprising nearly all the North West Provinces, is set down as "Brahmarshi," where the teachers of law and immemorial custom, may fix their dwelling place. In the above grant are comprehended, Kurukshetra or Thannesar, the battle-field of India for ages, Surasena or Mathura, not yet eclipsed by the neighbouring splendour of Akbarabad, Panchala, or Kanyacubja, the modern Kanouj, and the time-honoured title of many an up-country Brahman, and lastly Matsya, by which both Pandits and European scholars understand the districts of Rungpore and Dinapore, or those of north-eastern Bengal. In the above enumeration we thus get the whole country from a hundred miles north of Delhi down to the very borders of Lower Bengal, including Allahabad, Benares, and the greater part of Behar. But lest there should be any doubt as to the extent of jurisdiction, when the tide flowed on, we are told immediately after that the whole country between the Himalaya and the well-known Vindhya range, which run across the peninsula from east to west, is termed Aryavartta, or "the residence of respectable men;" and with a provision probably for the further spread of the religion over the unconquered regions of the Dekhan, it is laid down that "the land on which the black buck naturally grazes," differs from that of the Mlechhas, and may be "fit for sacrifice." The above comprehensive denunciation may take in any thing from Bombay to Madras, or even

elsewhere,—the conqueror, or the sportsman, being at no loss to find, even in the spread of cultivation, the antelope still grazing in Telingana or in several districts of Lower Bengal.

The mention of *Matsya*, indicative of a region of fish, might almost justify the speculation, whether in the remote times of Manu, Lower Bengal was not an arm of the sea, gradually filling up by an alluvial deposit, just as Herodotus describes the Egyptian Delta to have been formed by the yearly additions of the Nile. It might be asserted with show of reason, that the waves of the ocean then washed shores now some hundred miles removed from their influence. But such inquiries would only excite while they failed to gratify an idle curiosity. We turn rather to the scenes over which we are confident that Manu's laws held sway. The repeated mention of rocks, of mountains, of hill forts, of lions, of camels, of battles, of the men of Indraprastha, rearing their tall forms in the vanguard,—tell us convincingly that we stand on Upper India. Allusions to the sea, to the month of Choitra (March and April) being the best for land expeditions, and that of Jyeshtha (May and June) for the examination of boundaries, to rivers rolling onward to the great ocean—tell us no less indisputably that we are dealing with Bengal. References to dakoits, thieves, and plunderers, speak of a state pretty common to both divisions of the presidency. But turn to the character of the people, for whom Manu's laws were compiled, and retrospectively or by anticipation, volumes could not describe more accurately the inhabitant of Bengal! The advantage over an enemy which is ever to be looked for and never suffered to pass unimproved, the distrust with which a Raja should look on all his neighbours: the encroachment on adjoining zemindaries legalised: the *shuri* or spirit seller with his unmistakable flag: the wife jealously guarded and yet dishonouring the husband: the Raja's servant demanding fees from all who come to him on business: the cruel punishment denounced against crimes of every day occurrence: the quarrels about inheritance: the trespasses of cattle and consequent disputes: the hired workman refusing to perform his contract: the sensuality reigning from the King's palace to the crowded bazar—by these and a few other like touches what author has ever so vividly portrayed the prominent features of Bengal and the besetting sins of the Bengali? Let us in imagination transfer ourselves back to the time when the old Hindu customs had not been changed by the onward tide of invasion. Let us endeavour to forget that an Affghan king once reigned in Bengal: that Mussalman influence spread onwards to Dacca and reached the borders of Arracan:

that the Portuguese erected a church or a factory at Húgly, or that the Englishman traded at Govindpore and Cossimbazar; let us isolate the Hindu part of the population from the contact of Arabian and European agencies, and the Raja of Manu's time stands out before us, in bright and vivid colours, the Zemindar of Bengal to-day.

But it will be our endeavour to depicture some of the divisions of society in those old times, and premising that none of our readers are ignorant of the four great distinctions of caste, we commence at once with the King himself. The King, Raja, or Zemindar, to use a modern expression, was the highest executive power in the state. Backed by the wise counsels and safe under the prayers of Brahmans, from his residence, protected either by natural or artificial defences and situated in a country favourable for agriculture, he must apply himself diligently to the welfare of his subjects. He is to "draw up" his revenue gradually as the sun draws up water during eight months of the year: as Indra rains during the remaining four, so must he rain gratifications on his people: as the wind pervades all creatures, so must he pervade every thing by his emissaries: as Yama judges the departed, so must he punish offenders. Punishment of a "black hue and with a flaming eye" advances, under his guiding hand, to destroy sin, that the stronger may not roast the weaker "like fish on a spit." We may here remark, that the root *badh* is capable of meaning either "binding" or slaying, and wherever a fine in money is not expressly specified, or death or the cruel punishment of amputation ordained for the offending member, the scholar is left in doubt as to how he should render the above term.* Probably the word was purposely employed in order to admit of severity and leniency as the case might require. But where special modes of correction are denounced some are barbarously cruel or impossible, and others puerile, if capable of execution. Adulterers are to be put to death by "Damien's bed of steel:" goldsmiths who forge, to be cut to pieces by sharp razors: those who damage public roads, or fill up ditches, or obstruct water courses, or throw down gates, or destroy their neighbour's land-marks, are to be punished some corporally, some by banishment, and some by fine. The breaker of a *bund*, is to be immersed under water for a considerable time: unskilful or infuriated drivers are to be fined: robbers to be put to death in public places: burglars to be maimed, and those

* The term *badhya* is given by Wilson as "deserving of death," but the root *badh* is capable of bearing both meanings—to bind or to slay.

who have so little regard for the sanctity of Brahmans as to seize them by their locks or by the throat, must instantly have deep incisions made in their hands!! But fines are proportioned to the caste, and the Brahman invariably bears the lightest load. He pays fifty panas when the Kshetriya would pay a hundred: he is fined where the Sudra would forfeit his life. No amount of crime can ever sanction any injury to his person or property, and banishment is the worst sentence which the king's anger can pronounce against him.

We have discussed the subject of punishment first, because it is the great attribute of Manu's King. He exercises it without interference, guided only by the laws laid down, and by the sense of expediency in time and place. But while he punishes offenders, he must not neglect his revenue, and this subject, however complicated in the present day, is laid down in Manu with tolerable accuracy and clearness. It is now generally agreed that at the time of the Decennial settlement we conferred on many zemindars rights which they never enjoyed under the Mussulman rule. From the time of Akbar's great revenue system, through all the subsequent reigns, some of the revenues were paid in by a collector or farmer, but not a landholder as we at present understand the term. At first we proceeded on this system of collection—for which witness the atrocities of Devi Sing and Burke's memorable burst of eloquence—and then by a strange forgetfulness invested the collector with territorial rights. It is partly to this that we owe those manifold opinions which still prevail on the *verata questio*, whose is the land? But it is tolerably certain on the other hand that the Rajas of Manu, and several of those in the days of Akbar, had certain defined rights as the Lords of the soil. The land indeed belonged to the man who cleared it from jungle, just as the deer was the prey of the hunter who struck it. But the surplus produce might be taken by the king in the various proportions of one-twelfth, one-eighth, or even one-fourth "without the incurrence of sin," and besides the usual payment in corn, there were a variety of collateral means of increasing the revenue. Cattle, jewels, and gold were taxed at one-fiftieth: trees, fruits, honey, and other tithes of phalkar and bankar at one-sixth: leather and stone utensils at the same rate: fines, if realised, were the king's: property recovered from thieves was subject to a valuation and of treasure trove, and minerals he might claim one-half.

It is not removed from the province of our inquiry to mark the different spirit with which the British regulations are

laid down. With the exception of the great salt tax, there is now scarce one direct import on the luxuries or necessities of life. The opium duty is paid by the Chinese, not by the inhabitant of India: a duty on spirits, as taken by the Abkary laws, is perhaps one of the most equitable in any scheme of taxation, provided the law tend not to the increase of intoxication: and our land revenue is exacted on an average, *taken from several districts*, at the very moderate rate of one-twelfth of the crop. We derive no advantage from treasure trove, but only claim a Government share when the amount discovered exceeds the limit of one lakh of rupees. We have done our duty by the landholders in a moderate assessment, in a just regard for their rights, real or supposed, and in a due preservation of all that religion or prejudice has taught them to value. It remains for them to do their part in the work by a remission of unjust cesses and abwas, by careful supervision of their agents, and by a firm but temperate authority over their ryots. Until the zemindars practically acknowledge the importance of these great truths, the country will still remain under the sole influence of laws, and we all know the inutility of *leges sine moribus*.

We need not enter into any long argument to prove that India in Manu's days was subdivided into a number of petty kingdoms, or that the universal or even the partial supremacy of one monarch over the rest was unknown. This is quite clear from the whole context. The duties of a king so ably described in the seventh book are evidently meant for application to a number of petty subdivisions. They are the production of one who had seen a little of camps and courts, and who possibly had assisted with his counsels some Raja, great or small, in the catalogue of existing princes. The mention of foreign foes, troublesome neighbours, embassies, diplomatic arts, means of defence and attack, policy for the timid and weak, and active measures for the strong—speak in convincing language of a divided empire where every man's hand must be occasionally raised against his neighbour. The art of war fills a considerable space, and the time for marches, the order of march, the disposition of elephants, cavalry and foot, are clearly drawn out. But we strongly suspect that the Raja who abode by Manu's guidance, would soon have admitted the truth of the historian's remark, that battles fought and won by written tactics, equal the number of epic poems constructed according to the rules of criticism. The provisions for soldiers in battle are a singular proof of the absurdities men fall into when they attempt things out of their

province. Gifted Gilfillan inflicted a deal of nonsense on Vaverly, as he walked beside his horse, but talked sense when he touched on the legality of self-defence. Manu is sensible enough in his advice to the king, but is ludicrous when he advises the warrior as to his duties. Needless cruelty is reproof and humanity inculcated. So far all is good. No advantage over life is to be taken, and with such minuteness are the cautions laid down, that had they been capable of execution we will be bound all battles in Manu's day would have been as bloodless as the paper warfare of two excited authors. A soldier "calling to mind the duty of honorable men" must never strike with barbed weapons, nor from a car attack a man on foot, nor strike one without his coat of mail, nor one who is naked, nor one fighting with others, nor one whose weapon is broken, nor a wounded man, nor a coward, nor one looking on, nor a fugitive, nor one whose long hair obstructs his sight, nor one who is tired or afflicted, nor one who says, "I am hinc:" and so forth. But we will not pursue the absurd catalogue any further. Was there no Hannibal among the men of Kurukshetra to stop this ranting Phormio by a well-timed rebuke?

The internal affairs of the kingdom might be delegated by the Raja to subordinate officers. Over each village was a headman, who himself was under the eye of a Lord of ten villages. He in his turn looked up to a Lord of twenty, and placed over this last worthy, the Lord of one hundred saw the Lord of a thousand, the only officer between himself and the king. Even as far back as Manu do we find the traces of the subletting system! all information of local occurrences, robberies, affrays, was to be transmitted in regular succession to the highest functionary of the above-named, and so similar are the precautions generated by similar states of society at different epochs, that on reading the above in Manu we can hardly divest ourselves of the notion that we are perusing British regulation, applicable to the state of the country in the last forty years. This concentration of local influences and sympathies in a village Government, has been one cause of preserving intact in a great measure, the spirit of Hinduism, and of nullifying the innovations naturally consequent on Mussulman invasions and revolving dynasties. But it has also had the effect of wrapping up the ryot in himself. It has quite taken away any remnant of patriotism. It has, to use the expressive language of a well-known official, substituted the *amor busti*, for the *amor patriæ*. It has brought the cultivator to look no further than his own village, his

own clump of bambus, his tank half covered with weeds, and it has made him the easy tool of the individual who for the time being happens to be the Hampden of the community.

The idea generally suggested by the mention of Hindu society in Manu's time is that of a period when the well-known three classes of the Brahmans, the Kshetriya and the Vaisya, triumphed in the degradation of the conquered Sudra. And undoubtedly it was the aim of the compiler to afford but little relief to the Sudra's low estate. A few concessions here and there, are however granted him by policy. Compare his condition with that of the slaves of antiquity, and all will allow that he was much better off. He was not a chattel of the state, like the Spartan Helot. He was never treated with that savage ferocity which befell the Roman captive, or debased like the domestic slave at Athens. He was never wantonly butchered to make an Indian holiday, or intoxicated that the young Brahmachari might contract an horror of drunkenness from the sight. There were no laws against his emigration. He might fix his residence wherever he chose. He might sacrifice, provided he abstained from reading the Veda. He was forbidden to receive the sacred investiture, but still once or twice we have allusions to Sudras wearing the marks of the twice-born, and to kingdoms where there were no Brahmans (i. e. where conquest had not yet spread), and which owned a Sudra population and king. On the whole the Sudra could not have been much worse off than many of the husbandmen in Bengal at the present day, nor do we read of anything indicative of jealousy from the ruling classes, which might necessitate measures as horrible as the famous one mentioned by Thucydides, when some two thousand Helots, whose manliness of character rendered them objects of fear to the Spartan Government, suddenly vanished from the face of day, and were *forgotten* in an oubliette, or some other capacious engine of death.

But whether we agree to or dissent from the opinion that the Sudras were the conquered Aborigines of India, it must not be supposed for a moment that the rigid barriers between the castes were never relaxed. We have minute rules laid down for the conduct of the mixed classes and elaborate definitions of their properties and names. We have Brahmans intermarrying with Sudras, and Kshetriyas with Brahmanis: we hear of kaiverts employed in catching fish and karavaras cutting leather. We are stunned with the uncouth appellations of Bhurjacantucas, and Pushpadas, of Dhigvanas, and

Ayogavas, of Jhalla, Malla, Puccasa, and Kukkutava. But there is hope even for the most degraded. By extreme devotion they may rise to the higher class, or by the reverse, sink. A Sudra *may* become a Brahman, and a Brahman descend to the state of a Sudra. A Brahman may subsist by mercantile pursuits, and it may be interesting to the Rothschild Babús of Calcutta to know that their present usurious rate of interest is sanctioned by the high authority of their great legislator. Several rules are mentioned in order to fix the rate. The lowest is one in eighty, or one and a quarter per cent. in the month, equivalent to fifteen per cent. a year. Even this exceeds the old Roman rate of the *usura centesima*, or twelve per cent. per annum. But in the very next verse Shylock rises in his demands. He may take twenty-four per cent. per annum from a Brahman, thirty-six ditto from a Kshetriya, and sixty from a Vaisya "without incurring grievous sin." Any thing beyond the last, we are gravely told, is usurious, and at no time should the interest be more than sufficient to double the debt !

We have gone into this part of the Institutes more minutely, because from traits like these the reader can best judge of the whole state of society. At every step we are reminded of what we see and hear around us now : of the unchanging Toryism of the Hindu : of a forward state of civilization and of primeval barbarism : of intellect rising to lofty aims and dropping to captious hair-splitting on the most worthless of speculations. Let us turn to the great event of an Hindu's life—his marriage—and the peculiarity we allude to is marked with lines broad and deep. By eight different ways the nuptial tie may be fastened. Manu tells us that a difference of opinion prevailed amongst wise men as to their legality, but *he* sanctions all with the exception of two. One, the Asura, is profaned by the gifts which the bride's father receives from his son-in-law : the second, or Paisacha, is nothing more or less in plain language than violation accomplished by deceit. But of the six which *he* sanctions, to how many can the word marriage be applied ? But *four* may be termed blameless, and we read with pleasure the description of the bridegroom learned in the Vedas and the bride decked with ornaments, of the orthodox gift of a pair of kine, and the blessing pronounced by the father "may both of you perform conjointly the duties of life." It is due to the legislator to state that he puts a certain veto on all but these four, and condemns the remainder either expressly or by the inducements of interest. Two we have remarked on above. Of the remainder, one, the Gandharva, is simple

cohabitation, and the other the Rakshasa or demoniacal, is described as that where the maiden is seized by force from her house, weeping and calling for aid, her friends and relations having been wounded or killed, and their residence broken open! yet by law, we are told, this marriage is permitted to the Kshetriya—not commanded, it is true, but legalised with all the grave sanction which the word Dharma can give. Can any arguments plead in more convincing language, or prove more demonstratively that the society for which Manu wrote, was daily marked by rapine, lawlessness, and the rule of might?

Here we must not pass over the glimpses given us of the general estimation in which the female sex were held. Woman, even then, was vilified and degraded. Her personal beauty is judged by the gross standard of eastern taste: her moral qualities are set down as altogether deficient. At no period of life can she aim at independence. Successively her father, her husband, and her sons must bear sway. Household duties are the noblest aims to which she can aspire, and the satisfaction of her master, her only legitimate praise. But there is no passage in the whole of the book which Brahmanical dexterity could possibly twist into a sanction of the rite of Sati. The prior decease of the husband is contemplated, and rules are clearly laid down for the conduct of his widow. Some women had married again—witness the term *parapurrá*—but such was not the path which the good wife might pursue. She must remain true to her vow in the energetic language of Dido, and with more enduring constancy:

Ille meos, primus qui me sibi junxit, amores
Abstulit: ille habeat secum, servetque sepulcro.

But even under this crushing despotism woman vindicated her natural rights. Females, we are told, can keep not only fools, but also the wise in subjection. A wise man, therefore, must never be unguarded in the presence of the sex. The distinction laid down between the frailties of man and those of women would at first seem almost unparalleled. The Brahman, on the decease of his wife, may marry again, and while alive, though devoid of good qualities and even enamoured of other women, must be revered "as a god" by his patient, uncomplaining, wife. But we know too well how these and similar distinctions are maintained in very different states of society. How unequal is the sentence pronounced by *the world* on the conduct of the faithless wife and of the unfaithful husband! How unjust that verdict which excludes the one irrevocably from the circle of social intercourse, and exalts

the other, even whilst it seems to disapprove! How different the feelings with which most fathers of families would look on the unchaste daughter and the unchaste son! It surely cannot be without the province of the writer to remark on the conventionalities and allowances by which the world has contrived to fritter away the divine law. Whilst we reflect with pleasure on the higher standard by which most of our social and domestic relations are tested, we must also confess that we have too often substituted the forgery of the world for the stamp of Heaven's mint.

We have thus lightly sketched the principal features of Hindu society, relative to the king and his duties, the nature and objects of punishment, the sources of revenue, and the respect paid to women. But several points on the code remain to be noticed. The whole of India was subdivided into at least half a dozen sovereignties, to each and all of which Manu's laws were applicable. Precepts and examples of former monarchs are appealed to, but it is remarkable that we have nothing drawn from the authority of the great heroes of the Mahabharat. Neither Pandun or Kuru is named. There is no allusion to the sacrifice of Yudhistira in proof of universal sway, to the weighty mace of Bhima, or the unerring bow of Arjuna. And yet kings and holy sages are quoted in every book. One sage is mentioned to justify the slaughter even of cows in time of famine: another to legalise the eating of human flesh in similar difficulties. Some are quoted to show that women, if united to highborn men, may attain great honour: some to prove that oaths may lawfully be sworn in court. Mention is made of one king, Vena, who attempted to abolish the barriers of caste, and partially succeeded to the horror of Brahmins, and the approbation of philanthropists, and here and there we have an allusion to a name familiar to the readers of the Mahabharat, but still no appeal to any of its prominent characters or to those of the Ramayan. Bharadwaja is mentioned by Manu as a great sage, and the Mahabharat tells us that he dwelt at "Ganga's gate," the modern Hurdwar, "highly to be revered and firm to his vow." The absence of the Mahabharat heroes as remarked above, is the more astonishing when we recollect how apposite were their examples to reprove or instruct. How well under their great precedents could the law-giver have enforced the beauty of kingly or womaly virtues! How might the loving Sakontala been quoted as a pattern of motherly affection or matronly pride! How well could the national vice of gaming been condemned by the adventures of Nala and his partner, or

by the banishment of the Pandus themselves! How would the evil king have trembled at the name and fate of Duryodhana! how could the reward of disinterested virtue be more effectually held up to admiration than in the story of Yudhistira's trials and final beatitude!

We are well aware that the vagueness of Hindu Chronology, and the difficulty of assigning a certain date to king and sage, preclude us from building any reasonable hypothesis on the above remark. But still the absence of any references to the great war of the Kurus and Pandus, or to the expedition of Rama, is worthy of notice, and has not, so far as we are aware, been taken up by any of the great orientalists. The great war is said to have taken place fifteen hundred years B. C., and as regards the probable time of Manu, we have availed ourselves of the satisfactory reasoning of Elphinstone, who places him about nine hundred B. C. or almost co-temporary with Homer and Hesiod. Sir William Jones, whilst plunged in an inextricable labyrinth of lunar and solar dynasties and Manwantaras, also concludes that the laws of Manu could not have received their present form more than three thousand years ago. The difference then between his estimate and that of Elphinstone, will not be more than some three centuries—a very slight disagreement when we consider the length of the period computed, and the difficulty of elucidating any thing satisfactory from the puerilities of Hindu dates. But whether we abide by Jones or Elphinstone, we must claim for Manu's society some of the advantages of civilized life, and the exact characteristics of modern Bengal now. We have allusions to roads and carriages, to inundations and travelling by boats in the rains, mention of regular ferry boats and ghats, of rice and of *Indigo*, rules for the regulation of market prices and bazar customs and a careful enumeration of the divisions of inheritance, and in fact the whole department of Civil Law.

Although we do not intend to go far into the questions of subdivision in property, yet we will state briefly the eighteen titles under which cases were tried in Court. 1. Debt on loans. 2. Deposits. 3. Sale without ownership. 4. Partnership. 5. Subtraction of what has been given. 6. Non-payment of wages. 7. Non-performance of contract. 8. Purchase and sale. 9. Disputes between master and servant. 10. Disputes about boundaries. 11. Assault. 12. Abusive language. 13. Theft. 14. Robbery. 15. Adultery. 16. The duties of man and wife. 17. Inheritance. 18. Gaming. It will be seen by this that Criminal and Civil law are unaccountably mixed up. Of the eighteen heads, the

eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth are clearly criminal in every age and code. But in India such is the necessity for summary proceedings that other heads at the present day have been put under the cognizance of the criminal authorities, either in accordance with the Mahomedan law, or by British foresight. By the former, adultery may be punished criminally, provided the injured husband consent to be prosecutor: any contest for boundaries, great or small, may be determined by the invaluable Act IV. of 1840, and the non-payment of wages or hire, or the non-performance of contract, up to a certain limit, and indeed most of the dealings between master and servant find a speedy solution under the excellent Regulation known as VII. of 1819. It cannot be without our province to notice resemblances such as the above, the effect of a state of society where the most opposite and irreconcilable features are intermingled.

We have before remarked on the nature and mode of punishment when treating of the divisions of the country, and the executive power of kings. The following cursory view of the courts will but serve to illustrate our general picture. The king might decide a few causes himself, probably under the large village tree, like the Deborah of ancient writ, or the Velleda of the Germans. But as he cannot inspect every thing himself, three Brahmins with a fourth, "very learned in the Vedas," are appointed by him to form a court or assembly of Brahma. The most frequent cases seem to be those of debt or ownership, and as usual in eastern countries several classes of persons are excluded from giving evidence at all. Relationship, enmity, conviction of crime, disease, childhood, age, deep learning, seclusion from the world, insanity, intoxication, and violent passions, disqualify a witness from the first. But this stringency is relaxed on failure of legal evidence. Women may be witnesses for women, and the testimony of old and young, and of those excluded as interested parties, may be taken, *quantum valeat*, in almost any case. License is not even granted to the prejudice which natives of the better sort entertain to this day against appearing in court. Nay! the appearance of wise and good men is even commanded. By great Rishis or sages, we are told, and even by deities themselves have judicial oaths been taken, and Vasishta when accused by Viswamitra "of eating a hundred sons," (so says the commentary of Kalluka) took an oath before king Sudaman to clear himself of the accusation. The rites of ordeal were also allowed. The criminal might hold blazing fire, or dive under water for a prolonged

period, or touch the heads of his wife and children : and if fire would not burn or water drown, or no speedy calamity ensued to his family—he was declared free from taint. Generally speaking all the classes seem to give evidence without exemption even to the favoured race. A Brahman is adjured by his veracity, a Kshetriya by his chariot or horse, and by his weapons, a Vaisya by his cow, his corn, and his money, and a Sudra by all his sins.

Considering the prevalence of perjury in India now, we are naturally anxious to know how it was looked upon by the law-giver. Here we are fortunately aided by a full and complete enunciation from which two opposite conclusions may be drawn. Our readers shall decide which seems most based on probability. At first there is no license held out to the slightest deviation from truth. All the powers of oratory are summoned to deter the witness from the least admission of falsehood. All the horrors of future transmigrations into the vilest creatures, all the calamities of disease, hunger, and wretchedness, all the pains of a miserable existence in this life and of avenging torments in the next, are hurled at the head of the perjured witness. On the other hand exalted fame in this world, and happiness in a future, reverence even from Brahma himself and the approving glances of those shadowy spirits who haunt the winds, the waters, and the firmament, are promised to the man who shall speak the truth. He who is not at variance with Yama, the judge of departed souls, with Vairavaswata, the punishing Deity, or with that incomprehensible genius who resides in the heart, has no need of expiation on the plains of Kuru or by the waters of Ganga. He who offends the internal soul,* “man’s best witness,” loses the fruit of every good act, is punished with the torture reserved for child-murder and the slaughter of Brahmans, destroys the lives of those nearest and dearest to him, and descends himself to the lowest depths of Naraka. But in the very teeth of these awful outpourings of offended justice, side by side, as it were, with these terrible sentences of retribution, we have that conventional morality which Manu seems to have conceded to the hardness of the times. Still further we have numbers of those allusions, which from their very nature and spontaneousness seem to us more convincing than the deliberate reproof of Law. A man speaking falsely from a motive of Dharma in some cases, shall not be excluded from Swarga. “Such evidence is termed the speech of the Gods!!!” It is but fair to state, that this permission seems based on a feeling of tenderness to all life rather than in the preservation of a Brah-

man. Where truth would procure the death of any one of the four classes—and here, be it remarked, they are mentioned in inverted order, the Sudra first and the Brahman last—falsehood must be spoken, and it is even praised. We leave our readers to imagine the frequency with which this permission was both used and abused. But this is not the sole evidence of depravity in judicial proceedings. We have mention of plaintiffs who vary from their statements, who deny what they had just before admitted, disclaim the very witnesses they have summoned, or converse with and instruct them out of Court: who refuse to answer when questioned, or who leave the Court without finishing the case. We have specific amercements for witnesses who meet with any calamity within seven days after giving evidence, rules for guidance in cases of contradictory testimony, allusions to the *suppressio veri*, and precautions for the reversal of judgment when false evidence shall be afterwards proved. The contemplation of the above passages, which we have brought together out of the eighth book, has led some orientalists to conclude that perjury was much less prevalent in former times than it is now: and an historian as distinguished and unprejudiced as Elphinstone seems to hint that he acquiesces in this opinion.* But with the utmost respect for such an authority, the inference we draw is exactly the reverse. The high price set on truth is surely a proof of its rarity. On the other hand History, and especially the History of Laws in every age and country teaches us but too well how ineffectual is immoderate stringency to check crimes of every day occurrence, and yet how certain it is that heavy punishments are never denounced but when the offence is frequent. Were forgery or sheep-stealing less common in England when punished capitally? Was the offence of breaking machinery in the manufacturing districts put down by the sentence for whose abolition excellent Romilly so earnestly strove? Has perjury ceased altogether in our native courts, has it been one whit less prevalent, in the teeth of the regulation which visits it with nine years' imprisonment? We need hardly multiply examples or search any further the codes of ancient or modern

* Vol. I. p. 60. Elphinstone says—"From these passages it has been assumed that the Hindu law gives a direct sanction to perjury, and to this has been ascribed the prevalence of false evidence which is common to men of all religions in India: yet there is more space (the italics are ours) devoted in this code to the prohibition of false evidence than to that of any other crime, and the offence is denounced in terms as awful as has ever been applied to it in any European treatise either of religion or of law." How different are Manu's thunders to the simple "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour" of the Jewish Law!

law. Manu's tremendous judgments and his lax morality, his energetic hatred of the crime, and his multiplied allusions to its frequency, seem to us the outpourings of a mind naturally elevated but yielding to the pressure of a vicious state of society. The law-giver endeavoured to deter by the awfulness of his sentence, but felt all the time the emptiness of his efforts. There is no one more remarkable feature in the length and breadth of the code than this painful hankering after the ideal good in the midst of vileness and degradation.

It has seemed to us unnecessary to go into the rules of inheritance, or the particular arrangements between man and wife. The code, it may be observed, is still the basis of Hindu law on the former intricate question. The wife still retains her *stridhan* under its authority, and the childless father adopts, but the five great schools (Bengal, Mithila, or north Behar, Benares, the Mahratta, and the Dravira, or south of the Peninsula,) have established their own readings, and the admitted excellence of the original has been spun out under the pretence of improvement into endless modifications.

We have given our deliberate opinion of the degradation of Manu's society, and it would therefore be unjust not to give a picture of the morality which the law-giver would fain have established. It is more quiescent than active: it would rather have all sentient beings free from pain, than behold a few individuals engaged in a course of benevolence to others. But there is no lowering of the standard of conscience to the pure and learned Brahman: the τετραγωνος, or "four-cornered" man, whose vision was ever floating before the eyes of the sage. Repentance lies not in fanciful meditation but in abstinence from sin: the highest praise is not worldly honour or attendance on the king, but devotion joined with knowledge of the Vedas. There are no traces in the code of that struggle for supremacy between the Brahmanical and military orders, in which tradition gives the victory to the former. The king, though bound to promote the happiness of Brahmans, is invested with all the awful attributes which religion can bestow. In wielding the executive power he can do no wrong. The Brahman may wait in his council chamber and instruct the youthful sovereign in the science of politics, but his eternal or even worldly honour sinks far beneath the reward held out to the austere scholar. For him a radiant body and an ethereal form are prepared; but for this, while on earth, all that tempt the eye, or offend the ear, or inflame the senses, must be carefully

shunned. He must know his own happiness, and his own sorrow: he is born alone: he lives alone, and like the conscientious Pascal alone he dies.* He must honour his father and his mother: the hand of liberality to the meanest mortal must never be stayed, but a large company at a sacrificial supper is no evidence of genuine holiness: all vain fancies and undignified exertions are banished: agreeable falsehood and disagreeable truths must not be uttered, and in an almost christian spirit, he must refrain from what is lawful, *should it be offensive to others*. Here and there the reasons for moral conduct are given, and they are such as, we will be bound, could only occur to the perverted ingenuity of a Brahman. The vice of intoxication must be avoided—not because it is repugnant to morality or to natural propriety, not because it is degrading and loathsome, not because while intoxicated a man may unwittingly commit crime—but because without the full possession of his senses a Brahman may chance to *tread on something very impure*! These however are exceptions, and due praise must be awarded to the scrupulous fear with which all temptation must be shunned. Those of our readers who have looked on one of the contemptible native exhibitions, termed *nauteches*, may readily understand why the young Brahman must shut his ears against the twang of musical instruments and avert his eyes from the wretched beings who move about in the mis-called dance.

There are two great dangers into which men are apt to fall in estimating any one new branch of study, especially the study of Oriental literature. It is perhaps necessary to add that the first is an undue reverence which bows obsequiously before eastern impurities and violations of good taste, the second an equally undue contempt for all that Hindu or Mussulman antiquities can present. Those who fall into the first error busy themselves in discovering beauties in their author which never existed: discern civilization in the midst of barbarism and elegance in grossness, and realize the fiction

* It is curious to compare Pascal's heartfelt and bitter exclamation! *Je mourrai seul*, and Keble's elegant versification of the above sentiment with the Hindu sage, Keble says—

“Why should we faint and fear to live alone
Since all alone, so Heaven has will'd, we die.
Not even the tenderest heart, and next our own
Knows half the reasons why we smile or sigh.”

Manu (Book IV. Sloke 240) has—“a sentient being is born alone: alone he dies: alone he enjoys what has been well done by himself: alone what has been sinfully done.”

of the golden age in the chaotic elements of rude primæval society. There is no repressing the enthusiasm of these gentlemen. Like Puff, they would fix the temple of Hygeia in the very Fens of Lincolnshire, and, it must be owned, that we look on them with something of the feeling with which Hector McIntyre saw his uncle accord a gift to the old woman who had asked for it in genuine Teutonic. Those who fall into the second mistake, might be very worthy of pardon in England, but we are not so sure that they may be exempt from censure in India. Nothing that we have written is intended to foster a disregard for oriental antiquities of real value, or to deter the gifted scholar from giving to the world his explorings in caves, or medals, or manuscripts. Nay, we acknowledge ourselves under a debt to those who put before us without undue partiality their just conclusions in an available shape. But the voice of caution must not be withheld. We are not to waste time about frivolities which interest none but their founders, or ceremonies never performed at all, or performed only by a select few. We must set his exact worth on the Hindu, and we do not deny him a considerable advance in some departments of poetry. He excels in tender feeling and in delineating the softer passions. He is skilful in partial grouping and in detail, but he is wanting in freedom and manliness or in grand results. This estimate of his poetry, which *the best* orientalists have allowed just is equally applicable to that civilization whence it sprung. A number of intricate rules were promulgated for individuals. Individuals disregarded them, and there was nothing to secure the general happiness of society. In detail Manu's society was perfect, but in system it was wanting. It overlooked great and glaring wrongs in the moral and political landscape to snatch at atomic specks. It created difficulties for the purpose of overcoming them. It aimed at what was almost incomprehensible even in theory, while it neglected many deficiencies very capable of practical amelioration. The conclusion at which every impartial reader of Manu must arrive is that he reads a set of laws and moral rules applicable to a very mixed state of society, where evil influences preponderate, the whole compiled by a mind of the genuine Hindu cast,—with all its characteristic failings, but still endowed with much that is excellent, and retaining the glimpses of light which those might retain who travelled eastward after the great confusion of tongues.

Our views are, we are aware, incapable of mathematical proof, but equally so are the estimates of those who see

nothing but order and moral beauty in Manu. And the whole experience of History, the deliberate reasonings of those who bring disunited and seemingly incongruous facts to converge on one ultimate object, are, we submit, on our side. If we do believe that of two standards, the one rigid and the other lax, mankind are naturally wont to choose the former: that with manifold concessions to the rugged harshness of the times, society will persist in wilfully following a severe and unbending rule: that, in short, the heavy burden is voluntarily sustained when the light and easy may be borne—we forfeit History's most valuable lessons and solemn warnings, and at this rate from Juvenal's sixth satire may deduce a perfect picture of moral loveliness and truth.

In our estimate of Manu not only is there nothing which militates against general History, but also nothing at all incompatible with Hindu History itself. For the whole scope and aim of the Brahmanical laws, begin with, centre and end in the Hindu. All external influences are carefully excluded, and the elements of society must be sought for only from within. One great example of a nation thus wrapped up in itself is already at hand in the Chinese: another as certainly presents itself in the Hindu. Both from different motives avoided intercourse with other nations: both suffered innovations from the Tartar and the Mussulman, and both have lasted for some three thousand years as little changed from their original condition as is well possible in the nature of things. As the Hindu is now, so was he in the days of Manu: with more, perhaps, of intellectual power *then*, but ever wasting it on unworthy objects: mistaking subtlety for grasp of mind and the sensual for beauty. Considerable intellectual power in individuals is not incompatible with a lawless and unfixed state of society. The poet or the logician might rest under the patronage of his Raja and give lustre to the palaces of Ujayina or Kanubjya, while the country all around was barbarous and ill-governed. While we maintain that the Hindu was never more civilized—taking civilization in its most extended views—never one whit more pure in morality or more elevated in his national aims than now, we admit that his intellectual powers have undergone considerable deterioration. We shall hardly be required to prove the latter part of our assertion which is sufficiently attested by the original works in the great ocean of Sanskrit literature, and the present absence of all originality or invention. For the former we are content to be judged by what we have written, and

by those readers who will give the Institutes a deliberate perusal.

We can judge from states of society nearer home and connected with our own daily experience, how fatal is the distinction between principles and practice. Where principles are avowedly lowered, will the practice of men rise high, when we see it descend even where principles are lofty? from the experience of eighteen hundred years the Christian historian knows but too well how vast is the distinction between the society in which he moves, and that which its Divine Founder would have established on earth. He knows, even whilst rejoicing in the social benefits of Christianity, how far we are yet from that mysterious union between Church and State, when "the kingdoms of the earth shall become the kingdoms of the Lord."

We must now take our leave of the Code, with the simple assurance to our readers that we have made no one single deduction which is not based on the plain unaltered text. The allusions moreover have been mostly taken from those passages where the meaning was incapable of bearing two constructions. Here and there we allow it, a prohibition in strong language has been taken as evidence that the thing prohibited was in existence. Our deductions may be wrong, but the premises have been carefully surveyed. We have striven to do justice, as far as lay in our power, to this, in some parts, the most worthless, in others, the most precious, monument of all Hindu antiquity.

But the above considerations lead us by no unnatural transition to the contemplation of the native of Bengal as he is to-day. With a Code like the above combining much that is passively good, with much more that is actively vile: with a system of duties carefully guarded against all innovations: with a society in which stagnation is lauded and advancement condemned: with all the worst elements of Toryism deep fixed in his temperament, the Hindu has come down to us, slowly deteriorating, and as a race worn out and spent: incapable of revivification from any principles within and as yet comparatively insensible to the few impressions tendered from without. What quickening power, unless sound Education may avail us, shall ever present the Bengali with something of that purity and manliness which he vainly imagines himself to have lost?

- ART. V.—1. *Corrected Report of the Debate in the House of Commons, in June 1845, on the State of New Zealand. London, 1845.*
2. *Papers relative to the affairs of New Zealand: correspondence with Lieutenant Governor Grey in 1845-46. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Her Majesty's command, 1846.*
 3. *New Zealand Journal; Extra Number. London, May 1846.*
 4. *Recent Correspondence between Her Majesty's Government and the Directors of the New Zealand Company. London, June, 1846.*
 5. *Observations on the climate of New Zealand, by William Swainson, Esq. London, 1840.*
 6. *New Zealand and the New Zealanders. By Ernest Dieffenbach, M. D., Naturalist to the New Zealand Company. London, 1841.*
 7. *Scheme of the Colony of the Free Church of Scotland at Otago in New Zealand. Glasgow, 1845.*
 8. *Documents relating to the site of the Scotch Settlement in New Zealand, 1845.*
 9. *Arrangements for the Establishment of the Settlement at Otago, 1846.*
 10. *A letter from Captain Cargill to Dr. Aldcorn, on the Free Church Colony at Otago, 1847.*
 11. *First Report of the Directors of the New Zealand Company. London, May, 1840.*
 12. *Letters from Settlers and Labouring Emigrants in New Zealand. London, 1843.*
 13. *Information relative to New Zealand, compiled for the use of Colonists. By John Ward, Esq. Fourth edition. London, 1845.*
 14. *Twenty-second Report of the Directors of the New Zealand Company. May, 1847.*

It is impossible to contemplate the subject of Colonization, which affects so many vital interests of the empire, or feel astonishment that its thorough examination should so long have been postponed in an age when our constitutional principles and policy have been scrutinized in almost all other depart-

ments of Government. To open up, or gradually create, new markets for our home manufactures—developing new sources of supply for the raw materials; to provide that large and increasing class of our population which finds suitable support in the mother-country difficult or impossible, with a home where honest industry may ensure its fair reward under the protection of British Law; to augment the authority and to guard the interests of Britain and the British name, and as it were, to diffuse over the whole earth, the benignant influence of her language, her science, her arts, and above all of her free civil and religious institutions—these are the direct objects which the British Statesman has had to contemplate when legislating for her wide-spread colonies.

Yet, how lamentably has our Legislation ever failed, as by a fatality or fatuity, in attaining any one of those great ends! It must be admitted as a melancholy fact, that with all our boast about an “empire upon which the sun never sets”—we have not even yet one single colony *sufficiently* attractive to emigrants. Though impelled from home by narrow or fast-failing income, and though possessing in his own nature no small love of enterprize and adventure—the would-be British emigrant may look anxiously around the globe, and eyeing every distant colony where flies the banner of his country—from the Canadas round to the furthest Pacific,—see but a hard and sorry choice of ills before him, attractive only to one who is already on the eve of still greater trials if he remain where he is. The British emigrant and his family are necessarily a mournful, sad-spirited group of unwilling exiles; or if they are ever otherwise, it is a moral certainty that they are so, because they are the dupes of some false hopes, or the victims of some atrociously fraudulent scheme certain to hurl them ere long into ruin and despair.

But before we go further, we would beg in a few words to justify ourselves for touching on this theme at all. Intending, as we do, to limit our consideration of it at present, to its connection with New Zealand,—and that with a special practical reference of it to our countrymen in India—we trust the perfect suitability of the subject to our pages will appear; and if we can but engage our reader’s attention through some introductory paragraphs of necessary explanation, we shall hope to reward his toil by then presenting some views and facts which may be new to him, and may possibly affect deeply and directly even his future plans of life for himself and for his family.

If it may be said that no department of British Government

has been so grievously mismanaged for some ages back as the Colonial—it may also be said, and with still greater confidence in the truth of the assertion, that of all our ill-governed colonies, New Zealand has been the very worst.

But a new era at length dawns on those scenes; and as the art of ruining a colony had been displayed here in its utmost conceivable force, short of a catastrophe—so it happens, that these beautiful islands are now the first fair field in which a reformed system is about to be applied.

The New Zealand Company is probably known by name to all our readers. It is an institution bearing a Royal Charter, and combining in its managerial and proprietary bodies a larger amount of influence, (using that term in reference to high personal character, wealth, rank and talent,) than perhaps any other joint-stock Company in the empire. No less than twelve out of its twenty-four Directors, are distinguished Members of Parliament; and the list includes also a number of names of men who hold the very foremost rank in the foremost commercial city in the world. The history of this remarkable Company since its formation, is identical with that of the Colony.

The object for which the Company was established, is stated as follows in the first Prospectus which it published, in May 1839. "The purchase and improvement of waste land in New Zealand has been already carried on to a great extent and with much advantage by missionaries and others who have settled in the country, as well as by persons residing in the adjacent Australian Colonies; and such an operation upon an enlarged scale is the proposed object of the New Zealand Company. The attention and business of the Company will be confined to the purchase of tracts of land—the promotion of emigration to those tracts, directly from the United Kingdom—the laying out of settlements and towns in the most favorable situations—and the gradual re-sale of such lands according to the value bestowed on them by emigration and settlement."

Such being the general design of the Company on its formation—the full protection of Government, and in many respects its co-operation, were obviously indispensable. Not only would proposing settlers require assurance of present safety for their lives and property under British Government well administered in the colony, but also assurance of an unimpeachable permanent title to the land which they were about to buy and cultivate.

The whole argument as to the abstract territorial rights of

the Savage *versus* the Civilized Man—mystified as it has been, to an inconceivable degree, by the selfish doings and contending interests of ages—came on this occasion once more into earnest public discussion. And well was it disposed of by Mr. Charles Buller in his admirable speech in the House of Commons on the New Zealand Debate of 1845. We must quote this striking passage in full, long as it is:—

“ But it is said that it was *their* country, and that *we* had no business to take possession of any part of it. Of the race which I have thus described, there appear not to exist in the whole extent of New Zealand, more, if so many as 100,000 individuals. There is one little island which may be regarded as uninhabited. The middle island, far the largest of the three, we may call uninhabited also, as *its inhabitants are supposed not to amount to 1,500, in an extent as large as England and the Lowlands of Scotland*. In the southern half of the Northern Island there are 10,000 inhabitants. Almost the entire native population is to be found in the northern half of the Northern Island. It is preposterous to expect that the existence of such a population on portions of the soil of a vast country, ought to exclude the rest of mankind from turning the unoccupied soil to account. God gave the earth to man to use—not to particular races, to prevent all other men from using. (Hear.) He planted the principle of increase in us; he limited our existence in no particular soil or climate, but gave us the power of ranging over the wide earth; and I know no principle of reason, no precept of revelation, that gives the inhabitants of one valley in New Zealand a right to appropriate a neighbouring unoccupied valley, in preference to the Englishman, who cannot find the means of subsistence at home. I apply to the savage no principle which I should not apply to the most civilized people in the world. If by any unimaginable calamity the population of France, for instance, were reduced from the 35,000,000, which it now maintains, to 200,000, which is about the proportion of New Zealand, and if these 200,000 were almost limited to Brittany and Normandy, and cultivated, as the New Zealanders do, no more than one acre in a thousand, do you think we should allow this handful of men to devote that fine country to perpetual barrenness? (Cheers.) Do you think that every neighbouring nation would not deem itself justified in pouring out its destitute myriads to obtain their food from the soil on which weeds and wolves would otherwise subsist alone? It seems to me wicked to dispute the right of man to cultivate the wilderness! (Hear.) Justice demands, no doubt, that if

‘civilized man, when thus seeking new fields for his labor, be brought in contact with a rude and weaker race, he is bound to treat his new neighbour with the utmost fairness and kindness. Nay more—not merely are we bound not to deprive him of any actual possession which he enjoys, but justice requires that we should do our best to prevent his being thrown into a position of relative inferiority, and to ensure an improvement in his condition corresponding with the general improvement of his country.”

(We cannot refrain from pausing here for one moment in passing, and putting it to our readers whether a purer or more exalted principle of Government was ever propounded in the British Senate than that which we have just quoted.)

“I know not how, in this respect, we can lay down any better principles than those always recognized, and almost always acted on by our ancestors. They never pretended to assert a right of depriving the Indian of his possessions. The principle of our law, in conformity with the general law of nations, was, that in settling among savages, it was not our duty to recognise in them any rights of which they themselves had no conception, or to create for them some fiction of right analogous to the proprietary rights of modern Europe. The rule laid down by Vattel, by all writers on the law of nations, and by our own lawyers, is, that in dealing with the savage, who possesses no notion of individual property in land, or a power of alienating it, it is sufficient to recognise his right to that which he actually uses, and no more. The same writers have always maintained that the civilized man had a right to limit the Indian in his *wasteful* use of large tracts for the chase. In New Zealand, however, no such difficulty occurred: the savage did not hunt; his occupations of land were as definite as any European fields; they consisted of the ground which he had actually cleared. If you left him this, what injury did you do him by occupying the unoccupied remainder? (Hear). You took from him nothing which any lawyer, or any moralist, ever regarded as his property. The payments which were made to him were *not the price of land*; they were *payments to secure his consent to our settling quietly in his neighbourhood*.

“The real evil which you have to guard against, when you introduce a large body of European settlers into the immediate neighbourhood of an uncivilized race is, not the taking the soil which the latter did not use, but the change which you effect by bringing them into contact with a stronger race. Against the ill-consequences of such a change we

‘ were no doubt bound to provide the savage with most sufficient guarantees and ample compensation. But compensation for what? Not for land, which was not his, but for the position of inferiority to which your very vicinity of itself tends to reduce him. And what species of compensation can you give him? Is it money? Translate money into the articles which money will enable the savage to acquire—into rum and tobacco, muskets, and gunpowder—and I think that every man of real philanthropy will agree that the greater the amount which you confer, the greater the injury which you inflict on the object of your mistaken bounty. (Cheers.) ‘ Be as lavish,’ said the New Zealand Company, in one of their letters to Lord Stanley, ‘ Be as lavish as you please of the ordinary materials of European barter: give clothing, arms, ammunition, tools and tobacco, and what beyond the consumption of the day can you really give, of value to the man whom you do not find possessed of, and cannot at once endow with, a gift of foresight? Give more and you only waste the surplus. And when the blanket is worn out, the second-rate finery turned to rags, the gun burst, the ammunition expended, the tool broken, and the drug has produced its hour of intoxication—at the end of a year or two, or even ten, what better is the wild man for your gift? At the end of the period of enjoyment, he and his race are beggars, amid the wealth that has grown out of their possessions; doomed, after a brief period of toil for the intruder, and of humiliation in his presence, to disappear from the land over which they once reigned undisputed masters.”—(Hear, hear.)

“ I go on to read from the same letter, the description of the provision which the New Zealand Company made for the Natives:—

“ ‘ It was to guard, as much as human care can guard, against such a result, that the New Zealand Company invented the plan of Native Reserves. To recompense at the moment, and comply with the exigencies of opinion, they paid down what, according to received notions, was a sufficient price. But the real worth of the land they thought they gave, only *when they reserved, as a perpetual possession for the Native*, a portion equal to one-tenth of the lands which they had purchased from him. This was a price which he could not squander away at the moment, but of which, as time passed on, the inalienable value must continually and immensely increase for his benefit and that of his children. Heir of a patrimony so large, the native

“ ‘chief, instead of contemplating European neighbours with
 “ ‘jealous apprehension, as a race destined to degrade and
 “ ‘oust him, would learn to view with delight, the presence,
 “ ‘the industry, and the prosperity of those who, in labouring
 “ ‘for themselves, could not but create an estate to be enjoyed
 “ ‘by him without toil or risk. Nor was this design confined
 “ ‘to barren speculation. *In every settlement which we have*
 “ ‘*formed, a portion equal to one-tenth of town, as well as rural*
 “ ‘*allotments, has always been reserved for the natives*; in the
 “ ‘lottery by which the right of selection was determined, the
 “ ‘Natives had their fair chance, and obtained their proportion
 “ ‘of the best numbers; and in the plans of Wellington,
 “ ‘Nelson, and New Plymouth, your Lordship may see the due
 “ ‘number of sections, including some of the very best in
 “ ‘each, marked out as Native Reserves. Nor is this, even
 “ ‘now, a valueless or contingent estate. At the most mode-
 “ ‘rate average, according to the present rate of prices, the
 “ ‘hundred acres of Native Reserves in the town of Well-
 “ ‘ington alone would fetch no less than £ 20,000.’ This, Sir, is
 “ ‘my answer to all the calumnies that have been thrown out
 “ ‘against the New Zealand Company, as being desirous of
 “ ‘cheating and ill-using the native. (Hear, hear.) We de-
 “ ‘vised, and, while permitted, faithfully carried into effect, a
 “ ‘plan evincing more forethought and real humanity than ever
 “ ‘had been adopted before. The Select Committee of last Ses-
 “ ‘sion honored it with their approbation; and I rely upon
 “ ‘finding their decision ratified by the judgment of all men
 “ ‘whose philanthropy is not an idle cant.—(Hear, hear, hear.)
 “ ‘Malign us—destroy us if you will—you cannot deprive us of
 “ ‘this undeniable claim to the merit of having devised the best
 “ ‘and wisest plan ever yet conceived for the benefit of the
 “ ‘aboriginal races among which our colonization is established.
 “ ‘(Hear, hear, hear.)’”

All honor to Richard Cobden as the Corn-Law Emancipator !
 But equal honor, too, be to Charles Buller, as the real Reformer
 of our Colonial System ! His triumph, indeed, as also his
 struggle (with worthy colleagues) for years previously, has been
 far less observed publicly ; but the issue is—seminally—no less
 decisive or beneficial. Among the steadfast, enlightened and
 disinterested advocates of Colonial Reform—the name of
 Charles Buller stands out pre-eminent during years past ; and
 it will be associated in future history with the victory at length
 achieved by the high principles of which he has been the pow-
 erful and persevering defender in the Senate—as certainly as

will the name of Cobden be identified with Repeal of the Corn-Laws.

The views of the successive colonial ministers of the crown, and of the able and energetic men who managed the affairs of the New Zealand Company, were as yet, however, at irreconcilable variance. But "truth is great." These enlightened managers have at length approved themselves, not only to Government, though so long hostile to their views, but to the nation and the world at large—as the solvers of a problem, one of the most difficult that could present itself to the view of a Patriotic Statesman. Never perhaps was any political enigma more thoroughly investigated, than the whole subject of *Colonization* has been by those men who have had the chief direction of this New Zealand Company. After much study of what they have done and spoken and written during eight years past, we feel it difficult to say whether we ought most to honor them for the surpassing wisdom and largeness of their economical views—their skill, caution, vigilance, and indomitable perseverance in planning and executing their scheme in all its details, in spite of inconceivable obstacles—or the patient sagacity which awaited the maturity of the crisis, and then the calm and temperate courage with which they faced the alternative (supposed to be insurmountable, by the Government which had forced it upon them,) and deliberately and unanimously put an end to their own existence as a corporate body. On the 29th of May 1846, Directors and Proprietors met in the city of London, and with one voice, representing the interests of upwards of twelve thousand emigrants of our country, and an amount of property estimated at about six millions sterling,* solemnly voted a surrender of their royal charter with all its immunities—and laid down their claims and liabilities together, at the door of the State *which had guaranteed and which had betrayed them!* One sole clause in this memorable Resolution, left a wicket-door of reconciliation with Government yet open; the Session indeed was drawing fast to a close, but the act of dissolution was allowed to be contingent on the event (unhoped-for, however,) of a Bill being brought into Parliament, even at this eleventh hour—for assured repair of all the grievances complained of.

Never was a bold and honest measure, the dictate almost of despair, so extraordinarily triumphant. Sir Robert Peel's mi-

* Vide petition of the New Zealand colonists, presented to the House of Commons by Viscount Howick, July 1846.

nistry was then itself *in articulo mortis*. Who may explain the mysterious connection which is suggested by the coincidence of that fact with the instant change which now took place in his ministerial policy towards the New Zealand Company! Explain it who can—the fact is there:—a new light now bursts upon Sir Robert! It was little indeed he could do; but, to do him justice, he did his best. It was too late for him now to introduce a bill embodying the new views of colonial policy which he avowed. But he took an immediate opportunity after receipt of the astounding communication of the New Zealand Company's Act of Dissolution, from his place, to "explain" the present position of the Government in its relations with that body, interspersing his feeble vindication of the former for past delays, contradictions, trickeries, and direct opposition, with many and large admissions of error and impolicy; acknowledging now, that the demands of the Company on the Government were no more than just and reasonable; that he considered their Agency in the colonization of New Zealand to be invaluable, if not indispensable to the State; and that their general views as to the system which should now be pursued towards this all but ruined Colony in particular, were such as he would himself adopt and act on immediately were he remaining in office.

Mr. Gladstone left a Minute behind him in the Colonial Office, for the use of his successor—embodying these deliberate views of the expiring ministry. Earl Grey succeeded Mr. Gladstone; and Mr. Charles Buller, one of the leading managers of the New Zealand Company, was invited to a sinecure seat in the cabinet for the sole and avowed purpose of giving the noble Lord, whose general views of Colonial policy were one with his own, the full benefit of his talents and experience in the great work of Reform which was now to be entered on!

The suicidal Resolution of the New Zealand Company was at once annulled. The Company arose as from its ashes. In a few weeks an Act of Parliament was passed—now known by the name of the New Zealand Act—which, though open to some very grave objections, and no doubt destined to undergo great modifications ere long, marks the effectual commencement of a new era in the Colonial History of our empire, as *establishing* the great right of local self-government by Municipal Charters in townships, and by Representation in Provincial Assemblies.* From the twenty-

* Thereader must not understand the free *municipal institutions* alluded to in the text, and in which the chief value of the new order of things is supposed, justly, to

eight day of August 1846, when this Act was passed, may be dated the virtual downfall of the detestable system of

reside—as limited in their nature, to the guardianship of petty local civic interests, the mere lamp-lighting and drain-clearing of towns and villages. Let Sir Robert Peel explain in his own words, his large apprehension of the term *municipal* as applied to this organic change in our colonial system—and as the Legislature has since adopted and embodied it :—

“ With respect to the future government of this colony, I must say, that looking at the distance at which it is removed from the seat of government at home, and considering the great difficulty of issuing orders for its government in this country, I am for one strongly inclined to think that a Representative Government is suited for the condition of the people of that colony. It has not the objections that might be applied to a penal colony; for you have at any rate released New Zealand from the evils attendant on a penal settlement. Speaking, therefore, on general principles, I think the government of that colony, in connection with those immediately interested in its local prosperity, *assigning to them the administration of its affairs*, is a form of government well adapted for New Zealand. But, considering the extent of the islands, it is no easy matter to introduce the principle of Representative government, according to the construction we place upon it. It appears to me that by far the best plan would be the formation of Municipal Governments, *with extensive powers of local taxation, and of meeting all local demands*. In the opinion of Mr. Burke, the form of Representative government in our North American colonies grew out of these Municipal Governments. In, I think, his letter to the Sheriffs of Bristol, he says,—‘ These Representative Governments in North America have grown up I know not how; but there they are. The people who left this country left it with those feelings of pride, and of love and attachment to liberty, which belong to self-government. They began with Municipal institutions. Distance and absence of control gradually nurtured them, so that from small beginnings they grew into Representative Assemblies; and there I find them. I will not inspect them too narrowly. I will not inquire too close into their establishment, I believe they are the natural growth of such institutions; and those who have colonies and especially British colonies, must expect such results.’ Now I am strongly inclined to think that *the germ of a Representative Government in a colony, ought to be in these Municipalities, widening their sphere by degrees according as the land becomes settled and peopled*. I doubt whether that would not be a safer mode than that of establishing at once among so thin a population a Representative Government that would require the people of Auckland and of Wellington to meet together, separated as they are by such a great distance.’ ”

Mr. Wakefield in his letter to Mr. Gladstone of 21st January, 1846, quotes this pregnant passage from the Premier’s Speech, with the following comment :—

“ I am very glad that Sir Robert Peel quoted Burke; for if he had not thus made his own meaning clear, there are persons who, since they must bow to the Prime Minister, would not have objected directly to municipal government for New Zealand; but as they dislike whatever savours of local self-government for colonies, would have asked us to believe that ‘ municipal signifies only, for paving and lighting.’ Unable to resist the principle of local self-government, they would limit its application to the business of aldermen and common-councilmen in England. *But Burke knew that every really English colony down to his time had been ruled by a municipal government, and that every one of these municipalities performed within its own limits the highest public functions. That Sir Robert Peel meant GOVERNMENT COMPLETE IN FUNCTION, THOUGH LIMITED AS TO TERRITORY, is obvious from his emphatic approval of ‘ these municipalities’ as mentioned by Burke; from his proposing to ‘ widen their sphere by degrees according as the land becomes settled and peopled;’ from his saying that they ought to have ‘ the power of meeting all local demands;’ and still more (for in ascertaining the import of words, the circumstantial evidence of their logical connection is stronger than the direct testimony of particular expressions) from his suggesting narrowness of territory for each of the several governments, as the means of enjoying representation without inconvenience.* ”

Such then is the large and liberal right of self-government now secured by Act of Parliament; under which—whether the term Municipal or Representative be employed—the settlement of Otago starts forth;—the first, we trust, of many—be their distinctive badges otherwise what they may.

government in our remote dependencies, by mere pro-consular caprice, passion or incapacity—and of their deliverance from the still more intolerable and irresponsible despotism of Colonial Secretaries and Under-Secretaries of State.

Mr. Buller, in a late speech on the subject of this notable change, is reported to have thus expressed himself: ‘While liberal charters had been granted to colonists in the seventeenth century, and under the reigns of the Stuarts, a system had since grown up by which the colonist was consigned to an absolute tyranny—placed, in fact, under a Government only calculated for convicts; his property and liberties at the entire disposal of a Governor, with the mockery of a council, nominated and dismissable by himself; and, not only so, but the selection of these Governors and their subordinates, in most cases, so utterly inappropriate, as to be an outrage upon common sense, and altogether unendurable. So much for the general case. But it so happened, that the very youngest and weakest of all the colonies had the very essence of these vices concentrated upon it; and presenting, as it did, the greatest attractions of nature, combined with the greatest miseries which misrule could inflict, it had stood forth during a series of years, as an inexplicable and crying enormity. But New Zealand was happily connected with a mercantile body of the highest character in the city of London, who could make themselves heard in the Legislature and the country; and hence, this feeble colony has been made the means of achieving, along with its own redress, the great measure of colonial reform which the Government has at last announced, along with the intimation that the same principle now applied to New Zealand, shall in time be carried round to all, and adapted to their several circumstances.’—(*Vide Captain Cargill’s Letter, page 6.*)

It was under these auspicious circumstances that the Directors of the New Zealand Company issued in May last, their Twenty-second Report, now before us, and which may be quoted entire, as it is very short:—

“The correspondence with Her Majesty’s Government, a copy of which has been forwarded to each Proprietor of the Company, has put you in possession of the negotiations in which your Directors have been engaged on your behalf, or at least of that portion of them which has led to a practical result.

“This correspondence apprises you so fully of the general nature of the negotiations, and Lord Grey so clearly states the grounds on which he desires to enable the Company to renew its operations, and the means by which he proposes to

‘ carry that object into effect, that any comment upon the details is superfluous. In our reply to Lord Grey, we have stated that the arrangements proposed appear to us to afford a fair prospect of success, notwithstanding the difficulties by which the later stages of your enterprise have been attended; that in this belief, we are prepared to devote ourselves to the continued exertions indispensable to the realization of this prospect; and that, subject to your confirmation, we accede accordingly on your behalf to his Lordship’s several proposal.

“Of this step, knowing the spirit by which you are actuated, and of which we have witnessed such frequent and striking proofs, we look with confidence for your approval and ratification. Upon receiving these, we shall lose no time in adopting all necessary measures for the resumption of active colonization in its original vigor, especially for the immediate and effective carrying out of the plan which has been so long in contemplation for the settlement of OTAGO in connection with the Free Church of Scotland. In the qualities displayed, under impediments most disheartening, by the promoters of this undertaking, especially by your future representative on the spot, Captain Cargill, and in their high moral and religious feeling, we recognize a sure pledge that in fixed principle, consideration, courage, and every other element of progressive prosperity, the colonists of this settlement will in no degree fall behind the foremost of those by whom, through your instrumentality, they have been preceded.

“The annual accounts will now be laid before you, and the usual business be gone through. Since your last meeting, your constant friend and advocate, Mr. Charles Buller, has resigned his seat in your direction on the occasion of his becoming a member of Her Majesty’s Government. We have thought it more conducive to your interests not to fill up the vacancy thus created, or that caused by the decease of your late lamented Governor, until the arrangements now under consideration, shall be completed by receiving your approval and the sanction of Parliament. In consequence, four only of your directors now retire by rotation, namely—

“Stewart Marjoribanks, Esq. M. P.

“John Abel Smith, Esq. M. P.

“Sir Ralph Howard, Bart M. P. and

“William Hutt, Esq. M. P.

“All of whom we recommend for re-election.

“New Zealand House, Broad Street Buildings, 14th May, 1847.”

Before proceeding further, we must here explain that one of the most formidable *social* obstacles in the way of successful colonization hitherto, has been the impossibility of providing to any one new settlement, the means of religious instruction fully equal to its need; a necessary consequence of the admixture hitherto of many various religious creeds and sects in almost every party of emigrants that embarked. The natural remedy for this serious imperfection in the system, was the separation of religious creeds in the very first formation of each settlement, so that each from its actual commencement might secure for every individual member of it, the precise form of religious instruction and worship which he conscientiously preferred to all others, in reverence for which he had himself been trained from infancy in his father-land, and in which he fondly wished to educate his children too in the new land of their adoption.

Dr. Aldcorn, the Secretary, in Scotland, of the Committee appointed for management there of the Otago scheme—which happens to be the first settlement projected under the new and vastly reformed system now commencing—thus writes in explanation of this *class* character which those settlements are to bear:—"These colonies or settlements, for there may be several or many of them, are intended to be *sectional* in their character—that is, this first one is to be Free Church, the next may be Episcopalian, and after these may follow a Wesleyan, or Congregational, or any other. The reason for adopting this denominational or *class* character, as it has been called, is the insurmountable difficulty that has been experienced in New Zealand and elsewhere (as in the Australian colonies), of distributing, with satisfaction to any party, the funds set apart for the support of religion or education, and the positive evil that arose in some of those places from the attempts that were made to carry out this distribution."

Now we must express our own conviction that great and valuable as is the change now dawning on our colonial system, there is not one feature in it which can be hailed as so full of promise, as this practical adoption of the religious element, of the pure Protestant type, into the constitution of these new settlements from their very outset; and this in full deference to the specialities of many kinds, which though sectarian, are not at all incompatible with the highest and purest religious principles. Nor is it a circumstance unworthy of note, that the *first* which happens to have started into existence, is under the auspices of a Body whose high and hardy principles of civil and religious

freedom resemble more, perhaps, than any other, those of the Pilgrim-Colohists who laid in ages past the great foundations of trans-atlantic liberty and independence on the imperishable rock of religious truth. We trust, however, that other Bodies may soon enter the same inviting field of enterprize.

Captain Cargill in his *letter to Dr. Aldcorn*, p. 9, calls "very special attention to that which constitutes the most important feature of the Otago plan, namely, a systematic and permanent provision for religious ordinances, and for schools and a college in the colony :—

"This provision will not only meet the wants of the first generation of settlers, but, such is the expansive capacity of the scheme, that however fast or far the settlement may expand over these inviting lands, every additional acre so taken up, will just throw in its proportionate addition to the funds for religious and educational purposes.

"No similar provision has found place in any British colony since the time of the "Pilgrim Fathers," the founders of the New England States of North America,—by far the wisest and most successful effort in the whole annals of colonization that I am acquainted with.

"This most memorable colonizing achievement of the Pilgrim Fathers, is indeed pregnant with instruction. It stands forth a wise and holy example for our imitation ; and, if we except that which was the more immediate and pressing cause, viz. the necessity of seeking an asylum from the unrelenting rigour of religious intolerance in the mother country, there is hardly one of the causes which they themselves have assigned as those which induced them to emigrate to New England, which is not now in full operation in our own day, and which is not felt by thousands of our countrymen as a most powerful argument in favor of a similar movement on the part of themselves."

It is not deemed necessary however for preserving the *distinctive* religious character of this Otago settlement—that every purchaser without exception should himself be a member of the Free Church of Scotland ; it is merely requisite that parties—in India or elsewhere—who may desire to become members of the Association, should clearly understand that the *public endowments*, at first set apart for Churches and Schools, are to be applied *entirely* for the support of those institutions in *connection with that Church*.

We shall now touch very briefly on the great physical attractions which this region presents as a colony generally,

and the arrangements for establishment of the settlement at Otago.

The Islands of New Zealand, three in number, lie between the parallel of 34° and 47° South Latitude. The "Northern" and "Middle" Islands are by far the largest of the three, and of nearly equal size. Their territorial extent together is almost identical with that of the United Kingdom; and after making due allowance for lake, morass, and large chains and groups of Alpine mountains, the total amount of available land has been estimated, after the most elaborate surveys, at not less than sixty millions of acres. It is no small advantage that this large area is not contained in a vast continent accessible only from a limited portion of coast, but that the far greater and richer portion is immediately accessible from a long line of no less than 3,000 miles of coast, abounding in safe and commodious harbours.

The natural resources of the country are great and varied. "Mineral riches abound," reports Governor Fitzroy; "their extent and variety are becoming more known and better ascertained every month. Since I last wrote to your lordship, and mentioned this subject, tin has been found in this neighbourhood and close to the sea." Copper, sulphur, lead, manganese, iron and coal, had been previously known to be abundant. The flax of New Zealand is already famous, and has become to a large extent a cheap and valuable substitute in Europe for Russian hemp. Its wool rivals the finest Australian. The forests "abound with an extraordinary variety of timber of the most valuable qualities, applicable to every purpose of commerce or domestic life." And New Zealand is the natural emporium of the great Southern Whale Trade—a fishery on which the whole world may be now said to depend exclusively for its supply of oil and whalebone, the North-sea whale-fisheries being almost entirely destroyed.

The natural fertility of the soil on the plains and in the vallies is very great; and the luxuriance of the vegetation every where, arising both from the goodness of the land, and the regular and abundant supply of moisture, is attested to by all residents and travellers, as extraordinary. All kinds of grain, fruit and vegetables from Europe, grow well and produce as large or larger crops than they do there. The vine, the olive, and the fig, attain the fullest perfection throughout the Northern Island, and in the Northern part of the Middle Island. To the sheep farmer, no colony offers larger attractions: such is the abundance and goodness of the pasturage, and its continuance

through all seasons of the year—in winter as well as in summer affording full feeding for cattle and sheep—that there is no necessity for ever housing the herds and flocks, or providing winter provender for them. (Vide the evidence of J. C. Crawford and F. A. Molesworth, Esquires, and others before the House of Commons in June 1844).—G. B. Earl, Esq., stated in evidence before the same Committee, as follows—“The common saying in N. S. Wales is that it takes five acres to keep one sheep; but in New Zealand, on the contrary, they say that it takes one acre to keep five sheep.”

With respect to *Climate*—the evidence of its excellence, and especial adaptation to European constitution, is perfectly overwhelming. At Wellington, which is centrically placed in South Latitude 41°, about five degrees to the North of Otago, and as many to the South of Auckland—the mean temperature quarterly was as follows:—

Summer	65° 3'
Autumn	59° 3'
Winter	50° 4'
Spring	57° 7'

which may be compared with that of *London*, N. lat. 51° 30'

Summer.....	61° 7'
Autumn.....	50° 3'
Winter	38° 2'
Spring	48° 3'

At Wellington in July, the coldest month of the year, the greatest cold at noon was 38°; in January, the warmest month, the highest temperature at noon was 76° 5'. Snow falls partially in the southern part of Middle Island during winter, lying occasionally on the hilly uplands for a day or two. No local or epidemic diseases, or others peculiar to the country, such as marsh, or bilious fevers, agues or bowel complaints, seem to prevail, so far as is yet known. Ague indeed has *never* appeared even in low and damp localities. Every where the colonists from Great Britain and Ireland, France and Germany, who have been in the country for longer or shorter periods, have enjoyed a course of uninterrupted good health, such as none of our people in any of our colonies (some parts of Australia perhaps excepted) have ever experienced, and even better than these people themselves enjoyed at home. “The young too of all animals, the human as well as the lower, thrive in an extraordinary manner; and all the breeds of cattle and sheep which have been introduced into the colony have

improved by the change—two facts strongly testifying to the salubrity of the climate.”

With exception of about 1,000 Natives resident at its Northern extremity, and a few stragglers near Otago Bay and at the southern, there are no Aborigines found on the Middle Island at all. The seat of all the warlike disturbances of late years, and also the seat of Government, (Auckland), is the northern end of the Northern Island, nearly 900 miles distant from Otago.

The magnificent Bay of Otago (as Colonel Wakefield terms it) and all the region for many miles around it, have been repeatedly surveyed, and it would appear, with extraordinary care. Our space, however, will not permit us to enter on any description of the varied advantages—most attractive as the account might prove—which the locality seems to possess as the future Seat of a Colony at once pastoral, agricultural, and commercial.

The following *extracts* from the prospectus put forward by the Otago Association, may, for our present purpose, convey to our readers a sufficient general idea of the nature of the scheme. Fuller explanation, particularly in regard to the pecuniary details, does not fall within our province; but this work we are led to expect may presently be done in an efficient manner by parties locally authorized, and qualified to communicate to the Indian public every information regarding the project, and to receive applications in this country for membership in the Association. We are gratified to learn by the latest accounts from home, that the arrangements for the dispatch, as also for due reception at the colony, of the first party of settlers, were nearly completed; and that Captain Cargill was himself to accompany them—an advantage of the greatest moment:—

“4. The Site of the Settlement to be at OTAGO, IN THE MIDDLE ISLAND OF NEW ZEALAND, on the land granted to the Company, by a Deed under the Seal of the Territory, bearing date the 13th day of April, 1846.”

“5. The Settlement to comprise one hundred and forty-four thousand six hundred acres of land, divided into two thousand four hundred Properties; and each Property to consist of sixty acres and a quarter, divided into three Allotments; namely, a Town Allotment of a quarter of an acre, a Suburban Allotment of ten acres, and a Rural Allotment of fifty acres.”

“6. The 2,400 Properties to be appropriated as follows, namely:—

- 2,000 Properties, or 120,500 acres, for sale to private individuals;
- 100 Properties, or 6,025 acres, for the estate to be purchased by the Local Municipal Government;
- 100 Properties, or 6,025 acres, for the estate to be purchased by the Trustees for Religious and Educational Uses; and,
- 200 Properties, or 12,050 acres, for the estate to be purchased by the New Zealand Company.

“7. The price of the land to be fixed in the first instance at forty shillings

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an acre, or 120*l.* 10*s.* a Property; to be charged on the estates of the Municipal Government, of the Trustees for Religious and Educational Uses, and of the New Zealand Company, in the same manner as on the 2,000 Properties intended for sale to private individuals; and the purchase-money, 289,200*l.*, to be appropriated as follows, namely:—

Emigration and supply of labour (<i>three-eighths</i>)	... £108,450
Civil Uses, to be administered by the Company, viz.:	
Surveys and other expenses of founding the Settlement, Roads, Bridges, and other improvements, including Steam, if hereafter deemed expedient, and if the requisite funds be found available (<i>two-eighths</i>)	72,300
Religious and Educational Uses, to be administered by Trustees (<i>one-eighth</i>)	36,150
The New Zealand Company, on account of its capital and risk (<i>two-eighths</i>)	72,300

“It is to be observed, that from the sum of 36,150*l.* to be assigned to the Trustees of Religious and Educational Uses, will be defrayed 12,050*l.*, the price of the 6,025 acres to be purchased as the estate of that Trust.

“In like manner, out of the sum of 72,300*l.* to be assigned to the New Zealand Company, will be defrayed 24,100*l.*, the price of the 12,050 acres to be purchased by the Company as its Estate.

But the 6,025 acres, constituting the Estate to be purchased by the Local Municipal Government, must be separately paid for by that Government; and until payment therefore of the price, 12,050*l.*, together with the Colonial interest thereon, the land will be held by the Administrators of the Fund for Civil Uses, with power to dispose of the same, if such payment be not made within one year after the completion of the sales of the remainder of the two thousand four hundred Properties.”

“12. In laying out the Chief Town of the Settlement,—to be named “DUNEDIN,”—due provision to be made for Public Purposes, as Fortifications, Public Buildings, Baths, Wharfs, Quays, Cemeteries, Squares, a Park, and other places for health and recreation: for all which, instructions have already been given to the Company’s Principal Agent.

13. The first party of Colonists, including free passengers, to be of sufficient numbers to entitle them to an Act of Municipality; but to be despatched by one or more embarkations, and to be based upon the sale to private individuals, of not fewer than four hundred Properties, or one-fifth of the whole scheme.

“14. Two years from the date of the first embarkation to be allowed for the despatch of the second Party, and one year for the despatch of each successive Party afterwards; each Party being based, like the first, upon the sale to private individuals of not fewer than four hundred Properties. The term of five years, therefore, to be thus allowed to the Association for completing the sales in the proportions abovementioned; but on their failing in any of these proportions, the Company to have the option of disposing of the whole of the remaining lands to other parties.”

Here for the present we must pause;—purposely confining ourselves on this occasion, to the very summary sketch we have given of recent and passing events in connection with the attempt to colonize those islands—a region felicitously termed the Great Britain of the Southern Hemisphere; desirous, as we really are, less to satisfy, than to stimulate, hopeful interest

in regard to them; anxious rather in the first instance, to indicate to many of our fellow-countrymen on whom long-revolving Indian suns have shone not prosperously, and whose flesh and heart may be failing them, that there *is* in the bounty of a gracious Providence, another and not very distant scene open to them, unthought-of by them at all hitherto perhaps, but now opening more brightly than ever it has done to any; where the pure and simple blessings of life which they may have so long sighed for in vain, can very shortly be commanded at small cost, for ^{themselves} and their rising families:—The blessings of life?—yes—both of “the life that now is,” in the enjoyment of patriarchal peace and plenty on the easy condition of patriarchal scorn of life’s false pleasures—and “of the life to come,” in the possession of pure Christian education and ordinances, leavening society from the very outset of its career.

But it is not the range of one article that could suffice were we to enter on the wider, more romantic, and to the general reader, therefore, the far more attractive field to which this theme invites us.—How astonishing the story of the past in regard to those regions!—their first, yet comparatively recent, discovery; the wondrous conjectures, and then the gradual and still more wondrous revelations, of scientific research through them; the strange tales of desperate adventure and wild enterprise both by sea and land, involving years of separation from civilized humanity; by and bye the coming upon the scene, of men professing to teach Christian truth to cannibal savages; coincident therewith, the darkly contrasting influence of near neighbourhood to penal British Settlements, surcharged with all the crime intolerable to the mother-country; anon and very unexpectedly, the excitement of national feeling aroused by the imminent threat of French possession in dispute of British right of discovery; and hereupon and hereby—the sudden appearance of that powerful Colonial Corporation, a mighty Organization starting “in complete steel” from the great commercial and political Head of the world, into mature existence as in a moment—the NEW ZEALAND COMPANY! a Body which has now, after a struggle of but a few years, with abuses which nearly as many ages had stereotyped into the system of our Colonial Government, achieved the great but peaceful and beneficent triumph of truth and sound principle which we have above recorded.

This, and much more than all this, from the records of the past—we do hope to have another opportunity ere long of considering. And how greatly is the interest of the subject enhanced

by view of THE FUTURE which promises, before many months are over, to bring Australia within four weeks' reach of India, through "the mighty agency of steam." It is not alone then to the intending permanent settler, the Indian resident whose failing health, narrow means, and severed family—and perhaps hopelessness either of his own return home, or of making due provision for his children after him, may be weighing him down body and spirit in this uncongenial climate,—that the subject must be interesting here; but also to the occasional visitor—to the very many, who whether in quest of health, amusement, or science, will find in those scenes, soon to be comparatively near at hand and easy of access, more attraction than in any other quarter to which Indian travellers can now by any possibility resort.

Based as the Otago Scheme obviously is on the soundest principles of religion and philanthropy—all its arrangements apparently planned with most admirable caution, intelligence, and foresight—its actual execution under the immediate control and conduct of men, whose character, experience, and position have already secured for them the confidence of the Government and the admiration of their country—the success of this noble undertaking does appear to us, under God's blessing, to be inevitable. The solitary place will be glad for them; it will rejoice at their coming; it will blossom abundantly. And the day may now be looked forward to, when these fertile but hitherto untrodden wastes shall teem with a population not only glorying in their British name and pedigree—and not only inheriting from their immediate progenitors a territory yielding beneath a bracing sky all the material bounties of heaven, but richer far in the heritage bequeathed to them, of Civil and Religious Institutions, rooted as it were in their very soil—identified, from the first and for ever, with their social and political existence—the surest safeguards of all that constitutes true national greatness or individual happiness.

- ART. VI.—1.—*A Sketch of Assam ; with some account of the Hill tribes. By an officer, in the Honorable E. I. Company's Bengal Native Infantry in civil employ. With illustrations from Sketches by the Author. Smith, Elder and Co. 1847.*
2. *Simla ; by Captain George Powell Thomas, of the 64th Bengal Native Infantry. Dickenson and Co. 1846.*
3. *Military Service and Adventures in the Far East, including sketches of the campaigns against the Affghans in 1839 and the Sikhs in 1845-46. Ollier. 1847.*
4. *Recollections of Four years' Service in the East, with H. M.'s 40th Regiment. By J. M. B. Neill, Captain, 40th Regiment. Bentley.*
5. *Six views of Kote Kangra and the surrounding country ; sketched on the spot, by Lieut. Colonel Jack, 50th Regiment N. I. Smith, Elder and Co. 1847.*
6. *Briefe aus Indien, &c. (letters from India ; by Dr. W. Hoffmeister, Physician in the suite of Prince Waldemar of Prussia ; edited by Dr. A. Hoffmeister. Brunswick. Westermann. 1847.*

WE purpose in this article to say as little as possible for ourselves. It is not our intention to offer a dissertation of our own upon any set subject ; but to introduce to our readers, where introduction is necessary, the works whose titles we have above transcribed, not as mere "make-believes," or even as so many pegs whereon to hang our own excellent wisdom ; but a bonâ fide half-dozen of genuine books placed before us for actual review. With one-half of these the reader can have made no previous acquaintance, before this number of our journal passes into circulation ; with the other half he will not, we are sure, be sorry to have his acquaintance refreshed. With one exception they are the works of Indian officers. Nay, indeed, we are not sure that we ought to make even this one exception ; for the officers of the Indian army will ever regard as a brother, one who, though not an Englishman by birth, fell on the field of battle amongst Englishmen, and was immortalised in an English Gazette.

And as far as these volumes are illustrative of Military Life and Adventure in the East, we purpose to let them speak for themselves. The lights and shadows of Indian life are here set forth in striking contrasts—scattered too over a wide surface ; from Assam to Istaliff. Let us start from the former place. The Assam officer has presented us with a volume,

handsome enough in all externals—handsomely printed, handsomely bound, and handsomely illustrated. But it has other and higher claims to consideration. It is a book at once amusing and instructive—full of information conveyed in a pleasant, unaffected style, and presenting upon the surface many characteristic traces of the true soldier—cheerful, patient, manly, full of hope and full of courage. It is no secret, we believe, that Captain Butter is the author of this book. He was at Mynpuri, with his regiment, at the close of 1840, when he received the appointment of second-in-command to the Assam Light Infantry; and started in a budgerow with as little delay as possible to join his new staff-corps.

Our Assam Light Infantry officer had spent some time at Gowalparah in 1837; and here he touched in 1840, on his way to join his appointment. “An absence (interval) of three years,” he says, “had produced few changes in the condition of the people or the appearance of the buildings, excepting in the house I formerly occupied, which had been suffered to become a heap of ruins. One vestige of the *débris*, however, gratified my self-love. A little glass window-frame, made with my own hands, still survived the destruction of time and the elements, and vividly recalled to memory the difficulty I had overcome in endeavouring to admit light into my little dwelling. Such a luxury as window glass being unknown at the remote station, I had purchased some of the small looking glasses which always abound in the Indian bazars, and removing the quicksilver, converted them into window panes.” The pursuit of comfort under difficulties, indeed! In a country where the luxury of glass-windows is not denied to the poorest cottager, this passage may excite some surprise; here it will excite sympathy. Who does not know the value set upon a house “with glass-windows” in a remote station—who does not know how to appreciate such an achievement as that so modestly related in the above passage? Light, it is true, is always obtainable, and the Assam officer scarcely describes the real state of affairs, when he talks of “endeavouring to admit light into his little dwelling.” A hole cut in the side of a mat house will admit light enough—and more than enough; but the difficulty is to obtain light without hot wind in the dry weather, with its accompaniment of dust; and rain in the wet season. Time was when even in Calcutta glass-windows were little known; and now, we believe, that they are becoming common in the *Ultima thule* of Assam and Arracan. That a rudely constructed glass-window should be thus appreciated, as a luxury of the first water, is a circumstance to

be duly regarded by those who would form a correct estimate of the *agrémens* of military life in the East. And who knows, but that the future historian of Assam may not dwell upon such a circumstance with curious interest, even as we now read Mr. Shore's complaints of the want of glass-windows in Calcutta, and wonder how it was that Mr. Forbes was compelled to go to bed soon after sunset, because he could afford neither a candle nor a supper?

After passing Gowahatty our officer, not being satisfied with the progress of his budgerow, transferred himself to "a canoe formed of a single tree hollowed out." "It was," he adds, "forty-eight feet long, and three feet wide, ten feet of the length being covered in with a small mat roof as an apology for a cabin. In this I felt by no means uncomfortable, though I had only a little more room than served to enable me to lie down at full length." We might almost suspect that we are indebted to the printer for these proportions. Let any one who has a room or a verandah long enough for the purpose, step out forty-eight feet and see the length of this canoe hollowed out of a single tree. But, any how, these primitive vessels have their advantages in addition to the great one of increased speed, for they are much more secure than budgerows and pinnaces, against the perils of wind and water, being not very easily swamped or very easily capsized. But, says the traveller—a hardy stout-hearted fellow enough,—there is nevertheless "a painful sense of insecurity from the streams and rivers in many parts of Assam swarming with crocodiles;" and he adds, "I have heard that one of these amphibious monsters has been known to seize a paddler unconsciously sleeping in the front part of the boat." Pleasant fellows these crocodiles; and plenty of them. Our Assam officer tells us that, on one occasion, "a heap of one hundred crocodile's eggs, each about the size of a turkey's egg, were discovered on a sand bank and brought to him." "I found on blowing them," he adds, "that they all contained a perfectly formed crocodile, about two inches long, which would have crept forth after a few days' more exposure to the sun."

Such is the population of an Indian river. Further in there are other inhabitants, with which one is equally disinclined to associate. The Assam officer on reaching his station at Saikwah ("a more desolate place," he says, "can scarcely be imagined,") set about the construction of a house. We give the account in his own words, and take the opportunity of introducing his new associates to the reader:—

"A few days after my arrival at Saikwah sufficed to plaster my mat-and-

grass cottage with mud, and with the assistance of the Sipahis, a chimney for a fire place was soon constructed, with bricks and mortar obtained from old buildings at Sudeah; then putting in a glass window, I was enabled, in comfort and solitariness, to pursue my usual vocations in all weathers. In this secluded retreat, every incident, however trifling in itself, acquired an importance which induced me to note it in my tablets. One one occasion, about eight o'clock at night, sitting by a snug fireside, my attention was arrested by the approach of an unwelcome visitor making his way in at the door. Taking up a candle to ascertain who or what was forcing ingress to my dwelling, I beheld a python, or boa-constrictor, about six feet long, steadily advancing towards me. In my defenceless position it may be imagined that safety depended on immediate flight; and the monster thus speedily gained entire possession of my habitation. It was, however, for a few minutes only, that he was permitted to remain the undisturbed occupant of the abode; for my servants quickly despatched the intruder with a few blows inflicted with long poles. An apothecary, who had long been attached to the Assam Light Infantry, assured me that pythons, or boa-constrictors, were very numerous in our vicinity, and of an immense size, some not being less than fifteen or eighteen feet in length. I had evidence of the truth of the statement; a skin, fifteen feet long, being subsequently brought me by the natives. I caused it to be tanned and sent to England. Small serpents were often met with. On one occasion the apothecary brought me two boa-constrictors of about four feet long, which he had found on a table curled up amongst some bottles in the same room where his children were sleeping. In all probability the lives of the infants were saved by the musquito curtains preventing access to the bed. Boa-constrictors are exceedingly fond of rats, and on this occasion they had evidently been in search of their prey.

As my cottage had not the usual white cloth ceiling suspended, insects, snakes, and vermin frequently descended from the roof into the rooms; but by keeping the house free of baggage and well swept, contact with them was avoided. The reader will suppose an Assam mat-hut to be a dreary kind of residence; but I can assure him, the logwood fire on a hearth one foot high, in the centre of the room, with a small window cut high in the wall for the escape of the smoke, is by no means devoid of cheerfulness."

The cheerfulness, perhaps, is after all more in the gallant Captain's heart. "There's nothing, either good or bad, but thinking makes it so." Many a man would have growled over much better quarters than these; the Assam Light Infantry officer is made of good stuff, he looks on the bright side of the world, and finds "good in everything." A mat-hut, with a hole in the wall for the escape of the smoke, and all sorts of reptiles descending from the ceilingless roof, like the earwigs, which dropped into good Mrs. Nickleby's tea, is not *prima facie* the sort of dwelling, in which one would feel much disposed to be jolly. But an Indian officer must be "equal to either fortune"—to the fortune of a palace in Chowringhi or a mat-hut in the wilds of Assam. Happy the man, who is possessed of the present writer's constitutional cheerfulness—and happy the Company which is in possession of tribes of such servants. There have, we know, been occasions, on active service,

when unnecessary complaints have been raised—when certain grumblings, denotative of little heart and hope, have made their way to distant places—but take them for all, there is not a class of men in the world, more willing to endure with manly patience, the discomforts of existence in camp or in cantonment—more ready to laugh down the lesser ills of life—than the officers of the Indian army. Heaven help them, if they lacked passive courage—if they were less able to endure than to *do* !

And here we must leave this agreeable volume. The next on our list is truly a gorgeous work—a magnificent folio containing a series of views taken far enough from Assam. One bound ; and we find ourselves at Simla.

Captain Thomas is a man after our own heart. He is one—we say it with all consideration—

“ Whose pen and pencil yield an equal grace ; ”

Who illustrates his writings with comely pictures, and his pictures with clever letter press. In both capacities he “ does all like a man.” We could not entrust the credit of the Himalayas to a bolder pencil or a freer pen. There is an impulsiveness in all that Capt. Thomas does which accords well with the scenery he describes and the bracing climate in which he revels ; he writes and sketches like a man rejoicing in his emancipation from those restraints which have bound him down, on the plains, to the lower earth of apathy and indolence, and clogged the movements of his free spirit. In a word, he is a dashing writer and a dashing artist ; and that he is a dashing soldier, we may believe on the authority of those who have borne witness to his services in the field.

Of Captain Thomas’ power as a draftsman—of the freedom and force of his execution ; of the artistic skill with which he has “ made up ” the series of drawings before us ; of his truthful management of perspective, linear and aerial ; of the cleverness with which he has imparted to the magnificent expanse of hills, range upon range, which bound the landscape in these noble views, a character of immensity impressive and sublime—we can only speak in language, dim and insignificant, bidding the reader to confide in our assertions, without such evidence, as we can supply when we are reviewing mere letter-press, but which in the case of an art-publication like this we must send him to seek for himself. And in truth he could not do much better—Captain Thomas’ *SIMLA* is a book, which it is a privilege to possess. They who have visited the mighty mountains will rejoice in having their recollections refreshed

with so much force and reality; and they who have never journeyed thus far will be happy in the opportunity of deriving as truthful an impression of the grandeur and variety of the hill-scenery as it is possible for a few sheets of drawing paper—or, indeed, for a huge expanse of canvas painted even by Mr. Burford—to impart.

The letter-press, which accompanies a gorgeous volume of engravings, is too often over-looked. It is regarded as a mere make-weight and treated with contempt. Sometimes indeed it merits no better fate; for it consists of nothing better than a few pages of scissors-work, got up, perhaps, with no great craft by a worn-out literary hack. But we would recommend no one to pass lightly over Captain Thomas' letter-press. To be sure there are but a dozen pages of it—but such pages!—each one containing the matter of an ordinary sheet. There is a vast deal of valuable information and pleasant writing in these pages—much that is worth remembering, and not a line that is not worth reading. For the information contained in these chapters the reader must search for himself. It con-sorts better with the plan of this article that we should extract a few passages descriptive of that life on the hills, to which there are few military men in this country who can not look back with peculiar feelings—but it would demand a volume to write of the lights and shadows of life on the hills and all the feelings, which it has called, for good or evil, into activity more permanent than a “six months' leave.”

Here is an extract from Capt. Thomas' account of the ascent towards Simla. The first mouth-full of pure mountain air is something, indeed, to be remembered and recorded:—

“I know of few sensations more delicious than that of getting up hill (I do not speak in metaphor), especially when, as in your ascent from Barb, you presently behold the speckled and streaked plains you have quitted, *sinking* deeper and deeper below you, and spreading away further and further in light and shadow, till the purple and azure distance mingles, like the ocean, with the sky.

Presently, in your zig-zag course, you crown a height steeper than the rest, and find yourself suddenly surrounded by pine trees, in all probability the first you have seen since you left old England. This is Chaubee. The afternoon sun (or, if you like it better, the morning sun) glances on those noble trees, and the clear cold breeze whistles through them. They skirt the eminence on which you stand, and dive till they are lost in the purple shadows of the glen below, which lies so calm, so cold, so seemingly inaccessible to man, that you long to hurl into it some of the many masses of stone that lie around, and to see them bounding and leaping and whirling from crag to crag, till they are shivered on some point of rock, and scattered into a thousand fragments round the startled “*capripedes satyri*” that tenant that abyss.

On an isolated hill beyond this beautiful glen, stands or lies, for it is far

below you, the pretty hill cantonment of Sabathu, the country quarters of an European regiment of the line. Far beyond and above Sabathu the heights of Simla are visible, at least on a clear day. Simla in turn is backed by the larger and lesser Shali mountains, and many another azure or purple height. And above, though not far above these, again peer the summits of Huttu and Hagkandha, whose outlines might have merged into the sky, but that between them and it tower the snows of the higher Himalayas. From this same "bold headland," where we have paused so long, sending our vision so far forth, the lately ascending zig-zag road suddenly dips. It does so that it may lead you to the banks of the Gumbhur, a sparkling pretty little river, that rages and smiles by turns—rushes to day and scarcely moves to-morrow; in short, changes moods as often as Virgil says the ladies did of old.

A journey of five miles or less along the side of this river, and for the latter part along the base of precipitous rocks, brings you to the suspension bridge below Hurripur. It is ornamental always, but useful only in the rains, though even then its utility is none of the most lasting, for the bridge itself is generally destroyed by the first heavy and continued fall of rain. Be this, however, as it may, at all other seasons the traveller, whether on foot or horseback, seems for choice to make to the water. And sure I am, that the horse who is standing knee deep in the dancing stream, whose day's journey is to end at Hurripur, has his fill of enjoyment as he takes a pull first at the bridle and then at the water."

And here we have, as a fitting appendix to the above, a tribute to the first "awaking at Simla." Speaking of Captain Dalzell's house, Captain Thomas says:—

"I have a leaning to this house, and like it almost as well as the Mount, though the scenery is not nearly so beautiful as that from thence. But the fact is, that I once went up to Simla dangerously ill, and recovered in an incredibly short time in this house. By the way, it is impossible to describe the delicious feeling of awaking at Simla for the first time, and looking out upon the purple and shadowy dells below, and the dark dense woods around, and the spotless Himalayas in the distance, and the moss and ivy on the trunks of the oak and pines about your path, and the dewy *English* wild flower and fern under foot. The intensity (as the phrase runs) of such a moment can neither be described nor forgotten. A delicious home feeling wells up and refreshes the sick man's heart, and home itself arises "to his mind's eye," not as he last beheld it, but arrayed in all its brightest hues."

Here is something about the society of Simla; it is introduced *à-propos* to a clever sketch of a Fancy Fair at Annadale:—

"Having forgotten to do so elsewhere, I may as well say here that the society at Simla in the season, that is to say, from April till November, consists of between two and three hundred of the officers of the civil and military services, and their families.

Simla is "indifferently stupid" for the first few weeks, for despite the maxim that "everybody knows everybody," nobody knows anybody for about that time, and society is accordingly as stiff and hollow, if not quite as deceptive, as a horseshair petticoat. But towards the end of the season—just when it is time to bid perhaps an eternal farewell—people get up an eternal friendship; all becomes holiday costume; and what with balls, races, picnics, and exploring parties, we prove our belief, that it is the business of true wisdom to enjoy the present moment, and let Care go hang herself in

her garters. Then come on (or come off, which is it?) at the same time, the races at Annadale, the race ball, and the fancy fair. The fancy fair takes place between the first and second days of the races, and affords very good sport in its way. The season and the scene are alike delightful. The rains are just over, the air is once more dry and bracing, the sky is clear, the sun not warm, and nature is looking more charming than ever in her new green dress; moreover, half the pretty women at Simla are established in their stalls under the pine forest—yonder in the background—making a sunshine in a shady place, and selling their wares for *less than nothing*. And (to be guilty of an anti-climax!) still further in “the merry green wood” stands a most spacious tent, to which a posse of butlers and khidmutgars are perpetually running with goodly freights of Champagne, and no end to hams and pasties; so that they bid fair to have “that within which passeth show,” when one is tired of being actor or sufferer, seller or buyer.”

And here we have a brief chapter on the climate of Simla. A sixth months’ leave to visit the Hills on sick certificate, or on private affairs, is not one of the least brilliant of the lights of Military Life in India. No one can read the following and marvel that soon after the close of the hot-weather the General Orders of the Commander-in-chief teem with these leave-announcements:—

“From March, when the sleet and snow may be said to have passed away, to the middle of July, the climate is heavenly. There is nothing like it on earth. Nothing! Nothing in Italy! Nothing in France! Nothing any where that I know of. Recall the fairest day, nay hour, of sunshine you have ever known in an English spring, and conceive the beauty and gladness of that sunshine, brightened by continuing without a storm, almost without a shower, daily *for months together*; and deck the fruit trees and bushes in a thousand *English* blossoms; and spread violets and daisies, and strawberry blossoms, and wild roses, and anemones, thickly, thickly, over the bright close emerald turf; over crags amid the pine roots, and far away down amid the ferns beside the “runnels,” and you may fancy something of what our Simla spring and brief summer are.

And then, alas, come the rains! From the middle of July to the middle of September you have healthy weather still, but no end to rain; in short, a climate perfectly English as England is, nearly three parts of the year.

From early in September to the end of December you have dry clear frosty weather, very delicious, and very bracing; and from that time till spring again, you may count upon living like the ancient mariner, in “a land of mist and snow,”—very healthy, but certainly not agreeable. But the hills are almost deserted in the winter.”

We are not sure that in these extracts we have done full justice to Captain Thomas, for the most valuable portion of his work we have left untouched. We have treated Captain Butter, after the same fashion. But our article is on Military Life and Military Adventure; not on Eastern Topography; not on Indian statistics; not on the natural history of Hindustan. We should be well pleased, if Captain Thomas were to afford us another opportunity of calling attention to his ability as a writer; he could not have a better theme than the

Himalayas, nor one better calculated to display his peculiar talents. We have a long-standing promise to meet our readers again on that ground; and should be glad to place a volume from Captain Thomas' pen at the head of our list of works for review.

We now turn to our "Cavalry Officer." He has reasons, we believe, for preserving the incognito; we shall not, therefore, lift the veil. It is enough that he is an officer of the 16th Lancers—a clever, sensible writer; and seemingly a well-read, well-educated gentleman. From his volumes—with the attractive title of "Military Service and Military Adventure in the Far East," we purpose to quote freely. This number of our journal will, in all probability, pass into the hands of our readers, before the Cavalry Officer's book can make its way into general circulation; and therefore we can afford to be liberal in our extracts. From a work, which has already obtained a large Indian publicity, we are compelled to be more chary of our quotations.

The "Cavalry officer" arrived in India, some ten years ago, and proceeded, almost immediately to join his regiment, which was then stationed in the North-west Provinces. His sojourn at Calcutta was very brief and not very satisfactory. He found the people of the City of Palaces anything but hospitably inclined:—

"I believe the case was materially different a few years ago; but we found cause to remark, during our fortnight's sojourn in Calcutta, that we had experienced less hospitality and more incivility than in any other city of the world, not excepting even New-York. The then revolution in the social system of the East has been attributed to the recent establishment of hotels in the city, but this appears more of a subterfuge than a palliation. The absence of the Governor-General and Commander-in-chief, who were at that time in the upper provinces, had drained Calcutta of the best of its population, as we were informed and afterwards experienced; and we therefore saw the place under unfavourable circumstances."—*Vol. I. p. 11.*

We are not altogether sure that this reproach is well-merited. Calcutta, even in the absence of the Governor-General and the Commander-in-chief, is not much given to inhospitality and incivility. But the complaint, we know, is frequently made and the complainants are mostly to be found among the officers of the Queen's service. Nothing can be more intelligible. The hospitality of Calcutta is not extinct; but it must be sought. It does not go out in search of objects to vent itself upon; it does not explore single-poled tents on the glacies of the Fort; or wander about the *maidan* in search of young Lancers or Dragoons. It does not keep watch on the steps of Chandpal Ghat that no friendless young sailor may escape it. Still

it is a reasonable enough sort of hospitality, and has some kindness and cordiality in it. The truth is—we do not speak with any especial reference to the case before us—that young officers in the Queen's service, even they who are attached to quiet common-place regiments of the line, and how much more surely the dashing young aristocrats of our crack Cavalry corps, are so much accustomed, on arriving at a new European station, to be sought by the inhabitants of the place—so much accustomed to create a sensation—so habituated to see all Dover or all Canterbury prostrate at their feet—that on reaching India they are both surprized and irritated at the apathy of the people of Calcutta or Madras. It must be acknowledged that we do not much trouble ourselves about the arrival of a new regiment. A large proportion of those, who, taking their evening drive on the course see a regiment disembarking opposite to the Fort, do not trouble themselves to enquire the number of it. Of the many soft female hearts, then and there assembled, not one beats less steadily—not one bright eye beams more brightly—not one young bosom swells with thoughts of conquest: uniforms are altogether at a discount, and a strange regiment is a thing of no account. Her Majesty's officers are not accustomed to such displays of stoicism. Somewhat inclined to resent an indifference, so little flattering, as though it were an affront to their order, they forget that they are in a new land, making trial of a new state of society, and called upon, if they would not be voluntary out-casts, to do at Rome what is done at Rome, and conform to the customs of the country. We know that Queen's officers have ere now expected to bring all Calcutta or Madras down to their barracks by the mere force of their own attractiveness; and have declared their resolution not to make those initial calls of ceremony, which in India are made by the last, as in England by the first comer. They will not call on the old residents—not they! They will be called upon. They soon find their mistake. The mountain will not go to Mahommed—nay, perhaps the mountain is unconscious of the very existence of Mahommed. A score of Cavalry regiments, even if half of them were Guards, could not revolutionize the society of Calcutta. Still we are not inhospitable: and we are not, it may be added, destitute of hero-worship. We are well disposed to shower our civilities upon the Queen's regiments, when we know of what stuff they are made. We may not open our arms to welcome a new regiment, but we often dismiss an old one with all possible *éclat*. We may not always “entertain strangers”—it would be better perhaps if we did—but we have a good supply of hospitality

for our friends. If the "Cavalry officer" was the bearer of letters of introduction to residents in Calcutta and delivered those letters, to no purpose, he may have reason to complain of the inhospitality of the City of Palaces; but as he was only a fortnight amongst us, he can not reasonably complain that in that time he could not bring all the Ditch to his feet.

There may, however, have been peculiar circumstances to call forth this reproach; and as the "Cavalry officer" is not a grumbler—but a sensible, good-humored, agreeable fellow—we willingly believe that he has not, in this instance, complained without some reason for his querulousness. The *dust* is the next subject of complaint; and at this he may growl away at will, without a word of protest from us. Here is a passage from his account of the march to the upper provinces with some men of his own regiment and some detachments of other corps. It is not a bad sample of the pleasant graphic style, in which these volumes are written:—

"The dust on the road between Allahabad and Cawnpore passeth all understanding. The head of our column got along tolerably well, not sinking much above their knees in the impalpable soil; but the centre and rear staggered blindly onward, and not unfrequently downward, through the clouds raised by their predecessors, till they reached more substantial ground; others jostled against mud walls and trees, trod on their neighbour's toes, or, wandering from their comrades, groped their way out of the dense atmosphere, and only discovered the locality of the column by the glimpse of a few miller-like objects preceding the cloud.

Ten marches from Allahabad, over roads of the above description, and through a country which, being hid by a dusty screen, I seldom saw, and cannot therefore describe, brought us into the cantonments of Cawnpore, which appear to rise like a city in the desert. Not a tree was to be seen, and scarce a vestige of animal or vegetable life was presented to our view, as the morning broke upon us crossing the arid and almost trackless plain near Cawnpore. At length, when the sun arose, a dim line of conical objects was descried through the lurid atmosphere, and, at the same time, the roar of some half-dozen pieces of cannon, at practice on the plain, announced the vicinity of cantonments.

Here the men of the detachments were placed in barracks, and the officer's tents pitched in a compound, where the sun blazed fiercely enough to roast a live lobster in his shell, though, from our species of that animal, nothing was elicited beyond moisture and murmuring."—*Vol. I. pp. 20-21.*

The "Cavalry officer" had heard so much of the attractions of Meerut, that he was marvellously disappointed when he found himself there. He appears, however, not to have arrived before the luxuries of the hot winds were coming fairly into play; and then he followed the very sensible fashion, which he found reigning around him, and procured leave of absence to the Hills. The pages, which are devoted to a description of these favored localities are pleasantly written and not

wanting in information. But even there, he found it might be dangerous to take too many liberties with the climate; for he enjoyed his freedom to the utmost for some time, and was then prostrated by a fever. The description, which follows, is worth quoting as an illustration of the shadows of military life in the East. It is not very comfortable to be slung up in a *Satringhi*, and bumped down a hill, in a state of high fever:—

“I was preparing for the journey towards the source of the Ganges, when a most unwelcome visitor, in the shape of a fever, summoned me homewards. It was in vain to struggle any longer with my obstinate antagonist, so I yielded to the advice of my fellow-travellers, and turned my back for ever on these wild and glorious mountains. The floor-cloth of my tent was taken up, and the two corners bound together by ropes which also attached it to the tent pole. In this primitive conveyance I was borne by eight Pahariis homewards to Landour.

The jolting I underwent, and the stumps of trees that left their numerous prints on my back, brought me in a few hours into a state bordering on delirium. On descending the last valley before reaching Landour, a severe thump than usual caused me to start up, and bless my tormentors; the pole of the litter snapped, and away I rolled, with my dusky companions, towards the lower regions. The circular motion soon made me so giddy, that I might have rolled unconsciously into the next world, but my guardian angel interposed a little copse of bamboos between me and it. When I had recovered the sense remaining to me, and peered out of the copse to ascertain the locale of my fellow rollers, it was with feelings of mortification I counted and found all present and sound except one, who had luckily broken his nose,

Two hours after this event, I found myself in bed, contemplating the surgeon, as he tried the point of his lancet, with the feelings which a pig evidently possesses and betrays on perceiving the butcher sharpening his knife, preparatory to the final gash.

The fever was not unto death, as the reader (if there be such a person) will doubtless have concluded by the continuance of my narrative, and therefore as I cannot hope to excite much sympathy for my sufferings, or doubt as to the result, I had better recover at once, especially as that will occupy but a few words in the present instance, though it took me five weeks at that time.”—*Vol. I. pp. 46-47.*

The “Cavalry officer’s” regiment was ordered in 1838, to form part of the army of the Indus. This was a great thing for the young lancer—an opportunity at all events of travelling into strange lands at the Government expense and with all his companions around him. The soldier in India sees strange sights—he has glorious opportunity for enlarging his experiences. He may, any day, be studying the caves of Bameean or the Porcelain Tower of Nankin. Even such a scene as the following—a view of the Shikarpore Bazar—very cleverly sketched—is worth going a long way to carry off in one’s journal:—

“On entering the busy scene, the first object that strikes the visitor is the pale, business-like money-changer, his anxious forehead bedaubed with the

white paint of his caste, peering over the pyramids of silver and copper heaped ostentatiously before him. Opposite, wrangling with half a dozen sepoy, in voices that might wake the dead, stands the noisy, energetic cloth-merchant, extolling his wares amidst the altercation with a fluency that would break the heart of a London Jew clothesman.

On each side, as you struggle onward, are squatted, in the peculiar Oriental fashion, venders of dried fruits, seeds, spices, opium, *cum plurimis aliis*; but your good-natured Arab charger halts in despair at the shop where yonder greasy cook is flourishing in his long, bony hands a wooden ladle, with which he bedaub, in oily costume, a hissing mass of kabobs, or kidneys, which are emitting a savoury odour throughout that quarter of the bazar, and engaging the attention of an impenetrable cloud of half-famished-looking wretches watching the inviting process. On extricating your embarrassed steed from this difficulty, and moving up another bazaar, at right angles to the former, the ears are saluted with the stunning and monotonous clang proceeding from the anvils of armorers and blacksmiths, who continue their noisy labour with an assiduity that, conjointly with their hissing fires and diabolical countenances, give an unpleasant presentiment of the world below.

Speckle the scene with a number of savage-looking fellows in dingy dresses, with matchlocks slung over their shoulders, a pair of business-like pistols, and a greasy-handled knife stuck in their belt, whilst a broad, iron-handled tolwar brings up the rear, and you will complete the best picture I can afford of Shikarpore bazaar, with its lazy, lounging soldiery."—*Vol. I. pp. 96-97.*

A march through an enemy's country, with a blinding sun and a scarcity of water, is not one of the pleasantest components of military life in the East. There is a mixture of the terrible and the ridiculous—how often are they brought into close contact in the following passage:—

"On the 23rd of April, we had, according to the most prevalent conjectures, arrived within about fifty miles of Kandahar, and met no enemy. Having marched about twelve miles in the morning, we reached our appointed ground for halting about nine, A.M., when some assistants, in the quarter-master-general's department, reported to the brigadier of the cavalry that the water in camp would barely suffice for a brigade of infantry. We were accordingly ordered to remount, and proceed towards a river, which was supposed to be some ten miles' distant. Few who were present will ever forget that dreadful march. The reflection of the sun from the burning dust and barren hills was so dazzling, that many who underwent it have never recovered their strength of sight. We had marched about ten miles, when the halt was sounded. It was mid-day; about twenty men of the leading regiment held together, the remainder of the cavalry-brigade were straggling over four or five miles of country in the rear; some were urging their jaded beasts with the spur, some leading them on foot, and others driving their chargers before them at the point of the lance or sword. By far the hottest thing I beheld that day, was the talented Colonel Ninny, purple with heat and anger, and seeking on object to vent it upon.

'Where the devil is your squadron, sir?' was demanded, in a voice of thunder, of a ponderous captain, with a face like a salamander, and a corporation like a hogshead.

'Four miles behind, sir, at least,' replied the hogshead, proud of having got so far along the road, (as well he might be.)

'How dare you, sir, give me such an answer, and leave your squadron behind?' cried the enraged genius.

Poor hogshead, frothing with excitement, turned round in search of relief, and lighting on the officer in charge of his troop, poured forth the full tide of his indignation on him for not bringing the stragglers to the front.

'And pray, sir, where is my troop?'

'Here are the serjeant-major and two privates; the remainder vary from four to five miles in the rear; and as I could not carry them, they are left behind,' replied the troop-leader.

'There is no excuse,' cried Nimmy.

'But, sir——'

'Hold your tongue, and join your troop.'

This was conclusive, and broke up the agreeable interview.

When the sun had begun to decline upon the scene of suffering he had caused that day, the river was descried from the brow of a sandy knoll winding its shining path through the sterile soil. Man and beast rushed in uncontrollable confusion to the waters, and quenched the fiery thirst under which both had suffered severely."—*Vol. I. pp. 122-124.*

The "Cavalry officer's" account of the "prison-murdering scene at Ghuzni;" and of Shah Shujah's entrance to Kabul we are tempted to quote, but warned by the increasing bulk of our article are compelled to forbear. The latter passage concludes with an allusion to the new Affghan levies, which "might be seen on the Champ de Mars of Kabul, practising with laudable perseverance *the rigid miseries of the goose-step*." The "Cavalry officer" often regales us with these tit-bits of description, sparkling up unexpectedly like a rocket on the horizon.

Our author seems to have had a high opinion of the knowing qualities of the Affghan horse-dealers, though he did not think much of their horses. The men, too, are bad jockeys—they can drive a bargain, but cannot run a race:—

"The only instance of an Affghan dealer being "done," which I saw or heard of, occurred on our march towards Kabul.

A dealer, one morning, came into the Cavalry lines, bringing a showy looking nag for sale, which seemed a well-bred animal, and certainly cocked its tail and pawed the ground in a most imposing manner. J....., a young Dragoon officer, who was a very respectable jockey, asked the animal's price. "Fifteen hundred rupees," was the modest request; "and you have not a sounder or fleetier animal in the Feringhi camp," added the Affghan J..... quietly noticed one or two defects; and pointing to a little old chesnut Arab, who certainly looked as if he were the ghost of some departed racer, but whose muscle and sinews only required the hand upon them to be acknowledged, offered to ride him a mile against the Affghan on his vaunted steed. The dealer eagerly closed the wager for a hundred rupees, and the ground was selected, as nearly as it could be guessed, for the distance. The riders were soon up, (the Affghan apparently the heavier;) the word was given, and away they went, the Affghan leading at a tearing pace, flourishing his legs and whip, and chuckling and hallooing with delight. J..... saw there was no necessity for collaring him, the Affghan doing all that could be desired. When within fifty yards of the winning post, J..... having waited steadily on his competitor until the sleek animal was beat, gave the gallant little Arab his head and the Affghan the go-by, telling him to take his

“worthless fifteen hundred rupees’ worth home, as he had beaten him with the slowest horse in the regiment.”—*Vol. I. pp. 192-194.*

There is not a better description in the whole book—nay, indeed, we do not remember to have alighted on a better in any military narrative, than the following graphic account of the breaking up of a camp:—

“The breaking up of a long-standing camp is a scene of no trifling bustle and confusion. The previous day is usually one of considerable trouble to those who have suffered their marching-establishment to get out of order; and when it is requisite to replace a camel or a bullock, the new-comer, even if found, (and that is generally at a ruinous price,) not unfrequently evinces the most marked repugnance to tents or bullock-trunks. Yet, however great the difficulty, the peremptory necessity of the habitation being moved before next morning, causes all to be prepared at sunset, either by a reduction of baggage, or increase of cattle, save the more provident campaigners, who rectify such deficiencies without delay. The earliest practicable hours are kept by all off duty, and two hours after sunset the camp, if well regulated, is quiet enough, unless a horse breaks loose and sets the whole brigade in a state of ferment; for all seem to take a deep interest in the progress of any mad animal who tears through the camp, with ropes and pegs flying in wild confusion about his heels. As night advances, even these stray madcaps betake themselves, to rest, and the quiet is only disturbed by the hourly tramp of patrols, or the challenge of a sentry. This gloom and stillness are suddenly dissipated by the shrill startling blast of the trumpet, wakening all around to consciousness and activity. The loud and continued neigh from the pickets, and the angry remonstrances of the camels, amidst the extensive buzz of human voices and barking of dogs, tell that man and brute are both aware of the time having come for their allotted duties. Sticks and dry grass raked into pyramids are sending forth volumes of smoke in one place, and in another are rising into high crackling fires, round which may be seen groups of dusky figures squatted together, inhaling their morning hukahs, or spreading their long bony hands to the flames, and listlessly regarding their more assiduous brethren occupied in striking the tents, or fitting loads on the backs of the beasts of burden. But think not, my lazy fire-worshipper, this indolence is unobserved; the eye of the occupant of your tent is upon you: he advances softly towards the fire, his arm is raised, and the descending lattle causes a momentary scene of flight and confusion, which is immediately succeeded by a zealous attention to duty, proving the salutary force of the “*Argumentum ad baculum*.” Although this is not an orthodox, logical, or even legal argument, it is, nevertheless, frequently used in India, and is generally conclusive. Next morning, the voice, unaccompanied by manual exercise, produce the desired effect.

The loads being packed, and all the tents, save three or four lazy stragglers, having disappeared, the second trumpet sends its shrill echoes through the lines, and gives warning that the treadmill will soon be at work. Beware of that camel’s mouth gaping close to your hand in the dark, or he will spoil it for holding a rein or a sabre; and beware the treacherous tent-peg, which lurks in savage gloom for the shins of the unwary. “It is no use cursing the peg. Why did you not get out of its way when you found it was not inclined to get out of yours?” cries a facetious neighbour, as you stoop to rub the lacerated shin, and narrowly escape being trampled by an elephant, who is hustling off with a few hundred weight of canvas and tent poles hanging about him.

The third trumpet and a cup of *boiling* coffee generally accompany each other, if your khansamah belong to the right Dean Swift's breed; and it is no punishment to insist on his drinking it himself—the man would swallow a cup of cayenne and fire, without winking.

The troops are formed in dusky masses on their alarm-posts; the commanding-officer rides along the line; the word of command is given, and passed down the squadrons; the welcome note for the march is heard, and the tramping of the steeds raises an impenetrable cloud of dust around the column, as we cheerfully turn our backs on Kabul, most probably for ever: the band prophetically striking up, "*Ha til mi tulidh*," or something which I mistook for it."—*Vol. I. pp. 217-221.*

This is really a clever bit of writing; and its truthfulness lies on the surface.

As the Cavalry officer has now turned his back upon Kabul, we leave him for a little while. His regiment was not engaged in those glorious operations under Generals Pollock and Nott, which dispersed, with a flood of light, the shadows which had descended upon the military renown of the English in the East. But we shall return anon to his volumes, the second of which relating chiefly to the war on the Sutlej remains untouched before us. In the meanwhile we purpose to devote a little space to the journal of Captain Neill, whose regiment was concerned, and most nobly concerned, in the operations of the second war in Affghanistan—thus preserving where we have to deal with historical events some faint show of chronological order.

Captain Neill's narrative has been too long before the public to warrant us in extracting largely from the work for mere purposes of entertainment. It is a pleasant, soldierly, unaffected record of events—and often sufficiently suggestive—the 40th regiment was stationed at Deesa, when it received orders to prepare for active service. The order was no sooner received than one of the greatest annoyances of military life in the East presented itself, with every possible aggravation, to the officers of the corps. They had been compelled to buy houses and were now compelled to sell them—but purchasers were not to be found. The remarks, which Captain Neill makes upon this subject, are worthy of attention: but we must deny ourselves the pleasure of quoting them.

The *dust*—always a nuisance to the soldier in the East—was found in Sindh to be almost unendurable:—

"One of the great sources of annoyance and preventive or rather destroyer of comfort in Sindh, was the dust, which was so penetrating, that no measures we could adopt were sufficient for its exclusion; so dense and continuous were those sand-clouds that for hours together I have been unable to see the nearest tent, which was pitched at not more than ten or fifteen yards from me. The thermometer during the *dust season* always ranges high,

and the excessive heat inducing what would be professionally termed a healthy moisture from the articular pores, facilitates and encourages the adhesion of the dust to the face and form, adding neither to the comfort nor elegance of the person."—Page 50.

Moving up the gallant 40th, by a single march, such as is only performed on paper to Kandahar, we meet Captain Neill, under the command of that distinguished veteran, General Nott. Those were not the safest possible quarters, in the memorable year 1842. A stroll from camp, in those days, often cost a man his life. Captain Neill says, that "Fives-playing by day, and turning out by night" were the ordinary employments of his regiments in those. There were, however occasionally, darker episodes:—

"A striking case of the perversity of human nature and the love of acting in opposition to the orders of superiors, which met with a quick and fearful punishment, occurred about this time. Four young soldiers of the 40th went unarmed a considerable distance from camp after breakfast; at dinner parade they were absent, and during the afternoon continued so; at length some villagers came in and reported that the bodies of four Europeans were lying a few miles from camp. They had, it appeared, been seen by one of the enemy's patrols, who coming upon them, found it of course an easy matter to overpower them. They were sacrificed to their own folly; their heads which were severed from their bodies were carried as trophies to the enemy's camp.....on one occasion during the month of March, I observed a knot of men standing a short distance from the officer's barracks in cantonments, and soon after, I saw a man taken to the hospital who had received a severe sabre cut from an Afghan. Meeting a son of Erin, I asked him the cause of the excitement, when he replied, "O, Sir, one of them fellows has just cut down a lad of ours, and we have been tapping the villain on the head till he was dead," and sure enough when I did go to where the soldiers were, I found lying in the road a dead Afghan, one of the finest specimens of mankind I ever looked upon."—Page 188-189.

We come now to the more important historical portion of Captain Neill's work, and must deviate somewhat from our original intentions, by noticing certain passages in detail. We may not again have so good an opportunity of pointing out some grave errors, which have crept into this interesting work. With reference to the memorable march upon Kabul in 1842, Captain Neill observes:—

"14th September.—It was a subject of great regret to us all, that General Pollock had deemed it *expedient* to move on to Kabul before our arrival there, we having expected from the arrangements entered into, if not made by him, with General Nott, that both armies were to enter that city on the same day."—Page 253.

Now the case is not very fairly put by Captain Neill in this passage. There was an "arrangement," it is true; and that it was not carried out may have been the fault of one of the two generals; but that one was not General Pollock. The

"arrangement" was that the two forces should meet at Kabul on the 15th of September. It surely was not Pollock's fault that on that day Nott had not arrived. This could not be; unless, indeed, General Pollock, who fixed the day for the meeting at Kabul, did not give his brother general sufficient time to achieve the march from Kandahar. But how stands the case? Sir John Keane in 1839 had made the journey from Kandahar to Kabul in *twenty-nine* marches. General Nott left Kandahar on the 10th of August, and reached Kabul on the 17th of September. He was therefore thirty-nine days on the road. This, supposing that he could not have started a day earlier than he did, allowed ten days for halts and incidental delays. Sir John Keane's army was before Ghuzni from the 21st to the 30th of July, and yet was not more than forty-one days on the road. It can, hardly, therefore be asserted that General Nott had not time to make his way to Kabul by the 15th of September. Nor can it be asserted that General Pollock hastened forward with the view of outstripping his brother general. He left Jullalabad on the 20th of August and reached Gundamuk on the 23d. There he remained till the 7th of August to allow time for, and to receive tidings of, the advance of General Nott. On the night of the 6th, or early on the morning of the 7th, he received those tidings; and then he moved forward, in pursuance of his original intentions. On the 13th, he fought a hard battle with Akbar Khan at Tezin; and on the 15th he was before Kabul. Captain Neill enters in his journal, under date *September 15*:—"Received the cheering intelligence to-day that 'some of the prisoners had been recovered, and were now in 'General Pollock's camp, who had taken possession of the 'Balla Hissar.'" But it was not until the 16th that General Pollock took possession of the Balla Hissar. On the 17th General Nott arrived at Kabul; and Captain Neill made the following entry in his journal:—

"*17th September*.—Shortly before reaching camp General Nott received a note from General Pollock, congratulating him on his arrival at Kabul and mentioning the circumstance of Sir R. Shakespear's having proceeded to Bamecan in the hope of obtaining the release of the prisoners. Owing to the severe indisposition of General Nott, General Pollock waived ceremony as senior officer, and on the morning after our arrival, came over to the "Kandahar Camp:" where he was received with a guard of honor and the usual salute. The interview between the two illustrious chiefs lasted for about two hours. It afterwards transpired that in alluding to Sir Richmond Shakespear's having moved to the release of the prisoners, General Pollock suggested that General Nott should despatch a Brigade, with some cavalry and guns towards Bamecan to act in concert with Sir R. Shakespear, in the event of that gallant officer succeeding in rescuing the

prisoners—to this our General objected, on the principle that to the folly of despising our enemies and sending out small parties of troops, many of our disasters in Afghanistan were to be attributed, and *he offered to move with the whole of the Kandahar Division next morning*, should General Pollock wish. At the same time General Nott represented that his troops had made a long and arduous march from Kandahar of upwards of three hundred miles—it might almost be said without a halt—those days on which they did not march being employed in some fatigue duty—and he suggested that a portion of General Pollock's force, which had not traversed more than one-third of the distance, and had already rested three days at Kabul, should be despatched on this duty—General Nott also expressed surprise that when an intention existed of sending a part of his force on the duty in question, such intention had not been communicated, while he was at Urghundi, which was on the way to Bameean, instead of bringing it first to Kabul.

The conduct of General Nott has been much canvassed, and a degree of censure has been implied for his not having immediately on hearing General Pollock's views, put a brigade in motion to secure the return of the prisoners; nor were there wanting the malevolently disposed who judging of others by their own mean spirit, inferred that his objection to march arose either from indifference to the fate of the prisoners, or a morbid feeling of jealousy that Kabul had been occupied by General Pollock's army before the arrival of the Kandahar division—such insinuations are as false as they are unworthy, and the shafts of malice which were thus hurled at the reputation of this distinguished Captain, fell harmless and contemned.

To the fact of General Pollock having declined to permit the whole Kandahar division moving, and finally decided on despatching a Brigade from his own force, we owe our deprivation of the honor of proceeding to the assistance of the prisoners, a matter of the deepest regret to the gallant Nott and his devoted army.”—*P.* 256-258.

We have far too high an opinion of Captain Neill to believe that this passage contains one intentional mis-statement. But nevertheless, it is full of mis-statements. Such a conversation as is here said to have occurred, at the interview between the two chiefs, never took place. That the journalist set down the leading items of it, as they reached him,—or, in his own words, as they “transpired”—we do not, for a moment, doubt; but we are enabled, upon the best possible authority, to state that he has been grossly misinformed. The real facts are briefly these:—

The note alluded to by Captain Neill was written by General Pollock and entrusted to the charge of Lieutenant (now Major) Mayne, one of that gallant band of “illustrious” officers, whose exploits at Jullalabad had made all India ring with acclamations. With a few troopers this young officer rode out to General Nott's camp, and delivered the letter of which he was the bearer. Neither before, nor since, we will undertake to say, has Major Mayne been sentenced to perform so disagreeable a duty. We draw a veil over what passed upon this occasion. It is not necessary to the reputation of the

statements in Capt. Neill's book that we should dwell upon the circumstances of the meeting between Lieut. Mayne and General Nott. The letter was, as Capt. Neill describes; but it contained also a proposal that General Nott should send out a Brigade for the protection of the prisoners, then on their way to the British camp under the escort of Sir Richmond Shakespear. To this letter General Nott sent another in reply. It ran to the following effect;—that the Kandahar troops had made a long march of upwards of 300 miles; that they had been continually marching for six months, and required rest for a few days; that his cattle also required rest; that he had lost twenty-nine camels, the day before, and expected a double loss on that day; that he was getting short of supplies for Europeans and Natives, and saw little probability of obtaining a sufficient quantity at Kabul: and that he had no money.—That he had so many sick and wounded, he feared great inconvenience might ensue, if any unnecessary operations took place; that if he remained he expected to lose half his cattle, and that retiring would be very difficult.—[General Nott arrived with more than 8,000 camels. General Pollock had rather more than 3,000 camels and about seventy elephants]—General Nott then went on to say that in his opinion the sending of a small detachment would be followed by disaster, and that no doubt Mahommed Akbar Khan and Shumsudin and other chiefs were uniting—that he hourly expected to hear that Sir R. Shakespear was added to the number of prisoners, and that he understood that 1,200 men of the enemy had gone in that direction. He then repeated his opinion that the despatch of a small detachment would be followed by disaster and ruin, and after a partial recapitulation of the above statements and opinions, added, that if General Pollock ordered his forces to be divided, he should have nothing to do but to obey; but that he respectfully protested against the measure. He then concluded by saying that he was prevented by ill health from paying his respects to General Pollock in that officer's camp.

Upon this General Pollock, cheerfully accepting the plea of ill health put forth, by the Kandahar General, repaired to Nott's camp. He was received with all honors, and the two chiefs breakfasted together. Pollock again pointed out the necessity of sending a force to the protection of the prisoners. Nott repeated the arguments advanced in his letter. After breakfast, Pollock quitted the tent of his brother-general, to make some other visits; but, returning shortly afterwards, the conversation was resumed. Nott then said, that the prisoners were not named in his despatches, and that he believed the

Government had "thrown them overboard." No new arguments were advanced, and in the afternoon Pollock returned to his own camp and made arrangements to send a detachment of his own force to escort the prisoners to the Head-quarters of the British army.

We may leave it to our readers to estimate the cogency of General Nott's arguments—remarking only that the Brigade he was desired to send would have consisted of one European (H. M.'s) regiment of foot, three Native Infantry corps, a regiment of Cavalry, and the proper complement of guns; and that General Nott himself (*Blue Book*—Page 314, No. 377) declared that he would at any time lead 1,000 sepoys against 5,000 Affghans. The arguments advanced may have been sound—the description given of the condition of the Kandahar force at every point correct; but the statement that General Nott offered to move next morning, the whole of his force, for the protection of the prisoners, is utterly without foundation. No such offer was ever made; and, therefore, no such offer was ever declined. Neither is it true that it was suggested by the Kandahar general that a portion of Pollock's force should be sent. No such suggestion was made to the latter general; and no surprise was expressed in his presence that his wishes were not conveyed to General Nott at Urghundi. General Nott may have made use of such expressions in the presence of his own friends; but nothing of the kind took place at the interview described by Captain Neill. The facts are precisely as we have stated them. The inference is sufficiently obvious. The Kandahar force was deprived of the honor of rescuing the prisoners, not by General Pollock but by General Nott. The privilege was offered to the latter general and declined. He could scarcely have offered to march out with his whole force after stating, as he did, in writing, that neither man nor beast was in a condition to move at all; nor could he have proposed to General Pollock to send out a detachment of his division after descanting on the danger of sending out a detachment of his own.

A little further on Captain Neill observes:—

"7th October.—The halt which the combined armies of Pollock and Nott had made at Kabul, was not only much longer than we had anticipated on our arrival at the capital, but was entirely against the wish and advice of General Nott. This long delay was however rendered necessary by the march of General McCaskill's division to Istaliff, an expedition, the judiciousness and expediency of which the gallant Commander of the Kandahar Division did not admit."—Page 267.

We believe that we may say, with reference to this passage,

that General Nott's advice was neither solicited nor received. Some letters relative to a supposed combination of the chiefs, and the danger of exposing the army to such a movement were, it is true, written by that officer. And to this Captain Neill may refer. But General Pollock had his own, and never sought the advice of his brother. General Nott may not have admitted the expediency of the despatch of McCaskill's division to Istaliff; but the judiciousness of the movement is now generally acknowledged. Amin-ullah was at Istaliff, with 12,000 men. If he had not been driven from his position and his troops dispersed, he would have hung upon the rear of the returning force, along the entire distance from Kabul to Peshawar. Had there been no other reason for the attack upon Istaliff, this alone would have been sufficient to establish the "judiciousness" of the proceeding. For our own parts, there is scarcely anything in the whole history of Afghan war, upon which we can look back with greater satisfaction, whether we view it in the light of political justice or political expediency.

And, again, under the same date, we find it written:—

"7th October.—Before leaving however it was requisite that 'a lasting proof of the British power should be left in Kabul—consistent with British humanity,' and on the 9th of October commenced the demolition by order of General Pollock, of one of the bazars of Kabul. To this work of destruction General Nott was decidedly averse, and he most strenuously urged the propriety of razing the Balla Hissar."—Page 268.

Now, General Nott may have urged the propriety of razing the Balla Hissar, but he never urged such a measure upon General Pollock. No communications upon this subject passed between the two generals. "The propriety of razing the Balla Hissar" we hold to be extremely questionable; and it is worthy of remark, in confirmation of our opinion, that at a meeting held in June last, at the "Oriental Club," in honor of Sir George Pollock—a meeting at which were present the most distinguished and experienced civil and military servants of the Company then in England—the highest testimony was borne to the political sagacity displayed by the General, throughout all his dealings with the Afghans, and most especially in the determination, upon which he acted, of *sparing the Balla Hissar*.

Further on, describing the return of the victorious armies to the provinces, Captain Neill observes:—

"13th October.—Halted at Buthak to admit of General Pollock's division, which marched this morning clearing the Pass before ours. Lord Ellenborough having ordered that General Nott, with the Kandahar Division,

should have the post of honor in the rear in withdrawing from the enemy's country."—Page 271.

We apprehend that this is altogether a mistake, though we do not question the good faith in which it is uttered. The truth is that Lord Ellenborough never intended that General Pollock should advance upon Kabul. He intended that he should occupy the Passes between Jellalabad and the capital, whilst the Kandahar force took possession of the latter place. If this intention had been carried out, as a matter of course, the rear would have been, *ipso facto*, the place of General Nott; and so far, but no farther, it may be said that the post of honour in the rear was assigned to the Kandahar division by order of Lord Ellenborough. * General Nott would then have been in the rear, and in the rear he would have remained. As it was, the Post—whether the post of honor or not—was assigned to him by General Pollock.

Our object, in all these remarks, being the very legitimate one of setting before our readers the entire truth—not of drawing any invidious comparisons, or elevating one general at the expense of the other—we have freely admitted that it was in no wise the intention of the Governor-General that the force under General Pollock should advance upon the capital. General Nott may therefore have considered that by an unauthorised movement on the part of his senior officer, he was deprived of an honour which Lord Ellenborough had designed to bestow upon him. And it was only natural that such a thought should have chafed him. The honor of planting the British ensign on the Balla Hissar of Kabul which might have been his, fell to the lot of another. General Nott had rendered such services to the state, and his division, by a series of such gallant and successful operations, had earned for itself the admiration of the world, that we might well regret to see any honours wrested from its grasp. But we can not blame General Pollock. The movement upon Kabul may have been unauthorised; but it was not unjustified. Lord Ellenborough was not aware of the nature of the country between Jellalabad and Kabul; and the difficulty of maintaining a large force (the cattle especially) in those barren passes, or he would never have expected General Pollock's division there to have awaited the pleasure of General Nott. Besides, it is to be borne in mind, that General Pollock was the senior officer, and that having a certain amount of discretion vested in him, it was scarcely to be expected that he should suffer the Kandahar army to enter Kabul alone. It was due to the army he commanded that it

should be ordered to advance. It is to be borne in mind that it was never General Pollock's intention to anticipate General Nott; but that both divisions should enter Kabul simultaneously on the 15th of September.

Further on, in Captain Neill's Journal, we find the following entry:—

"We all hoped that our General would follow the example of General Pollock, who while at Tezin had burst two of our eighteen pounders, that he had borrowed, the bullocks having become quite exhausted. These animals, it was said, he handed over to the Commissariat, and they were afterwards killed and issued to the troops. If true this was unkind, considering that we had brought them from Kandahar."—*Page 299.*

This is mere camp gossip. There was always an abundance of fresh provisions; and never any occasion to fall back upon a team of used up gun-bullocks. Any Commissariat officer would have given Captain Neill information upon these points. Exhaustion is certainly not favorable to beef, but the meat qualities of gun-bullocks, under ordinary circumstances, are not to be despised. It was Sir Edward Barnes, we believe, who said that he could wish for nothing better than to be compelled to eat his gun-bullocks on service, for that then he would have an opportunity of horsing every battery in his army.

As to the bursting of the eighteen-pounders, they were required by General Pollock, for a specific purpose (at Tezin) and this accomplished,—there being no further use for them, the guns were destroyed. At Jellalabad General Nott expressed a wish to have the bullocks placed at his disposal, and they were all sent to him. Subsequently General Pollock was anxious to bring down to the provinces, a large trophy gun, taken at Jellalabad, and known as the "kazi"—but it was left behind. "At the top of the ascent 'Lundeh Khana,' " writes Captain Neill, "lying in a ravine was the kazi, a large gun similar to that we had destroyed at Ghuzni: it had been taken from Jellalabad, but abandoned by General McCaskill's brigade from want of means to carry it on." We believe that not means, but something else was wanting—but this is a long story, and it is not necessary that, on the present occasion, we should enter upon a recital of it. We wish, as much as possible, to avoid such debateable ground. But we have seen an announcement at least of a second edition of Captain Neill's book; and there is little doubt that the laudatory comments of one of the leading European quarterlies have done something to obtain for it an extensive circulation. It is not one of the least of our many objects to collect in this

journal materials for authentic history and to neutralise the errors which have obtained currency through the medium of cotemporary narratives, often hastily written, and submitted to the world without after consideration and revision.

We now return to the "Cavalry officer;" and in due historical sequence, break ground upon the banks of the Sutlej. At Mudki and Ferozshah his regiment was not present; but it was *pars magna* of the victory of Aliwal. Of the former engagements the author gives us a clearly-written narrative; but he does not, as in the after-recital of the affair of Aliwal, write with the graphic fidelity of an eye-witness. Here is a passage relative to the Buddiwal retreat, which shows that the "Cavalry officer" is too honest a writer to give a false coloring to that affair. It is better, as we observed on a former occasion, to set the naked truth at once before the world, and let posterity know the worst of it. A slight reverse becomes one of a gigantic character, when we "can not discern the shape thereof:"—

"Thus gradually retiring across the plain, and placing on the ammunition carts, or on horseback the unfortunate men, who were wounded by the incessant cannonade to which the Sikhs subjected the force, we reached a distance of about two miles from Buddiwal, when the enemy ceased to advance.

When our retreat was first commenced, nearly all the officers conjectured it was Sir Harry's object to draw the Sikh forces well out of their position, and attack them in the open plain; but as we continued to retire, it soon became evident that no action was to take place, and we were compelled to receive the numerous kicks which were bestowed upon us with all the philosophy that could be mustered. "Now we are going at 'em—now for it, lads!" burst from the ranks on many occasions, when the squadrons faced about and confronted the foe; but the fatal "threes about," gradually diminished these hopes, and at last the homely observation of "By G—, if we are not bolting from a parcel of niggers!" called something between a blush and a smile to many a cheek.

About sunset, the troops arrived before the half-burned cantonments of Ludiana, and bivouacked on the plain. Hardly a tent or a native follower made their appearance in our gloomy lines, and many a bitter lamentation was vented over departed comforts and luxuries seized by the ruthless Sikhs. Nearly all the hospital stores had fallen into the hands of the Philistines, which was a heavy misfortune; but we dwelt with some satisfaction on the probability of their being mistaken for wines and liqueurs, in which event we anticipated, with much glee, the effects likely to ensue, and only regretted we had no chance of witnessing the commotions which would prevail in the Sikh camp on the auspicious occasion."—*Vol. II pp. 150-152.*

"Late in the evening," adds the Cavalry officer, "a few camp followers and a very few baggage animals came straggling into the lines, having made a detour and avoided the plunderers The actual loss at Buddiwal has never been published, as a great portion of these reported missing, had escaped to

Sobraon, and six or seven were carried prisoners to Lahore. The total amount of killed, wounded and missing were between three and four hundred, but more than half this number subsequently made their appearance. The report, which prevailed in India, that the losses were amalgamated in one return with those killed at Aliwal is a stupid fabrication."

The next passage, which we have marked for quotation, is descriptive of one of those scenes—the sad *sequelæ* of a glorious action—which are, indeed, the darkest of the many dark shadows of military life:—

"On the afternoon of the 29th of January, the field-hospital, with the wounded men, was removed into Ludiana. I rode over to see a brother-officer who had been seriously wounded, and shall never forget the sad scene of human suffering presented to view. Outside the hospital tents were laid the bodies of those who had recently died; many in the contorted positions in which the rigid hand of death had fixed them; others more resembling sleep than death, had calmly passed away, struck down in full vigour and robust bodily health, when the human frame, it was natural to suppose, would have struggled more fiercely with its arch enemy; but the groans of the sufferers undergoing painful surgical operations were more grievous to the senses than the sight of those who needed no mortal aid. Pain, in all its degrees and hideous varieties was forcibly portrayed on every square yard of earth which surrounded me; and passing from sufferer to sufferer, I felt, or fancied I felt, each patient's eye following wistfully the movements of such fortunate visitants as were exempted from the services of the knife or lancet, and sometimes dwelling reproachfully on the useless spectator of their sufferings. I felt it was almost a sacrilege to remain in such a place without being useful; but the medical officers and hospital-assistants so zealously fulfilled every minute detail for the relief of their patients, that sympathy was the only offering we could present to our stricken comrades.

Whilst raising the canvas door of a dark tent which I was entering, I stumbled, and nearly fell over the leg of some one stretched across the entrance. When I turned to make apologies to the owner; I found it had none, but, on a pallet beside it, lay its former possessor, who had just undergone amputation; beyond him lay a dead artilleryman; and further on, amongst stumps of arms protruding from the pallets, lay my wounded brother-officer, who appeared to suffer much more from the surrounding objects than from his own severe personal injuries. But the attention bestowed on those wounded at Aliwal, differed much from a preceding occasion, where the hospital stores and conveniences had been so far out marched, that only two rush-lights were procurable to illuminate the hospital."—*Vol. II. pp. 183-185.*

With one more extract we must conclude our notice of the "Cavalry officer's" interesting volume; it relates to the gallant Sirmur Battalion and the fall of Captain Fisher at Sobraon. A better illustration could scarcely be afforded of the last scene of a soldier's life:—

"Under General Gilbert's command were the Sirmur battalion, which had joined the force at Ludiana, and these fine little Gurkhas gave evidence that they had not degenerated in military prowess since the memorable Nepalese war. The corps is composed of riflemen, carrying in their girdles

a crooked knife, (termed a "kukery,") to give the coup-de-grace to the wounded, and they used the hideous instrument with unaccountable zeal against the Sikhs. As they were known to possess relatives and connexions amongst the Khalsa troops, it had been a matter of doubt with many that their hands would have been amongst the foremost in the field, but the battle-cry roused their hereditary ardour, and overcame every other consideration. Their gallant leader, Captain J. Fisher, whose exploits with the rifle are well known to those who have been his companions in the hunting-fields of the Dhoon, had just surmounted the parapet, when he perceived a battery, not sixty yards distant from him, which continued to gall the assailants with incessant rounds of grape. Seizing a rifle from the hands of one of his Gurkhas, Fisher rested his arm on the parapet, and the next second pierced with a rifle-ball, the artilleryman, who was about to apply the slow match to the touch-hole of a cannon. Receiving the loaded rifles from the hands of the soldiers, who handed them up to their commander, he continued to deal rapid destruction amongst the Sikh golundauze.

A party of Sikh infantry, who were placed in defence of the battery, at last perceived the marksman, who was quickly silencing their cannon, and, pouring a volley in that direction, the gallant soldier rolled back amongst the corpses which strewed the exterior of the works.

The field of Sobraon did not bear on its crimsoned-surface a soldier more deeply regretted by all who knew him than the fallen chief of the Sinnur Battalion."—*Vol. II. pp. 233-235.*

Having followed the "Cavalry officer" to the end of his narrative, we would recommend the student to go on to Kote Kangra with Colonel Jack. The Colonel tells his story in a series of clever drawings, gracefully inscribed to Colonel Wheeler, whose military talent "by calling forth the energies of all under him, and adopting every available means to ensure success, has secured many great though bloodless victories: victories which if less loudly acclaimed by the public than those more dearly bought are of higher moral value." The views are six in number and represent the "Crossing of the River Beas"—the "Crossing of the River Guj"—"Part of the Road by which the guns were taken up above the town of Mulchera"—the "Mountains round Kote Kangra"—the "Gilt temple in the Town of Mulchera;" and lastly the "Fortress of Kote Kangra." They are large sized colored lithographs, thoroughly Eastern in character; and tell the story with much distinctness. It was indeed a memorable mark—such a road for heavy ordnance! Look at the second and third plates; and study the acclivity. And yet Colonel Jack assures us—and we believe him—that the steepness of the ascent has been under-drawn; he was so unwilling to give even an appearance of exaggeration to the picture. "With our heavy guns," writes the artist-author, "we had to cross the river Guj no less than fifty-six times between the Beas and Kote Kangra; and the last day we crossed it, rain having fallen on the hills, it swelled to a roaring torrent. Frequent-

ly the guns got completely fixed between enormous boulders of rock, so as to defy all the ingenuity of both artillery officers and engineers. When the united strength of men, horses, and bullocks, aided by two elephants dragging had failed, one fine old mukhna, (a male elephant, with tushes like a female) was always called for, coming forward with an air of pitying superiority—his looking seeming to express clearly “What; can’t you do it without me?”—he would look carefully at the gun in every direction, and when he had found the point where his power could be best applied; he put his head to it and gave it a push, as if to weigh the opposition; then followed another mightier push; and if that did not suffice, a third, given with tremendous force, almost invariably raised the gun out of its fixed position and sent it on. He would then retire with the air of Coriolanus, when he said to Aufidius, ‘Alone I did it!’—a more valuable ally than Coriolanus, because he said nothing and was always willing.”—The enemy thought that the heavy guns could not be brought up; and relying on their security, they held out until they discovered their mistake. “The Brigadier,” says Col. Jack, “was recommended to leave his eighteen-pounders on the other side of the River Beas; he, however, determined to take them on as far as possible; and by extraordinary management and exertion he succeeded in taking them all the way. They turned out as the European soldiers quaintly remarked to be the really influential *politicals*.” The sight of them was enough for the enemy, who succumbed just in time to save their fortress from demolition. We wish that Colonel Jack had written more—but as we have before said, his “six views” tell the story plainly enough; and very valuable bits of history they are.

The last work on our list is a German publication, which only made its appearance after we had proceeded some way in our present article, and to which, therefore, we can not devote all the space and the attention which otherwise it would have demanded at our hands. The author of the *Briefe aus Indien* was Dr. Hoffmeister, the medical attendant of Prince Waldemar of Prussia. He fell, on the plains of Ferozshah, and obtained for himself a niché in the memorable despatch of the Commander-in-Chief, written after that great battle. The work, which consists of a series of letters and a few extracts from a journal written in India derives a melancholy interest from the circumstances of the early death of the accomplished writer. It is but a slender volume, published of course under great disadvantages, and in no wise, a mark

for the criticism of a generous reviewer. Still there are many passages worthy of translation, and some which, having translated, we may enrich the present article by transferring to our pages—the more especially as we shall be the first to introduce the work to the Indian reader.

A brief biographical memoir of Dr. Hoffmeister is prefixed to his work, we translate the words of the editor:—

“Werner Hoffmeister was born in Brunswick, on the 14th of March 1819. His parents resided there until the year 1827, when his father who had been until then preacher to the parish of St. Peter, was transferred to Wolfenbüttel as member of the Consistory. Werner's childhood was passed in the unruffled quiet of a comfortable home, until the death of his father in 1832; but the natural cheerfulness of the boy soon overcame the pain of that affliction.

From early youth his chief delight was in the fresh and varied charms of nature. He was fond of roaming with his young companions through the neighbouring forests and mountains to collect plants and insects, or his time was passed in tending and feeding a number of living creatures with which he peopled the house and offices. Sparrows and titmice, young jackdaws and owls taken from the church steeple, mice and bats, were the principal constituents of his menagerie. An owl that had had its legs broken, through the brutality of a steeple warder, was the subject of his first chirurgical experiments; and the poor thing's sufferings went near to extinguish the inclination he had already conceived to adopt the medical profession.

Amidst these occupations the regular education which his quick capacity eagerly craved, was by no means neglected. The ancient languages, and in an especial manner, mathematics and geography, inspired him with a lively interest; but a love for natural history still continued to be his ruling predilection, and was strengthened and promoted by the kindred tastes of an elder brother, and by the hints and counsels of a scientific friend. The diligent perusal of books of travels and frequent excursions in the neighbouring Hartz mountains, gradually extended the circle of his contemplations, and heightened his desire to see more remote regions and become acquainted with their peculiar nature. Already it was a subject of painful reflection to him that the future seemed to offer so little prospect of gratifying this his most longing desires.

In the last year of his school-course he had resolved on applying himself to the study of medicine, and after his mother's death, by way of preparing himself for the university, he entered the “*Collegium Carolinum*” of Brunswick, when he became a close and diligent student of anatomy, botany, and mineralogy. In the spring of 1839, he left Brunswick to begin his academic career in the university of Berlin, which, in addition to its superior reputation, afforded him opportunity to enjoy the advice and aid of his uncle, Professor Lichtenstein, to whom he was mainly indebted for the guidance of his studies. He profited with equal diligence by the lectures of Müller, Witscherlich, Kunth and Weiss, and with his increasing knowledge grew his love for the department of science he had chosen.

From Berlin he proceeded to the university of Bonn, where the habits of academic life and the society of a large circle of friends enabled his lively cheerful character to develop its full bloom and vigour. Numerous journeys in the districts about the valley of the Rhine, Switzerland, the South of France and Holland, afforded ample gratification to his appetite

for foreign scenes, and enabled him greatly to extend and enrich the compass of his scientific acquirements. He made diligent use of scientific establishments, museums, hospitals and clinical courses, and profited much by the acquaintance he made in Montpellier with Marcel de Serres, Lallemand, and Kuinoltz. His medical knowledge was enlarged and consolidated in Bonn by his academic and private intercourse with Nasse, Harless and Von Ibell, by copious experiment and actual practice.

In like manner were spent the last years of his student course in the Berlin Academy, to which he returned in Michaelmas 1841; but the sudden death of a younger sister, to whom he was greatly attached, was a stunning blow to his mind. His spirits were for a while quite broken, and he sank into a brooding melancholy, shunning every recreation, and pursuing his professional studies from little else than a sense of duty. He was now attending the clinical course of Busch, and Dr. Behrend's orthopedic establishment, and little as the details of practical medicine were adapted to restore his former serenity, he applied himself to them with great industry and self-command. A considerable portion of his time was simultaneously devoted to a work on earthworms, written first as a thesis for his doctor's degree, and afterwards enlarged and published in a separate form. The lecturers of Schönlein, Wagner, and Hecker gave renovated strength to his love for science and completed his undergraduate course.

Thoroughly grounded on the principles of medical science and practice, and furnished with a copious store of knowledge in the department of natural science, he left Berlin in the autumn of 1843, after taking his doctor's degree, and set out for London and Paris. He remained three months in the former capital, where he employed the time not only in improving his scientific acquirements, but also in seeking an opportunity to visit India as surgeon to a ship. His efforts having been unsuccessful, he tried to obtain an appointment in Paris as superintendent and physician of a colony in Malacca; but this scheme too failed, after having nearly reached the point of fulfilment. Disappointed and desponding he returned to his native land, where fortune, that seemed to have wholly forsaken him, suddenly gratified his wishes in an unexpected manner. His Royal Highness, Prince Waldemar of Prussia was preparing for his tour in the East, Dr Hoffmeister was recommended by Humboldt, Schönlein, and Liechtenstein to his Royal Highness, and received by him as his medical attendant. In that honourable and desirable post the longing desires he had cherished from his boy-hood upwards received the amplest fulfilment. His varied and sound acquirements, his youthful buoyancy of mind and his vigorous constitution seemed to warrant the most favourable hopes for the prosperous and useful issue of his travels. Thus with the most cheering prospects of the immediate and remote future he left his native country, to find at the end of his long journey—when its perils and hardship had been successfully overcome,—an early grave in a far off quarter of the globe.”

It is well known that Prince Waldemar, under the travelling title of “Count Ravensberg,” came out, with a few attendants, by the overland route, visited Ceylon and Madras, and then came on to Calcutta. We are sorry to say that they did not greatly enjoy their sojourn in the last-named place. Dr. Hoffmeister thus describes the “City of Palaces:”—

“We were received in the palace of the Governor-General, Lord Hardinge, a regal mansion, finer than the residence of many a German Sovereign. Calcutta is a city with which I should not like to make a lengthened ac-

quaintance. It is a medley of the most sumptuous palaces and the most wretched bamboo hovels; and the population consists of elements no less dissimilar. Here you have red brown coolies or palanquin bearers, running about all day with the heavy pole on their bare shoulders, and dirty Mahomedans driving their carts made of bamboos, clumsily tied together, with creaking solid wooden wheels, and drawn by a pair of shabby oxen; yonder go the most elegant equipages to be seen in the world, elegant ladies within them, and on the outside Indian liveries of the most beautiful stuffs glittering with gold; the horses too are of the finest Arab blood:—the greatest gaudiousness and the greatest poverty, the greatest pride and the greatest servility. The etiquette of the fashionable world exercises a despotic sway in this city to which everybody must submit. To go about on foot is considered highly ungentle; it is done only by the brown Hindus of the lowest castes. Respectable people ride either in palanquins or in carriages.

The countless servants in the palace, who watch every step you make, but whom you cannot make use of to execute a single order, since you cannot get them to understand you, here strike one as being greater nuisances than ever I felt them to be before. It is enough to drive you mad to ask for a glass of water when you are thirsty, and have a bottle of ink brought you by the servant. The uniforms of these handsome brown fellows are however exceedingly sumptuous and tasteful. Most of them wear scarlet jackets, laced with gold on the breast, and scarlet turbands with white crowns. The upper servants are old men, with handsome white beards that set off to great advantage, their long red garments adorned with a profusion of gold embroidery. The runners, grooms and coachmen have shorter dark blue frocks, dark blue turbands, red in the middle, and short white breeches. The keepers of the silver plate, the treasurer and his upper and under servants wear white frocks, blue shashes, and white caps, with blue centres. The total number of servants required in the palace of the Government is 372.

The climate is here exquisitely vernal,* although the difference in comparison with Ceylon is considerable enough; for there are few flowers here at present, and the trees are at least partially divested of leaves: notwithstanding this the heat about noon is very bewildering, and one cannot venture out of doors before four in the afternoon. About that hour the movement begins in the course, a wide street on the river side, that is kept moist by continual watering, and where the fashionable English assemble in carriages or on horseback, all dressed in the most finished style. The promenaders salute and return salutes, and work their way through the throng which is often very considerable, especially about five o'clock. As surely as every well bred man takes his second breakfast about one o'clock, and his siesta about three, so surely will he be seen about five o'clock on the course in an elegant riding costume, with white gloves. After this he has to encounter the laborious task of dressing for dinner and the exertion of eating it, and towards nine or half past nine the hard day's work of the man, whose business is to enjoy life is ended. He may then stretch himself out on the sofa and smoke a cigar, until the time for sleep is come, and he lies down in his fourpost bed, with gauze curtains and more than a dozen pillows."

We have not many amongst us "who'e business it is to enjoy life." There is in all probability not another city in the

* Written on January 3d.

world containing so few. There could scarcely, indeed, be fewer. Our business is to get through our daily work, and to *sustain* life, as best we can.

The following passage contains the Prussian's ideas of European life in the Upper Provinces. We can not help smiling at the derision with which he treats our English method of preserving health. Jacquement thought that he was wiser, on this score, than we stolid Englishmen; but he died (after a very short trial) with all his new systems in his head and his infallible remedies in his camel-trunks:—

“The routine of life under these exceedingly artificial circumstances differs greatly from that which is usual with us. One cannot remain in the open air longer than until about nine o'clock, or ten at the utmost; an Englishman at least will never venture out of doors after that hour. German constitutions, just fresh from Europe, suffer no injury at all from the heat. I have often drawn in the open air until eleven o'clock without any bad consequences, though the dangers of such a proceeding were set before me in the most dismal colours. It is a part of the English character to stick fast to a belief once established. No one goes out of doors after nine in the morning or before five in the afternoon; on the other hand it is considered quite a matter of course to eat a very substantial meal three times a day, and to drink a great lot of the headiest wine and beer, as if no danger was to be apprehended on that score. In my opinion it would do no harm to move about a little more at all times, and even during the heat; nay, with such well furnished tables a larger allowance of exercise would be so much the better.

After sunrise a man sees whatever is worth seeing in the way of nature or art, takes a bath, and dresses for breakfast; after which he finds the lady of the house in the music room, where some music is performed and the company talk about Italian and German composers. The piano unfortunately is generally out of tune, and in no very brilliant condition, the rust playing havoc with the wires, notwithstanding its three finger thick covering of baize. Next whoever has time to do so goes to sleep for a few more hours. About one or two o'clock the company assemble again in the dining room for a second meal, which is again followed by an afternoon nap, until the horses and carriages are brought out about five o'clock. The heat is still very oppressive, and the west wind covers both carriage and rider with thick grey dust, so that one is glad to find time before dinner for another bath and toilette. About seven, people sit down to dinner; there are usually some ladies present, among whom each gentleman of distinction is previously introduced to that one whom he is to lead to table.

There was seldom any lack of Society; for the social propensities interrupted by the heat of the day make up for lost time in the evening, and one readily falls in with the custom of these dinners, which seem very well adapted to the circumstances of the climate. But what can be said for the balls which are such great favourites in the very height of the hot season? The Anglo Indians are passionately addicted to dancing, and it is at these balls that by far the largest concourses of persons are to be seen, since the invitations to them are dealt out with less rigorous exclusiveness than those to the dinners. The oddest figures are to be seen at these assemblies; ladies, past the bloom of youth, with their grey hair dressed

à la paysanne, take pains to dance something which, to our great annoyance, is here called a polka; and then there are young beauties of 13 or 14, with all the airs of mature women, and often with artificial roses on their cheeks, since the natural ones disappear very easily in this climate.

The roses may be tolerated; but when in order to conceal a dash of Indian blood, that gives a little tinge of bronze to the complexion, a coating of white of egg and chalk is laid upon the face, then indeed the arts of the toilette are carried rather too far for our European notions; and certainly I should have held the assertion that such things are done to be a slander, had I not convinced myself of the truth of the fact by a close scrutiny of some white lacquered ladies."

We must just remark upon this, that the story about the painting must be taken with a little abatement. It is at least an exaggeration.

Before approaching Calcutta we ought to have made the annexed brief extract relative to the sojourn of the Prussian party at Madras, we now give the passage though somewhat out of place; for it is one that ought to be read and reflected upon:—

"On the 22d of December we reached Madras, a wonderful city. To our thinking it wanted only mountain scenery to be quite incomparable. Lord May (Tweddale) the Governor, vacated his whole palace for us, and went into the country without giving himself much concern about us. The pride and pomposity of the English nobility is still more insufferable here in India than in London, for here people give themselves the airs of princes, who in their native country would have played but a subordinate part. One advantage at least I owed to this circumstance, for it saved me a deal of irksome formalities, and the only things that bored me were sundry dozens of red and white clad servants, armed with fly-flappers and peacock's tails that followed me incessantly with stealthy steps whatever way I moved."

Much more might have been said upon this subject. The fact is, that Prince Waldemar and his suite were treated most scurvily by the Governor of Madras. We have heard a great deal about this matter; and are almost tempted to tell the whole story—including an account of a certain drive in a hired *bandy*; but we cannot afford to gossip at the end of so long an article.

Our next extract relates to the society of Simla. Our readers will smile at the Prussian's account of the English Church Service; the secret of his contempt appears to reside in the fact that he did not understand the language. There is a touch of intense griffinism, too, in the allusion to the presents of the Indian chiefs:—

"On the 4th of September we arrived in Simla, the English watering place. It is full of English officers who reside there with their families for health sake. The elevation of its site is the same as that of Nainethal; but the latter is only in an incipient state, and contains scarcely a score of

Englishmen, and no ladies at all, except Mr. Wilson's daughter. In Simla, on the other hand, there are some 150 officers residing, the half of whom are married and have families of daughters or nieces. Besides these there are many widows here, and solitary married ladies who indemnify themselves for the absence of their lords, by means of balls and other entertainments. * * *

After 5 o'clock every evening, according to Indian custom, the liveliest bustle sets in, especially in the wide street before our hotel, called the "Course."

No one ventures to appear there who cannot exhibit a handsome horse, very white linen, the neatest frock-coat or uniform and white gloves. People must dress expressly to take an airing. Every body is mounted, and even the fair sex appear on the most high mettled Arab coursers. Ladies are often seen dashing along the street at a smart gallop, followed by three or four officers in elegant uniforms. Old ladies are carried about in jampans. * * *

Dinners and balls followed one upon the other; a masked ball too was got up. Fortunately I was excused from appearing in costume. There was some thought of putting me into the dress of a mountain lady, but it was given up because I would not submit to have my beard cut off. Besides this there were certain deficiencies which it would have been very difficult to supply. The party was a very merry one, for there is a great number of hearty old ladies here, who caper through a polka with incredible spirit, laden with whole beds of flowers. But they did not figure, as I had been told they would, as Dianas or Graces, but in very pretty old fashioned costumes, farthingales and brocade, and the elderly gentlemen were dressed in corresponding fashion. The costumes were very cleverly managed and selected with taste. The oriental habiliments were likewise very rich, and accurate to a degree not easily to be equalled elsewhere; for there were officers there from the remotest quarters of India, men who had been in the Punjab, Sindh and Affghanistan; the great propensity of the Indian princes for present making had of course furnished these gentlemen with abundance of costly wares, which they could only make use of on occasions of this kind.

It must not however be supposed that there was any lack of young ladies; for provident relations fail not to collect here every thing in the shape of young and marriageable nieces and cousins that can be swept together from the plain; for matches being of course frequent in a place, where so many agreeable officers take up their abode only with a view to amusement. Last week we had two weddings. It is not the custom here any more than in England to have great festivities on these occasions. The marriage ceremony is performed in a shabby little church, to which you must go an hour before the commencement of the service in order to get a place. I cannot say I was much edified by my attendance there, for there was only a lot of psalms read, the manner being for the clergyman to read the first verse, and the congregation the next one, and so on alternately. Then follow endless long prayers, which are three or four times repeated, the congregation turning round and kneeling down before their seats, and covering their faces with both hands. The clergyman does the same. Last of all come the gospel and epistle, followed by a string of remarks that stand in lieu of the sermon. I have privately made up my mind not to enter the church again, for I observed that the roof has a great rent in it and may very soon fall in."

With one more extract we bring to a close our notice of

Dr. Hoffmeister's volume* and with it, indeed, we may conclude our own overgrown article. The following letter was written from Múdkí, on the 20th of December, 1845. It is the last in the series. In a few hours the writer was a corpse :—

"Múdkí, 20th December.—We arrived at the village of Múdkí on the morning of the 18th after three days forced marches with the English army, which consists of 13 regiments of infantry, 5 regiments of cavalry, and 7 batteries. Shortly before we entered the village, it was reported that the Sikhs were advancing, and several shots were heard; but the light irregular cavalry drove back the enemy's detachments, so that the English took possession of the village without opposition. The tents were quickly pitched; but the vast mass of baggage with which thousands of camels, elephants and bullock carts were loaded had not yet arrived, when all was again in commotion. Leaving the hasty meal they had begun to snatch the cavalry hurried to their horses, and the weary and footsore infantry (they had marched 40 English miles in two days) were started from their cooking kettles by the news: 'The Sikhs are marching against us. The English troops hurried to meet them in double quick time. I was left behind in the camp, my horse being dead beat. A few minutes before 4 o'clock the battle began with a murderous discharge of grape from the Sikh batteries. The atmosphere was thick and sultry, and all was wrapped up in smoke and horrible dust. No enemy was visible; only his position was discoverable by the flash of the guns. The cannonade continued for two hours, after which the Sikh infantry came to the charge with the bayonet, but were thrice driven back. It was not until night had fully set in that the enemy quitted his position, seventeen cannons and three standards were taken. Only one Sikh was made prisoner, but their loss in killed and wounded was very great.

Some regiments remained on the field of battle to cover the removal of the wounded, among whom there were many officers. To my unspeakable delight the Prince and the Counts made their appearance again without a scratch, though they had been in the thick of the fire. I had been horrified by a report that one of them had fallen. Three of my good friends were buried this day; one of them was amongst the ablest surgeons in the army. Another surgeon had both his legs shot off.

Yesterday morning after a sleepless night I went to the field of battle with a detachment of troops to assist in removing the wounded that still lay on the ground. Unluckily I was obliged to leave my horse behind. Scarcely had we reached the field when we were met by a large body of troops which had been ordered to retreat with all speed in consequence of the advance of the enemy's cavalry. Notwithstanding this the officer who commanded the detachment continued his march for another good half mile. Suddenly, just as we were giving drink to the first poor wounded wretches we came up with and were preparing to remove them, a cloud of dust was seen on the horizon, and several shots were heard. The officer ordered his men to fall into line; but the dread of the Sikhs was too great, and the native soldiers took to their heels one and all, and with such speed that I could not keep up with them. I followed the road I guessed to be

* Since this notice was written, a translation of Dr. Hoffmeister's book, by Mrs. Austin, has been advertised by Mr. Bentley; so that it will soon pass, in its English dress, into our reader's hands.

the right one, at a quick run for some two miles; after which the ground became so sandy that my strength failed, and I had great reason to fear I should not get so quickly over the three miles that were still before me.

Meanwhile the firing was coming nearer, and with it the cloud of dust that concealed the cavalry. With great difficulty I cleared another half mile, and had just strength enough left to bargain with the driver of an elephant loaded with dead bodies to stop and give me a lift. He dragged me up on the animal's back, after which I fainted, and when I came to myself again I found I was in the camp. A sound sleep soon made me all right again.

This morning a dead body was brought to our tent accompanied by an open letter, expressing the writer's regret that Count Von Oriola had fallen in the battle. The dead man however was a catholic priest who had accompanied an Irish regiment. I had seen him stretched on the ground and recognized him by his long black beard, which had led to the mistake. He was chopped all to pieces with sword cuts.

To-day at last some of the poor wounded fellows who had lain two days and nights on the field of battle, were brought into the camp,—the same I helped to look for yesterday. Not far from the spot where I had been a slightly wounded soldier has had both his hands cut off. Mine, thank God, remain whole, and I have been obliged to stir them briskly; for there is a great want of surgeons in the hospital.

To-morrow the army marches for Ferozepore, and I am confident we shall come off well since the troops have received still further reinforcements. To our speedy meeting!"

Brief were Dr. Hoffmeister's experiences of military life and military adventure. War has its dangers even for amateurs; and Prince Waldemar himself but narrowly escaped destruction. That illustrious personage, when the last received mail was despatched from England, was enjoying the homage and partaking of the hospitality of our own countrymen—homage and hospitality rendered without stint. He has fought beside the Governor-General on the plains of India; he has dined with the Court of Directors in the City of London, and may now discourse to all the princes of Europe, not as a mere book-worm or parlour-politician, on that most wonderful phenomenon of the age—the British power in the east; and even detail, with something of pride, his own experiences of military life and adventure in Hindustan.

ART. VII.—1. *Papers relating to the Articles of Agreement concluded between the British Government and the Lahore Durbar on 16th December, 1846, for the administration of the Lahore State, during the minority of the Maharajah Dhulip Singh.**

EVERY Englishman is supposed to be acquainted with the laws of his country, and there are very few who would not have us to suppose also that they are acquainted with its politics. Since the days of the Athenians, never did a people take more cognisance of their rulers' acts than our own countrymen. The great family of Englishmen planted beyond the Atlantic, who caricature us in every thing, have made this peculiarity ridiculous, and divided themselves off into two great classes: of which "The President of the United States" has one all to himself, while the other is given up to "the free and enlightened electors" who first choose, and then look after him. The French trace it, of course, to the climate of Great Britain, whose gloomy inspiration engenders politics eleven months out of twelve, and attains its climax, suicide, in November. We may, however, be excused if we attribute it to that love of liberty, which liberty itself produces; to a determination not lightly to give up the rights and institutions which one by one were wrung from time and arbitrary government: but, on the contrary, to lose no opportunity which the course of events, and the difficulties of our rulers may offer to extend and improve them. Thus English bills have rarely wanted either in or out of the Commons House, thoughtful patriots to watch their tendencies, question their legitimacy, and expound their good or evil to the people. But it is equally true that this very vigilance over exclusive British interests, proved, in an age of false political economy, for many years, the bane of our own colonies, and amongst them, of British India; to the latter in exact proportion as charters limited the authority of the Court of Directors, and brought

* The following article was written for last number; but circumstances prevented its being inserted therein. It is not, however, too late; since we both hope and believe that the readers of the *Calcutta Review* are among those who never deem it too late to inquire into the truth. The Lahore Blue Book indeed involves principles which can never be out of date; and the present paper will, we trust, be found to throw a new light upon the darkest passages of the Kashmir rebellion and the trial of Lal Singh. The almost PROPHECIC reflections on the impolicy of leaving the Rani at Lahore, have, as all our readers know, been since amply justified; and so far from sympathizing with "the bereaved mother," we rejoice over the emancipated child, and should have been glad if the firebrand of the Punjab had been utterly extinguished in Hindustan, instead of being merely damped at Shikopurah.

the East Indies in contact with the English legislature. The very patriots and liberal party of our own island were the authors of every illiberal and ruinous measure towards India; and it is not too much to assert, that if the same narrow spirit of legislation, which lost us America, had been unfortunately let loose on British India, every one of its provinces must have long since shared the fate of Dacca. The little interest taken by the *people* of England, for so long a period, in Anglo-Indian affairs, cannot therefore be wondered at. We are really inclined to think, that it is only since "the Kabul catastrophe," that even the newspapers of the United Kingdom, (which are always ahead of the age,) have admitted this vast continent into their columns; and any one of the young Baboos of Calcutta who pushes his English researches into "Hansard," cannot fail to come to the conclusion that the Board of Control was originally founded as a *Chapel of Ease* to the two Houses of Parliament; to rid them of the trouble, the responsibility, and even the very name of India. The Peers and Commoners could not afford a debate upon any thing less than a renewal of the charter: and only that because it was supposed to turn "the balance of power" between the two great Island parties. So they paid a good-natured lord to take from eighty to one hundred millions of subjects off their hands!

In this point of view the late Akbar Khan may not impossibly be regarded by the next generation of natives as the great benefactor of their country; and the stunning calamity which overtook us in Afghanistan takes its place in history as a most fortunate occurrence.

We have been led into these reflections by the appearance of the "Lahore Blue Book," and the marked attention with which it has been received at home and here. If "Blue Books" are not altogether a recent invention, (that of the Nepalese war is the first we are aware of), *reading them*, decidedly is; and we venture to say even now that many an Englishman of education has peered into the secrets of the moon through Lord Rosse's telescope, who feels no wish to gain an insight into the dark diplomacy of this ~~European~~ empire. The war in Afghanistan first got the pages of an Indian "*Blue Book*" cut by the public. The *amour propre* of John Bull was wounded by so disgraceful a reverse; his good nature was exhausted by such a series of blunders; and his strong good sense insisted on being told what business the Governor-General of India had ever found in Khorassan. The explanation elicited was anything but satisfactory; and the people of England have

looked with suspicion ever since upon the smallest military movement in this country. Lord Ellenborough would scarcely have been allowed the relaxation of *playing* at soldiers without rendering an account of the game. And assuredly the war in Sindh did not tend to lessen this anxiety, or show the superfluity of "Blue Books;" though "the Commentary on the Conquest" has since disclosed that "the *whole* truth" is not always to be found therein.

The hard-fought battles on the Sutlej once more alarmed the English public. They could not understand why British India should be invaded;—peaceful British India which for nearly a century had been invading every state within its reach. Something must certainly be wrong somewhere; and the "Blue Book" had better clear it up! The "Blue Book" *did* clear it up. It took the highest ground ever yet taken by a Governor-General of India; for it expounded the doctrine that peace was the policy, and war the last alternative of the paramount power.

Thus it has happened that hitherto "Blue Books" have been in effect the apologies of the government. They have been hopelessly looked for by the honest to clear up what wanted explanation; maliciously watched for by partisans as inexhaustible magazines of suicidal admissions, and misrepresentable opinions.

The "Lahore Blue Book" now before us commences, we trust, a more auspicious era. Its publication was not actually required. Little reserve and no mystery has shrouded the past year's politics of the North West Frontier. The great event of the "Book" itself,—(the trial and deposition of Rajah Lal Sing), took place in open day; unbiassed military men were associated with the political officers in judgment; and the court was filled with impartial auditors and spectators, European and native. However remarkable, therefore, the event might be, the *reasons* of it were not to seek; and the changes which ensued;—the improved relations which we gained with our Sikh neighbours; followed as a matter of course: and have never been blamed except for moderation. The only enemies of the treaty of the 16th December were the advocates of annexation, of which no Blue Book could decide the policy or impolicy, nor any one else be in so good a position to judge as those who rejected it.

Hence it is probable that few politicians awaited the Lahore Blue Book with any great curiosity or would have been much disappointed or surprised if none had appeared. Yet we find on perusal that its suppression would have been an irreparable

loss. Why is this? We are presented with little unexpected information; no new use is made of facts, with which we were before acquainted; and the only contemporary doubt which these letters have solved for the benefit of history is, whether the position of Sheikh Imam-ud-din in Kashmir was that of a liberator or a rebel; whether it was an ambitious Governor, or an alarmed people, who opposed the transfer of the province to Maharajah Golab Singh. This latter point was indeed of considerable interest, affecting deeply, as it did, the prospect of good from a sovereign created by ourselves. But far beyond the satisfaction even of knowing that the Kashmir rebellion was neither a national insurrection, nor a religious war, is that which we derive from a public repudiation *ex-cathedra* of the doctrines of *aggression, double government, and the elasticity of treaties*. The voice of public opinion has long been lifted against these abuses, and nowhere oftener or more loudly than in the "*Calcutta Review*;" but this authoritative washing of the hands for ever of them, this confession of a faith in better things by the Anglo Indian Government, is a triumph; a very memorable concession which will be looked back to and quoted, and which no future Governor-General will have the evil courage to retract.

With these prefatory remarks, we proceed to analyse the story of the book.

By the 1st article of the Agreement concluded between the British Government and the Lahore Durbar on the 11th March 1846, the occupation of Lahore by the British troops was positively limited to "the current year 1846." Many considerations entered into this stipulation. First and foremost, the occupation of Lahore was for the express purpose of giving breathing time to the Sikh chiefs and Queen, and enabling them to establish a strong Government over their broken army; for which a year seemed at that time amply sufficient. And if a year should *not* prove sufficient; then it would appear that the Government had not the confidence of the chiefs and people; and to support it longer, would be re-enacting at Lahore the licensed tyranny of Lucknow and Hyderabad. How deeply Lord Hardinge felt that the day for double Government was passed, we shall see presently in his letters.

A second reason for limiting the occupation to a year was the necessity of stimulating the Durbar and Queen to exertion; and warning them not to rely on foreign aid beyond the stipulated time. And lastly we understood the article in question to be a solemn pledge to the Sikh nation of the honesty of our intentions: that we really desired nothing better than

that they should enjoy their own country and power in independence: and that as soon as ever they felt themselves able to walk alone, we would relax our grasp upon the state: and retiring within our own frontiers, resume those relations of amity which they had suffered so severely for destroying. "I am confident," wrote the Governor-General on September 3rd, 1846, to the Secret Committee, no "permanent advantage to the interests of the Maharajah's Government would be derived from delay. Such a course, notwithstanding the good terms on which the British troops have remained with the people, and the Sikh soldiery, would cause discontent to the troops, as well as the chiefs, and excite mistrust of the ultimate intentions of the British Government. It is therefore my intention to withdraw the troops at the end of December, in accordance with the Articles of Agreement made with the Lahore Durbar on the 11th March, by which the British force was not to be detained at Lahore beyond the expiration of the current year."

Let us now see, then, how far the expectation of forming a strong Sikh Government was realized, and the causes of its final disappointment.

There has been considerable ridicule lavished on the profession made by the British Government of a desire "to see a Sikh Government re-established which may be able to control its army, protect its subjects, and willing to respect the rights of its neighbours;" yet we now find from the Blue Book, that up to the 3d of September, both Lord Hardinge and the officiating agent at Lahore, (Mr. John Lawrence) considered that it was quite feasible, and depended only on the good or ill behaviour of the Vizier during the next four months:—

"If the next four months be diligently employed in completing their military arrangements, I anticipate no events which can render it an expedient course to prolong the occupation of Lahore by the British troops.

The opinion of Mr. Lawrence, as to the prospect of establishing a permanent Sikh Government, after the British troops withdraw from Lahore, is as satisfactory as I had any reason to expect. The main difficulty in carrying on a Government will consist in satisfying the expectations of the Chiefs, who, having received large jaghirs from the favour or the fear of the various rulers in the Punjab, during the last five years of anarchy, are unwilling to submit to the reductions which justice and state necessity demand. These necessary measures of economy, if enforced by any Minister, would have caused the same chiefs to combine against him; and there can be no doubt that Rajah Lal Singh in the performance of this duty has made many enemies, each chief resenting the minister's act as a personal injury to himself, and being probably disposed to revenge his wrong by those violent and vindictive means resorted to in all countries, but more especially in the East. The life of the Vizier must, therefore, be

considered in danger. Of this danger he is well aware, and he seems disposed to secure his person by surrounding himself with Affghans and foreigners.

Every act of the British Government will be carefully shaped, so as to give the minister every possible support; and no means will be omitted, to prove to the Government of the Maharajah the sincerity of our advice, and the impartiality of our conduct, on all points of conflicting interests arising out of the Treaty.

A change of the Vizier may suddenly take place by some act of violence similar to those which have so frequently been committed of late years at Lahore; but such a crime, however much to be deplored, will not, as I have before remarked, be decisive as to *the stability of a Sikh Government*. There is, I believe, a very strong desire on the part of the chiefs and the people to preserve their national institutions and the Raj; and if the selfish views and combinations of the chiefs against the Government can admit of a compromise, and a regular system of paying the army should be adopted, I see no cause why a permanent Sikh Government may not be established."

From the above extract we gather that the Governor General ascribed the unpopularity of Rajah Lal Singh to the rigid execution of his duty in carrying out the retrenchments rendered necessary by the territorial losses of the Lahore state. If, however, we have read the *Delhi Gazette's* Lahore news aright, the late Vizier did not so much offend the Sikh chiefs by depriving them of their jaghirs as by taking those jaghirs himself. No man certainly, be his color what it may, *likes* to be made poorer; but the loss is either bearable or unbearable, according to the shape in which it comes. In the case before us the popularity or unpopularity of reducing jaghirs in the Punjab, seems to us to have depended very greatly on the honesty or dishonesty of the Minister. It was no new principle; for the Sikh Government has always been a confiscating Government: and Runjit Singh's avowed axiom was that there was no such thing as private property in the Punjab. Whatever wealth his chiefs possessed, (and he was lavish to all) was so much crown property deposited in their hands; which might be demanded at any moment when the sirkar was poor; and almost invariably was pounced down upon when the fortunate possessor died. In the same way, Runjit Singh considered it a kind of moral duty to deposit more or less money in his treasury every day: and if, when he sat silent, and out of spirits, in the Durbar, the courtiers standing around with joined hands enquired—"What ailed his Highness *Mizaj*?" it was no uncommon reply of his, that "it was nearly sunset, yet not a rupee had been put into the Moti Munder all the day!" Twenty voices would on such occasions be raised saying "Maharajji, my money is yours: allow me to send Rs. 1000 to the trea-

surey." "Permit a slave who has been heaped with favors to return Rs. 500." "And I, fifty gold mohurs." "And I twenty," and so on. The Vakíl of every speaker wrote out a note of hand; they were signed amidst a general laugh; Runjit himself swept them up with a chuckle, and every body said, to his neighbour as he left the Durbar, "Was there ever such a wise man as the Maharajah?" But then they all felt sure that the money thus extracted really was going into the Moti Munder or *Govind Ghur*, the pride of the Khalsa. And it is not impossible that the retrenchments of Rajah Lal Singh might have been as little objected to by those on whom they fell the heaviest, if he had honestly applied the proceeds to paying up the army, and consolidating the Raj. But if we are rightly informed, that what he took from the Sirdars, he either directly or indirectly appropriated himself; that he caused to be conferred on himself and his relations jaghirs to the amount of between ten and fifteen lakhs of rupees per annum between the Jhyllum and the Indus; that he meditated retiring to that Doab, and making himself independant, with Sirdar Sultan Mahomed Khan as his ally in Peshawur, and his cousin in Mooltan,* and that for every Sikh soldier whom in compliance with the treaty he discharged out of the regular army, he enlisted an Affghan, a Potowari, or a Kohistani in his own body guard; then indeed we think that the unpopularity of Rajah Lal Singh is fully accounted for; and agree with the Governor-General, that "the life of the Vizier was to be considered in danger." Instead of striving single-mindedly to uphold his own Government, and save his country, he was secretly but steadily preparing for its dissolution and ruin; and he endeavoured not so much to avert this calamity, as to take care it should fall as lightly as possible on himself. His projects, in fact, were as inconsistent with prudence as with patriotism; and the only clue to their being conceived at all by a man, far from being deficient in ability, is, a possible ambitious hope that at the breaking up of the Punjab, which must have followed a revolution, he might be raised to a throne like the Maharajah of Kashmir, and be made a piece of the wall of the British frontier.

It has been said that all this might have been foreseen; that nothing else could be expected from the Rajah's previous career; and that the British Government forgot its dignity, and sanctioned vice, when it elevated the Rani's paramour.

* The Rajah's desire to make Misr Bhugwan Singh, Nazim of Mooltan, was, we believe, the real reason of "the differences" with Dewan Mulraj.

to the Vizirut. This is just one of those cases wherein half-informed people assume their own premises, and then argue upon their own conclusion. It seems to have been *taken for granted* that Rajah Lal Singh was as much set up by Lord Hardinge as Tufuzzul Hussein by Sir John Shore, or Chundú Lal by Sir George Barlow. But it is high time that this matter should be put in its right light. When the Army of the Sutlej was advancing upon Lahore, there was no Vizier in the Punjab, nor had there been since the murder of Jowahir Singh in September 1845. That event was most probably connived at by the Rani, with the view of replacing an upbraiding brother by a complying lover in the Vizirut; and Lal Singh's cowardice alone prevented the consummation of the scheme. The more courageous woman urged him at once to make himself Vizier; but after assisting in the murder of two ministers, he had reason for considering it an unlucky office. He contented himself therefore with being "Kúl Múkhhtar" or plenipotentiary; having the power but not the name of Vizier. Thus it remained till the disasters of the Khalsa on the Sutlej, and the consequent disrepute of Rajah Lal Singh, obliged the Rani to summon Rajah Golab Singh from Jammú. The last of the Dograh brothers did not descend from the mountains to be the second man at the capital. He came upon entreaty, as the only man equal to the crisis; and he assumed the *dictatorship* at once. From the dictatorship, he would have passed naturally to the Vizirut, *had not the British authorities been honest*, and cheaply rid the Punjab of him by making him king over the hills where he was in fact already lord and master. By the expression "had the British not been honest," we mean, had they wished to sow the seeds of discord, and leave an opening for the annexation of the Punjab at a more convenient season, when they had recruited their losses, and got up more guns and European regiments. For assuredly Golab Singh would not have forgotten the murder of Dhyan Singh by the Sindhun-wallahs, of Súchit Singh by the Sikh army, of Hira Singh by the Rani and her paramour, or the exaction of ninety lakhs of rupees from himself when brought a prisoner to Lahore. All these things were to be revenged; vengeance would have raised up enemies and intrigues; and a revolution would have been just ripe at the next Dusserah, or *opening of the cold season!*

But to return. Golab Singh's removal left the Vizirut vacant; and had either Lord Hardinge or his Agent, wished to nominate a Vizier, and make him a creature of his own,

then would have been the time. But to have done so would have been in direct contravention of Act. XV. of the treaty of 9th March: by which the British Government disclaimed "any interference in the internal administration of the Lahore States." The Sikh chiefs were left to themselves to form a Government as they chose; a British force being moreover given them to enable them to do so. The result was natural. There was no great Sirdar whose rank entitled him to the post, nor any inferior one whose ability could raise him to it. Dewan Dīnanath, the only man about the court whose talents were equal to the emergency was looked down on as a *Mutsuddi*, even by those who could not cope with him either in argument or influence. The favourite of the Rani therefore had no difficulty in resuming, during peaceful British occupation, the position which he had had the address to achieve in more dangerous times; and he seems to have performed from the first all the functions of Vizier, though a reference to the *Delhi Gazette* will shew that he was not actually invested with the Vizarut, by the Queen, till five or six months after he is said to have had that distinction conferred on him by the British Government!

We have been led into this long digression for the sake of history: to relieve Lord Hardinge and the political authorities from the unmerited odium of having connived at the intrigues of the Rani and the Vizier; and we hope that we have made it sufficiently plain that they had no voice in the matter; and would have been equally bound to recognise and carry on business with the Court jester if the Sikh Sirdars had thought him wiser than themselves; or the "slave girl Mungla," if they had wished for the future to have a Petticoat Government in the Punjab.

Let us now return to the narrative. We have seen that on the 3d September, 1846, there were still hopes of an establishment of an independant Government at Lahore; but in the same letter occurs the following passage:—"I do not apprehend that Sheikh Imam-ud-din will push his resistance any further after the order he has received from Lahore, and from Lieut. Col. Lawrence.

'The two forces of the Maharajah Golab Singh and the Sheikh, being in presence of each other, may by accident come to blows; but the interests of the two chiefs are opposed to such a contingency, and by a letter recently received by Lieut. Col. Lawrence from the Maharajah Golab Singh, it is evident he does not seem to expect a collision." This refers to the transfer of the province of Kashmir to Maharajah Golab

Singh, agreed upon on the 16th of March 1846, but not yet fulfilled by the Sikh Government. The whole story is told by the Governor-General in letter No. 3, of the collection before us :—

No. 3.

The Governor-General to the Secret Committee.

Simla, September 19, 1846. (No. 40)

(Extract.)

“ In the letters from Lahore of Mr. J. Lawrence, the delay and suspicious conduct of Sheik Imamooddeen, the Governor of Cashmere on the part of the Lahore Government, are adverted to, and the measures taken by the Durbar to procure the departure of the Sheik from Cashmere, are described.

I forward dispatches of the Governor-General's Agent, reporting the ultimate failure of Sheik Imamooddeen, to quit Cashmere at the promised time, and the occurrence of a collision between the troops of the Sheik and those of Maharajah Golab Sing, in which the latter were worsted, with the death of the Vizier Luckput Rae, and the dispersion of the Maharajah's force.

The details of this affair, as far as they are known, and the previous conduct of the Sheik Imamooddeen, are so fully given in the enclosures of this dispatch, and the other papers referred to, that it is not necessary for me to describe them in this place. It is of more importance to consider the motives which may have induced Sheik Imamooddeen to put himself thus actively in opposition to the British Government and Maharajah Golab Sing, and to the reiterated orders of the Lahore Durbar; the consequences which may probably result from this affair; and the measures which may be most expedient to adopt in reference to it.

From the first, Maharajah Golab Sing has expressed no apprehension about his obtaining the occupation of Cashmere. At Umritsir, after the completion of the Treaty, he urged that the Durbar should take measures for putting him into possession of the other districts made over to him, and the Hazareh; but he said that Sheik Moheooddeen and he were on an understanding with each other, and that his possession of Cashmere would be accomplished without difficulty. Early in April, Moheooddeen died, and his son, Sheik Imamooddeen, the former Governor of the Julunder, succeeded him. Maharajah Golab Sing stated that this would make no difference in his affairs, for that Sheik Imamooddeen was, equally with his father, in his (Golab Sing's) interest.

Accordingly, Maharajah Golab Sing sent a few regiments with Vizier Luckput Rae, to take possession of the district. These regiments arrived at the same time as Lord Elphinstone and Mr. C. Hardinge, and were forthwith put in possession of the Hurree Purbut, the principal fort at the capital; this was on the 21st of April last.

Maharajah Golab Sing would appear to have, at this time, entered into negotiation with Sheik Imamooddeen, to put his troops into the neighbouring districts, and to hold the Government of Cashmere under him.

Sheik Imamooddeen states that, at the requisition of Maharajah Golab Sing, he did put his troops into those districts, and that he has a claim against the Maharajah for their expenses.

What may have been the real nature of the negotiations between the Sheik and the Maharajah, it is impossible for us to know at present; but it appears that they ended in no satisfactory result. The Maharajah soon

required the departure of Sheik Imamooddeen from Cashmere, and sent small reinforcements under Vizier Rutnoo to the support of Luckput Rae.

At the same time, Maharajah Golab Sing. seems to have made some demands upon Sheik Imamooddeen, which the latter resisted; and the Sheik, under pretext of collecting balances of revenue, and requiring a receipt and acquittance from Vizier Luckput Rae, delayed from week to week his departure from Cashmere.

The Lahore Durbar, who had been continually pressed upon the subject of making over the transferred districts, Cashmere included, to the Maharajah, were directed to cause the immediate removal of Sheik Imamooddeen.

When the Sheik still delayed his return to Lahore, the Durbar sent a special and pressing order by the hands of Dewan Hakim Rae and Vakeel Sohun Lall, peremptorily directing him to make over the district to the Maharajah, and to repair to Lahore, where his accounts would be adjusted.

These persons appear to have made unnecessary delay on the road, and to have only reached Rajourie when the outbreak occurred, which is described, as far as its details are known, in the inclosures of this despatch.

On the news of the open rebellion of Sheik Imamooddeen reaching Lahore, the Durbar sent off Sirdar Utter Sing Man, with other officers, to bring the Sheik away.

The result of the Sirdar's mission cannot yet be known: but it is not probable, in the present posture of affairs, that it has been successful. Deeply interested as the Lahore Durbar are in the fulfilment of all the provisions of the Treaty, it can scarcely be supposed that they have instigated or countenanced the Sheik's proceedings; and yet there is a strong impression on the minds of all the British officers on the spot, that Sheik Imamooddeen has all along had the sympathies, if not the covert connivance, of Rajah Lal Sing, and other influential parties at Lahore.

The above is a summary of the proceedings and orders for the transfer of Cashmere, from the Lahore Government to the Junmoo Maharajah.

The political connexion between Maharajah Golab Sing and the Sheiks Moheeoodeen and Imamooddeen, is of old standing, and has been long notorious as of the closest description.

Moheeoodeen, the father, began life as a shoe-maker; he was a man of no family, character or influence; but, being possessed of those talents for intrigue and self-aggrandisement, which were more likely to stand him in stead, in such a Government and society as that of the Sikhs in the Punjab, he contrived, with the assistance of the Dogras, and more particularly of Golab Sing, to raise himself from poverty and obscurity to a state of some eminence and of vast wealth.

About seven years ago, under the auspices, and by the instrumentality, of the Maharajah, Sheik Moheeoodeen was appointed to the Government of the Cashmere district, and his son, Imamooddeen, to that of the Julunder Doab.

Sheik Moheeoodeen was to have accounted to the Durbar for twenty lacs of Cashmere rupees per annum, of which six lacs were to be allowed him for the maintenance of troops, and the balance, fourteen lacs, was to be paid into the Lahore treasury.

The Sheik's payments at Lahore are stated not to have exceeded six lacs per annum since he assumed the Government, and part of which has been remitted in shawl goods. No accounts have been rendered during the whole seven years.

The same statement of short payments, and failure to render any account of seven years' collections is equally applicable to Sheik Imamooddeen, in respect to the Julunder Doab.

The Sheiks are known to have sent across the Sutledj upwards of a crore of rupees, in specie, shortly before the late invasion of our territories by the Sikh army.

What may have been the inducement of Sheik Imamooddeen to take the course he is now pursuing, it is not easy to conjecture. He had immense wealth in money and a jagheer at Jullunder, which we had upheld, yielding nearly a lac per annum. He cannot expect to maintain himself in Cashmere, against Maharajah Golab Sing and the Sikh and British Governments.

The Sheik was doubtless placed in a position of much difficulty in regard to securing the whole of his ill-gotten wealth. He is believed still to have much in Cashmere: the locality of which, and all the circumstances under which it was obtained, are doubtless well known to the Maharajah, who was bent on appropriating it, if possible. After the transfer of the province, its removal became difficult.

Again, the Sikh Government summoned him to Lahore, and spoke of an adjustment of accounts. The Sheik well knew that he had rendered no account for seven years; that his spoliation was notorious; and that the Durbar were aware of his full ability to pay a large sum as balance of arrears, which their exigencies would induce them the more rigorously to demand.

This was doubtless a dilemma; but the mode which he has adopted to avoid it is a desperate one. His money in Cashmere will be soon exhausted by the large force he is said to be collecting. His jagheer in our provinces will be confiscated, and his property attached; and the result of his enterprise, though it may cause trouble, and is much to be regretted, cannot be doubtful.

The Lahore Durbar are bound by the IVth Article of the Treaty of Lahore, to put us, or our representative, in possession of the Province of Cashmere. This they have not done, and their officer is now in open rebellion in the district.

In the present state of our information, I cannot tell precisely what measures it may be necessary ultimately to take. You will perceive that I sent Colonel Lawrence's Assistant, Lieutenant Edwardes, to Jummoo, to make Maharajah Golab Sing exert himself, and to urge him to advance at once with his disposable force to Cashmere. I have called on the Lahore Government to place at the disposal of the Maharajah such of their regiments and generals, as he himself may select to accompany him; and Brigadier Wheeler has been warned to be ready to advance with a portion of the Julunder force to Bissowlee and Jummoo, to support Maharajah Golab Sing's rear, and, should he wish it, to hold his territory for him during his absence.

I shall be well satisfied if by these means the revolt of the Sheik may be put down, and the occupation by Maharajah Golab Sing accomplished. Any delay in the commencement of operations will be inexpedient. The Mahomedan Hill Rajahs in the neighbourhood of Cashmere, appear to have already joined the Sheik; the Hazarehs will doubtless follow the example, and there is much disposition to revolt in all the western districts.

The season of the year is somewhat in favor of the rebels making a protracted resistance, as, towards the end of November, most of the passes into Cashmere are closed, and the troops proceeding there will not be able to return till after the winter.

In a few days, our information will be more full, and I shall be the better able to concert measures adapted to the circumstances. I shall not move British troops to Cashmere if I can avoid it.

It is worthy of remark, that Sheik Imamooddeen has caused the Sheik

emissaries, Dewan Hakim Rae and Vakeel Sohun Lal, to be treated with all consideration and respect at Rajourie, whence they last wrote; while he has proclaimed that Maharajah Duleep Sing is the Sovereign of Cashmere, and himself the Rajah's subadar; (which looks as if he were doubtful of those about him supporting his independence;) while, on the day at the close of which the attack on Maharajah Golab Sing's force took place, it is said to have been industriously circulated at the Bazaar of Cashmere, that the British troops had been attacked and defeated at Lahore, and the young Maharajah killed.

All the British officers who had gone to visit Cashmere had left the valley before the outbreak occurred, excepting Captains Broome and Nicolson, who were on the borders, and, on hearing of the affair, proceeded into the Maharajah's territory."

From this candid statement of the pros and cons, we learn, that the Governor-General "could not *suppose*," that "deeply interested as the Lahore Durbar were in the fulfilment of all the provisions of the treaty—they had instigated, or countenanced the Sheikh's proceedings;" although "there was a strong impression on the minds of all the British officers on the spot that Sheikh Imam-ud-din had all along the sympathies, if not the covert connivance of Rajah Lal Singh, and other influential parties at Lahore." He contented himself therefore with calling on Maharajah Dhulip Singh to fulfill his contract, and put Maharajah Golab Singh in possession of Kashmir, at the point of the sword; himself evincing his determination to enforce the treaty, by advancing a strong body of British troops into the Punjab. A political officer was at the same time sent up to Jammú to excite the dormant energies of the Maharajah, who seemed stupified at the outbreak, and perhaps may have even doubted our good faith.

These vigorous measures had the desired effect of shewing not only to Golab Singh, but also to the Sheikh in Kashmir and the Vizier in Lahore, that no difficulties which could be created by hostile combinations, or intrigues, would be allowed to stand in the way of carrying out the treaty. The very first fruits were the revelation of Rajah Lal Singh's treachery. Natives have the courage to plan any villainy; but they break down in the execution from inability to combine and remain true to each other. No sooner did Pirun Chund, the Sheikh's Vakíl, find the British were in earnest, and about to take the field, than with admirable decision he chose his side, and determined to save his master by throwing Lal Singh overboard. He confessed to Lieut. Edwards on the road to Jammú that Sheikh Imam-ud-din was never more faithful to his own Government than now when he seemed to be a rebel: and promised to put that officer in

possession of written orders from Rajah Lal Singh, to oppose the transfer of Kashmir.

At the same moment, the Rani was unbosoming herself to the Archbishop of Lahore, and expressing her hopes that those same "written orders" would not fall into the hands of the British.

The Governor-General, who, on the 19th September, refused to harbour the suspicion, was staggered by these new testimonies, and in his next letter of the 4th October, we find him making up his mind as to the consequences :—

No. 4.

The Governor-General to the Secret Committee.

Simla, October 4, 1846. (No. 42.)

(Extract.)

"In my dispatch of the 10th September, 1846, No. 40, I reported the defeat and dispersion of the forces of Maharajah Golar Singh, by those of the Sheik Imamooddeen, in the valley of Cashmere; and I stated the steps I had taken, in urging the Maharajah to make more active exertions, and in calling upon the Lahore Durbar to place at the disposal of the Maharajah such of the Sikh regiments and generals as His Highness might himself select. I also ordered

- 6 Regiments of Native Infantry,
- 2 Ditto of Irregular Cavalry, and
- 12 Field Guns,

under Brigadier Wheeler, to be held in readiness to march from the Jullunder towards Jummoo, for the purpose of protecting the Maharajah's rear, in his absence.

On the evening of the 21st September, the Maharajah's Vakeel, Josa Sohaie, reached Simla, and after conferring with the Political Agent, declared that the movements proposed to be made by Brigadier Wheeler's force, would best fulfil the Maharajah's wishes; and I accordingly, on the 22nd, addressed the commander-in-chief, requesting that the Brigadier might be ordered to advance; and I expect to hear that the troops will, about the 8th or 9th, have reached their destination; three regiments of infantry, one of irregular cavalry, and six guns, being posted in the neighbourhood of Jummoo.

On the 24th, I desired the Political Agent to obtain from the Maharajah's Vakeel a full and distinct exposition of his master's intentions and means; and the answers given by the Vakeel to the questions put to him by the Political Agent, will show you that the measures, already taken, of preparing the force under Brigadier Wheeler, and the demand made upon the Lahore Durbar for all the available Sikh troops, had anticipated the Maharajah's wishes, and that he not only did not expect or desire that a British force should be actually employed against Cashmere, but on the contrary, preferred that his own troops, aided by the Sikh forces, should be employed for the purpose. I desired that His Highness might be cautioned not to conceal his real views, or delay making known to me his wishes, until the season might be too far advanced to afford him the assistance he desired.

On the following day the 25th of September, a letter dated the 17th, was received from Lieutenant Edwardes, the Assistant Political Agent, who had

been ordered to proceed to Jummoo, in which letter, he reported the substance of conversations he had held with the Sheik Imamooddeen's Vakeel, on his way to Cashmere. The Sheik's Vakeel Poorun Chund, repeatedly asserted, that his master, the Sheik, had been secretly instigated in his resistance to the Maharajah Golab Sing in Cashmere, by communications sent to him by the Vizier Lall Sing, and that the Sheik possessed letters to this effect, written by the Vakeel, and signed by Rajah Lall Sing at Lahore.

By the same post from Lahore, information was received that the Maharanee had held a confidential conversation with Bhaee Ram Sing, explaining to him her position and that of the Vizier, and attaching the greatest importance to the recovery of letters addressed to the Sheik by the Vizier on the subject of Cashmere.

These reports, received from different quarters, combined with the delays and evasions of the Vizier during the preceding five months; his failure to depute the persons to Cashmere, pointed out by the Political Agent as the most proper to be sent to the Sheik; and the slow progress towards Cashmere made by the two Sikh emissaries, Dewan Hakim Rae and Vakeel Sohun Lal, sent, at last, by the Durbar, after the reiterated representations of the Agent, were circumstances calculated to excite a just suspicion that the Vizier Lall Sing was implicated in the Sheik's misconduct, by secretly encouraging the Lahore Governor of Cashmere to resist the orders publicly sent to him by his Government, to withdraw from the province, delivering up the country to the Maharajah, in pursuance of the Treaty.

I, therefore, in my instructions to Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence, desired him to omit no efforts to ascertain the truth of the declarations made by the Sheik's Vakeel to Lieutenant Edwardes, being determined, if these statements could be substantiated, at once to adopt measures against the Vizier, which should not only terminate our official communications with him, but should deprive him of power, in consequence of his treasonable intrigues, by which the fulfilment of so important an Article of the Treaty was intentionally evaded.

So long as the Sheik is able to defend the passes and maintain his ground in Cashmere, he will, in all probability, not produce the proofs which his Vakeel declares he possesses, showing that he has been acting under the orders of his own Government.

It appears to me also improbable that Rajah Lall Sing should have committed himself to the extent of signing letters written by the Sheik's Vakeel; but it is not unlikely that he may, under the impulse of his hatred of Maharajah Golab Sing, have held conversations with the Vakeel encouraging the Sheik, to resist, in order to give the Maharajah as much trouble as possible: and intimating, that the Sheik, for thus acting, would be rewarded by the Vizier, by causing the claims of the Lahore Government for his arrears of revenue to be favourably settled.

I considered it expedient, under these circumstances, to be prepared for any event, either to support Brigadier Wheeler, or check any disposition of the Mussulman population of the Hazareh country to rise, in consequence of the recent events in Cashmere; and I, therefore, issued instructions to hold

Her Majesty's 80th Regiment,
3 Regiments of Native Infantry,
12 Guns,

in readiness to move from Lahore on Sealkote, so as to unite, if necessary, with the Julunder force,—this force to be replaced at Lahore by

Her Majesty's 62nd Regiment,
 3 Regiments of Native Infantry,
 2 Regiments of Cavalry, and
 12 Guns.

from Ferozepore. These forces at Lahore and Ferozepore are fully prepared to move at the shortest notice.

There are two letters attached to the correspondence, written by the son of the Rajah of Rajourie, which have some interest. The first describes the action between the Sheik's forces and the Maharajah's, by which it would appear that the collision was brought about by some stray shots from the Maharajah's forces. The second letter, intercepted by the Vizier Lall Sing, gives the son's narrative to his father, of the rising of all the Mussulman tribes of the hills; the steps taken by the Sheik to induce the Khyberrees and the Eusofzyes to move on to the right bank of the Indus; whilst to the eastward, on the side of Ladak, he had employed emissaries to induce the population to rise against the Maharajah. No mention is made of the Affghans moving upon Peshawur, although there are several of this tribe in Cashmere.

This letter may have been written for the purpose of being intercepted; but there can be no doubt that the Sheik will very naturally take every means to support himself, by an appeal to Mussulman hopes, and religious fanaticism.

The Maharajah had declared his wishes that the British troops should afford him the aid he requires, by protecting his rear and not by active co-operation in the hills; and as in the present aspect of affairs, with reference to the conduct of His Highness and the Lahore Government, I am by no means satisfied that there is an obligation on our part to put down the rebellion by British bayonets, I propose to continue our co-operation to the mode already agreed upon between the Political agent and his Vakeel.

I say, the present aspect of affairs, with reference to the conduct of both parties, for you will observe that it is stated in respect to Maharajah Golab Sing, that his Vizier and troops having been put in possession of the chief fort, the Hurree Purbut, he opened negotiations with Sheik Imamooddeen, as to continuing in the civil government of the province, and requested the Sheik to remain till he sent full reinforcements to assume military occupation; and in respect to the Durbar, that the most serious accusations (supported by strong presumptive evidence) are made of the recusance of the Sheik to leave Cashmere, and his subsequent misconduct being attributable to the secret instructions, he received from the Vizier.

His Highness is well aware that he has by his own injudicious arrangements with the Sheik Imamooddeen, brought upon himself much of the embarrassment under which he is now labouring, but which he attributes, and probably with reason, to the intrigues of the Vizier Lall Sing.

If a further demonstration towards Bhimber should be advisable, I shall not hesitate to move up that portion of the Lahore force ordered to be in readiness, uniting it with the force from the Julunder, if both cross the Chenab, keeping one or two regiments in the neighbourhood of Jummoo, should it be absolutely required.

If the operations by Maharajah Golab Sing and the Sikh troops against Cashmere should be long protracted or fail, and the portion of our troops on the Chenab should be required to remain in advance of Lahore beyond the end of December, I shall, of course, continue to hold Lahore by a strong British garrison.

I am in hourly expectation of receiving more explicit information of the state of affairs in the neighbourhood of Rajourie; and my impression is, in

the absence of the information I require, that I shall move up the Lahore portion of the force now held in readiness to march, and replace it by the troops from Ferozepore."

There is one passage in the above which strikes us as inconclusive. Lord Hardinge says, "It appears to me also improbable that Rajah Lal Singh should have committed himself to the extent of signing letters written by the Sheikh's Vakîl, but it is not unlikely that he may under the impulse of his hatred of Maharajah Golab Singh, have held conversations with the Vakîl encouraging the Sheikh," &c. &c.

Had Lord Hardinge been less unwilling to believe the Vizier's duplicity, and half as willing to get rid of him, as a Calcutta paper (the *Star*) would have us think, he would have argued the matter better. For giving Lal Singh every credit for prudence, we must allow some also to the Sheikh; and if the affair was so ticklish that discovery would be fatal to the prime minister of the Punjab; *à fortiori*, did it behoove a provincial Governor to have a warrant for his share in it. Doubtless Rajah Lal Singh would only have been too glad if the Sheikh had consented to be made a cat's paw of, and opposed an ally of the British Government, without any written authority from his own. But Imami-ud-din had once before murdered the "Lord-Treasurer" of Lahore to oblige his friend Lal Singh (who being a Brahman did not like to kill another Brahman *himself*) and, after taking the trouble to cut his victim into little pieces to avoid discovery, some how or other the affair got wind, and the Sheikh bore all the blame.* So it is no wonder that he had grown wiser, and refused to do business with Lal Singh again, until he had the deed of partnership in his pocket.

On the 23d October, the Governor-General informs the Secret Committee that

"Sheikh Immooddeen has put a stop to all hostile operations against the Fort of Hurree Purbut, occupied by the Maharajah's troops; he has formally declared his submission to the Lahore Government, and his intention of surrendering himself to Lieutenant Edwardes, who is accompanying the troops of Maharajah Golab Singh."

But adds—

"It is impossible to rely with confidence on the sincerity of the assurances of a person of the Sheikh's character, and under the influence which he is described, in these papers, as being exposed to; but my belief is, that, as he was certainly making no preparations to oppose the Lahore and Jummoo troops in the passes, he has, by this time surrendered, and that

* This refers to the once mysterious murder of Mîr Bêl Ram, at Lahore.

by the next mail I shall have the gratification of reporting to you the termination of this affair."

The two allusions in the last paragraph require elucidation, and it is evident that the authors of the Blue Book have been keeping some of Lord Hardinge's *good things* to themselves. We will endeavour to fill up the hiatus with "the character" of Sheikh Imam-úd-dín. The Sheikh (be it known to the ladies!) is perhaps the best mannered and best dressed man in the Punjab. He is rather under than above the middle height; but his figure is exquisite, "as far as it goes," and is usually set off with the most accurate *fit* which the unrivalled tailors of Kashmir could achieve for the Governor of the province. His smile and bow are those of a perfect courtier, whose taste is too good to be obsequious; his great natural intelligence, and an unusually good education have endowed him with considerable conversational powers; and his Persian idiom would do no dishonor to a native of Shiraz. Beneath this smooth surface of accomplishment and courtesy, lies an ill-assorted and incongruous disposition; ambition, pride, cruelty, and intrigue; strangely mixed up with indolence, effeminacy, voluptuousness, and timidity. From such *pluses* and *minuses* what result can be expected but a moral cypher? Deeply engaged in the intrigues and revolutions of Lahore, he was never to be found at the crisis of any of them; and so completely are all his aspirations negatived by indecision, that he spent the six months of his Kashmir Government, in wavering between three different schemes for his own personal aggrandisement; doubtful whether to accept Golab Singh's offer, and continue Governor on a salary of one lakh per annum; to oppose the transfer of the province to that prince which Rajah Lal Singh told him should be a receipt in full for his Kashmir accounts; or to try to buy over the British, and make himself independant sovereign of the loveliest valley in the world. We shall see presently that he chose the most senseless of the three; and to save himself from the consequences, on the first appearance of danger, he turned "King's evidence," and sacrificed his accomplice.

Our readers will now understand what the Governor-General meant by saying that "it was impossible to rely with confidence on the sincerity of the assurances of a person of the Sheikh's character." It remains to tell them what "*the influence*" was, to which he was "exposed." We have already alluded to the voluptuousness of Seikh Imam-úd-dín; and must leave to the imagination the full meaning of the word when applied to any one

par excellence, in climes where polygamy is religion, and concubinage limited only by the wealth of individuals. Suffice it that not only Hindustan and the Punjab, but Persia, Afghanistan, and even the mountain fastnesses of the fair-faced Seeah Posh are said to have been searched for beauty to adorn his harem. What wonder then that when he came to

“ ————— the vale of Kashmir

With its roses the brightest that earth ever gave,
Its temples and grottoes and fountains as clear,
As the love-lighted eyes that hang over its wave,”

his expansive heart spontaneously opened to receive the belle of the Kohistan, whose charms were the theme of all the poets of the valley. He wooed, won, and married the daughter of Moiz-úd-dín Khan of Kurnár, but soon found that he was not “mated with a dove.” The most masculine spirit lay hid beneath the woman’s form; and the effeminate, hesitating rebel found not as he had expected in her arms, a respite from the reproaches of his officers and allies. Proud of her Highland blood, and bigotted in her faith, she urged the Sheikh by turns with taunt and wile, to listen to the chiefs of the surrounding mountains, declare himself king of Kashmir, and raise at once the standard of independance and Mahommedanism. It was a bold plan, and a tempting one; the winter was rapidly approaching; the passes would soon be closed; the slightest opposition would oblige the Sikh and Jammú leaders to defer the campaign to the spring. And what might not happen.—What might not be *effected* in four months? The four battles on the Sutlej were fought in half the time. The Huzarabs, the Yúzufzyes, Khyberis, and indeed all the mountain tribes south of the Indian Caucasus might have echoed the “Ya Ali!” the Affghans of the Damun and Derajat might have driven the Sikhs across the Indus, and Akbar Khan might have seized the opportunity to strike a blow at both the Sikh and the Feringhee by recovering Peshawur.* Such at all events were the hopes and calculations of Sheikh Imam-úd-dín’s ambitious bride; and when his weaker spirit shrunk from so vast a scheme, she refused to admit him into her chamber. Such then was the nature of “the influence to which Sheikh Imam-úd-dín was exposed,” and with the example of Rani Junda before him, Lord Hardinge may well have thought it dangerous.

* We say “*might*” on good authority; for we have been told that in a valorous moment the Sheikh actually did invite the co-operation of Kabul. Our readers may amuse themselves with speculating on the probabilities of the invitation being accepted or declined.

While the Sheikh was making up his mind, the Sikh and Jammú troops were marching on Kashmír. Their routes met at Rajawur, the chief town of a hill principality of other days. The Rajah ("Ruhímúllah") was in exile: and his son Fukírúllah was the most active leader in the rebel army. He cared little for Sheikh Imam-úd-dín, and perhaps enquired not into his motives; espousing his cause, neither for the sake of "liberating the Kashmírís," nor of "propagating the Mahommedan religion;" but of re-establishing in the scramble the independence of Rajawur. So long, therefore, as the Sheikh maintained his courage, and seemed likely to keep Maharajah Golab Singh at bay, Fukírúllah's voice was ever the loudest in his council for war; and the only encounter which actually took place in the field between the Sheikh's troops and the Maharajah's, Fukírúllah was said to have commenced. But when the Jammú and Sikh armies drew close upon Rajawur; and the Sheikh, instead of fortifying the passes, began to negotiate with the British political officers, Fukírúllah, with the same energetic selfishness, turned round, made good terms for himself, and precipitated the Sheikh into submission. The coming in of Fukírúllah is related in the following letter, together with the considerations which rendered it important, but the military reader must refer to the map, if he wishes to understand the value of Rajawur, as a post in a Kashmír campaign:—

No 6.

The Governor-General of India to the Secret Committee.

(Extract.)

Camp, Mundi, November 3, 1846. (No. 49.)

"I herewith transmit the letter, addressed by Lieutenant Edwardes, Assistant Political Agent to Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence, reporting that the Chief of Rajourie had, on the 19th of October, in person submitted himself to the British authorities and to the Maharajah Golab Sing.

This chief is not only at the head of one of the most powerful Mussulman tribes in the hills on the Punjab side of the Peer Pinjal Pass into Cashmere, but has the reputation of being a leader of well-established energy and decision of character. His secession from the Sheikh Imamooddeen, could not fail to have a strong influence in inducing the other Mahomedan chiefs to forsake the Sheikh's cause, and I have every reason to believe that the greater portion of these petty chiefs have already withdrawn their forces and retired to their homes.

A more important fact is, however, reported in a letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence, of the 25th October, in which he reports that the Sheikh had written from one march on this side of the city of Cashmere, on the 23rd October, stating that he had left Cashmere on that day, according to his promise, and had made one day's march towards the Barramula Pass; and one of the messengers stated that the Sheikh had delivered up the fort of Sher Gurree, and town of Cashmere, Vizier Rutnoo, the officer of the Maharajah Golab Sing left in command of the Hurree Purbut.

I daily expect to hear from Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence, that the Sheik has presented himself to him in the Maharajah's camp.

The movement of the troops will, however, still continue, and you will observe by the statement contained in Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence's demi-official letter of the 24th of October that, in addition to the force under Sirdar Tej Sing, a body of Sikh troops under Sirdar Chuttur Sing and Shera Sing, from Rawul Pindee, had passed Poonch, and were marching towards Sirdar Tej Sing, for the purpose of entering Cashmere, as near as it may be practicable to the force under the latter, instead of advancing into Cashmere by the Barramula Pass, thereby effecting a concentration of the Sikh forces.

A portion of the force under Maharajah Golab Sing had united with the Sikh force under Tej Sing, near Thanah.

The British force which marched from the Julunder, under Brigadier Wheeler, had crossed to the right bank of the Chenab River and that which had marched from Lahore, under Major-General Sir J. Littler, remained on the left bank of the Chenab, ready in twenty-four hours to form a junction with Brigadier Wheeler, and advance on Bhimber or Nowshera, whenever required to do so.

Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence states that these combined forces amount to about 30,000 men, and he expresses his satisfaction at the very cheerful manner in which the Sikh troops have performed long and harassing marches.

I confidently expect to hear that the Sheik has submitted without a further struggle. I defer making any comment on the recent events in Cashmere, until I receive Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence's report, giving the Sheik's explanation of his conduct, and I equally defer expressing to you the approbation I feel for the ability and energy displayed by Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence, Mr. J. Lawrence, Lieutenant Edwardes, and Lieutenant Lumsden, during these transactions.

The city of Lahore and the neighbouring country remain in a state of perfect tranquillity."

The readers of history will pause and ponder with interest over those passages of the above quoted dispatch which record the cheerful co-operation of the Sikh troops. In a subsequent letter (No. 7, November 21st, 1846) Lord Hardinge himself draws particular attention to the incident:—

"The conduct of the Sikh troops, under the same officers that led them so lately in their invasion of our provinces, now employed in carrying out the conditions of the Treaty of Lahore, (and perhaps the least palatable part of those conditions,) under the instructions of British officers, cannot but command your admiration."

Properly considered, this feat of compelling the culpable Lahore Durbar (with the chief conspirator at its head) to make over, in the most marked and humiliating manner, the richest province in the Punjab to the one man most detested by the Khalsa, was the real victory of the campaign, and its achievement must continue an enigma to every one who remembers, that this national penance was performed by 10,000 Sikh soldiers at the bidding and under the guidance of two or three British officers within eight months of the battle of Sohraon.

The following letter drops the curtain on the first act of the drama :—

No 7.

The Governor General to the Secret Committee.

{Extract.}

Camp, Nairce, November 21, 1848. (No 55.)

"On closing my last letter to you, relative to the affairs of Cashmere, I stated my confident hope of being able, when I next addressed you, to announce the complete occupation, by Maharajah Golab Sing, of the Province of Cashmere.

That hope has been realized. The Maharajah entered the capital on the morning of the 9th of this month, and was, when the last accounts came away, engaged in arrangements for the administration of the country.

The arrival of Maharajah Golab Sing in Cashmere is described by Colonel Lawrence as by no means displeasing to the inhabitants of the province, who were loud in their complaints of the tyranny and oppression of Sheik Imamooddeen.

Sheik Imamooddeen left Cashmere, according to his promise, on the 23rd of October, and reached the camp of the Governor-General's Agent at Thanah on the 1st instant.

Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence's letters of the 1st and 2nd of the month describe what passed at his first interviews with the Sheik, who placed in Colonel Lawrence's hands three original documents, purporting to be instructions from the Minister Rajah Lall Sing to the Sheik, to oppose Maharajah Golab Sing; and to the officers and soldiers in Cashmere, to be faithful and obedient to the orders of the Sheik.

On the return of Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence to Lahore, which will take place before the end of the month, a strict investigation will be made into the authenticity of these documents, and into the conduct of Rajah Lall Sing, in respect to the Cashmere rebellion—the result of which inquiry, and the proceedings I may think it necessary to adopt in reference to the circumstances and facts that may be elicited, I shall report fully hereafter.

My present intention is, that Mr. Currie should proceed to Lahore, to meet Colonel Lawrence on his return, when the investigation will be conducted by these officers in concert—and when, it is probable, a formal application will be made by the Chiefs, in the name of the Maharajah and themselves, for the continuance of a British force at Lahore."

The third paragraph of this letter is one which must have been read with the liveliest satisfaction by our countrymen in England, who had been taught to believe that the rebellion of Sheikh Imam-ud-din was an insurrection of the people of Kashmir against the sovereign who had been forced on them by the British Indian Government. Even in India, that part of the Press which was opposed to the policy pursued in the Punjab, for a long while maintained that it was a national movement; the fact being that *from beginning to end of the rebellion not a single Kashmiri took up arms on either side*, but looked on at the struggle with the unmixed alarm of a cowardly and degraded yet industrious people. To them both armies were alike odious, for they disturbed the peace of the valley, destroy-

ed trade, and *made rice dear*. Moreover they felt certain that whoever the conqueror might be, the Sheikh or the Maharajah, their fate would be the same, viz. to be squeezed to the utmost possible extent, unless protected by the British Government.

It being our constant desire to register in these pages those passing contemporary facts which may one day become the materials of history, we are happy in being able to subjoin the following memorandum of "The army of Sheikh Imam-ud-din," as it was in Kashmiri, when besieging the Hurri Purbut:—

Regular soldiers, in the pay of Sheikh Imamoodden.—	11,350*
Sikhs, Punjabees, Hindostanees and a few Roheylyhs.	
Hill men, followers of the Kukka Bhumba, and other	4,250
Kohistanee chiefs, who came down from the mountains	
to assist the Sheiks	
Total...	15,600 men.

So much for the insurrection of the Kashmiris:—

No. 8.

The Governor-General to the Secret Committee.

(Extract.) *Camp, Sham-Chourassie, December 4, 1846. (No. 57.)*

"In my last dispatch I announced the occupation of the Province of Cashmere by the troops of Maharajah Golab Sing.

The British force which I had moved up to the Chenab River, amounting to 11,000 men and 24 guns, have returned to Lahore and our own provinces, having, in concert with the Sikh troops and those of the Maharajah Golab Sing, accomplished all the objects which I had in contemplation when the movement was ordered. I was anxious that this force should move out of the Punjab before the investigation into the Sheik's conduct in Cashmere should commence, in order that there should be no appearance of resorting to military coercion on that occasion, or in any of the subsequent proceedings at Lahore.

Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence has with his usual activity, returned from Cashmere to Lahore.

It will be gratifying to you to learn, that the conduct of the Maharajah throughout the late operations, is described by the Political Agent as most satisfactory. His Highness has acquiesced in several proposals most judiciously made to him by Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence, for the purpose of ameliorating the condition of the people, as well as for the more regular and liberal payment of His Highness' troops.

The Maharajah has agreed to continue to the Hill Chiefs all jagheers, granted to them one year before the Sheik Moheooddeen's death, and further to remit one-fifth of the tribute formerly paid by all to the successive Sikh Governors.

The Chiefs of Rajourie and Jesrotas have received assignments of land bordering on the British territory; and, with two exceptions which are satisfactorily accounted for, all the Chiefs of the Hill districts have made their submission to the Maharajah.

* In this are included 500 men brought by Mirza Fakir Ullah, of Rajawur.

It may be considered an indication of the confidence of these Chiefs, and of the good understanding which exists between them and the Maharajah, that although His Highness offered to give up lands upon the guarantee of the British Government that the stipends agreed upon should be paid to any of the Chiefs who preferred to reside in the British territories, all expressed their willingness to remain under his Government.

I am also in hopes that arrangements will be made with the Maharajah, by which the cultivators of the soil in Cashmere may be relieved from much of the oppression which they have hitherto experienced whilst under the Sikh rule, by the custom of re-selling at an arbitrary rate that portion of the crops taken by the Sovereign as his revenue.

The Maharajah distinctly pledges himself to relinquish the practice of trading on his own account in the produce of the country, which, if persisted in under an arbitrary Government, cannot fail to impoverish, and ultimately ruin all classes of his subjects.

The Maharajah has issued proclamations for the levy of customs at points fixed on the frontier, and for the abolition of inland duties. His Highness has also determined upon assembling the heads of villages, with the view of fixing, in concert with them, the rates at which the Government grain shall be sold.

The Maharajah has at the same time consented, that the crime of infanticide, prevalent among the Rajpoot population in his dominions, shall be strictly prohibited under severe penalties; and that he will use his best endeavours to abolish the rite of Suttee.

I shall take every opportunity of encouraging His Highness to persevere in these good intentions. The population of Cashmere, since the conquest of the country by the Sikhs, has been brought to so low a state of poverty, as to render extortion no longer profitable. The means of plundering the people have been exhausted; and I confidently expect, under the Maharajah's government, that their condition will improve, as His Highness is too sagacious not to discover his own permanent interest; and it is but just to state, that, according to the testimony of recent travellers, the peasantry under the immediate rule of the Maharajah around Jummoo, are in a superior state of comfort to the ryots of the petty chiefs in the hills."

Our next extract from the Blue Book completes this part of the subject; and shews that, by whatever barbarities, Goolab Singh may have raised himself to power, he is not incapable of making a good use of it. If he realize but half of the picture here drawn of his Lahore Government, he will be entitled to a place among the most enlightened Asiatic rulers :—

Inclosure 1 in No. 8.

*The Governor-General to Frederick Currie, Esq., Secretary to the
Government of India, with the Governor-General.*

(Extract.)

Camp, Hoshiarpore, November 23, 1846.

"In my dispatch to the Secret Committee of the 19th of September, in which the probable necessity of exercising a direct and active influence in the Government of Lahore is discussed, I stated that it was my intention, before I undertook such a line of policy, to depute you to Lahore, for the purpose of receiving full reports of the real state of affairs, having the utmost confidence in your experience, sound judgment, and ability, and

to associate Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence with you in such mission, since which period that officer has, by his energy and talents, justified all my anticipations, by overcoming the difficulties which had arisen out of the Cashmere insurrection.

You will, therefore, be so good as to make your arrangements to proceed to Lahore on a special mission as the representative of the Governor-General, where you will meet Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence, the end of this month.

The first question which will require your immediate attention, will be an investigation into the conduct of the Sheik Imamooddeen, in resisting, by force of arms, the execution of the Lahore Treaty, relating to the cession of the Province of Cashmere. *The line of defence which he has adopted, by asserting that he has acted in obedience to the orders of the Lahore Government, of which he was the servant, will indirectly, but substantially, place the Vizier Rajah Lall Sing on his trial.*

The whole of the papers and documents having passed through your department, you are fully apprized of all the details, into which I need not enter. The result, however, of the investigation, will probably produce important consequences as affecting the Government of which the Ranees is the head as Regent, and the Rajah Lall Sing the Vizier.

If it be proved that the Vizier secretly encouraged the Sheik to violate the Treaty which the Lahore Durbar was bound faithfully to carry into effect, the immediate consequence of this betrayal of duty to the Maharajah Duleep Sing, and of good faith to the British Government, will be the deposition of the Vizier.

If the authenticity of the documents produced by the Sheik, in palliation of his own criminal conduct, be disproved, that individual must take the consequences of his own misdeeds; but it is apparent, from the nature of the papers which he has produced, that *the investigation will in reality be the trial of the Vizier Rajah Lall Sing and the Durbar.*

The conviction of the Lahore Government in being implicated in a gross and violent infraction of the Lahore Treaty, might, if pushed to the extreme limit of our right, lead to very serious consequences; *but it is not my intention to make the Lahore State responsible for the misconduct of one or more individuals*, when there is every reason to believe that the misconduct is to be attributed to personal hatred of the Maharajah Golab Sing, and not to any political combination to violate the Treaty with the British Government. The individuals, however, who may be implicated must be held responsible for their conduct in this transaction, whatever may have been the original object of the intrigue. *I am, however, disposed to give to the chiefs and to the Sikh soldiery, the greatest credit for their meritorious conduct, in promptly and loyally obeying the orders they received to march to Cashmere, under difficult and adverse circumstances, cheerfully acting under the advice of British officers.*

This praiseworthy conduct will be prominently brought forward in the letter to the Maharajah, apprising His Highness of my intention to depute you to Lahore; and I need scarcely observe, that the good temper and cordial co-operation of the Sikh troops under Sirdar Tej Sing, in the accomplishment of an object in which they might naturally be expected to act with reluctance, *is an atonement, as far as the State is concerned, for the breach of the Treaty by a servant of the Durbar, if I am to assume that the Vizier is implicated in the Sheik's misconduct.*

It is, however, clear, that the investigation will compel the Vizier and the Durbar, publicly to vindicate their conduct.

It, therefore, becomes an object of importance, that the forms and mode

of the investigation should be carefully considered. With the experience you possess while presiding in our courts of law in the Regulation Provinces, I have no doubt you will deem it to be an essential object, so to arrange the inquiry into the Sheik's conduct, in concert with the Lahore authorities, *that there shall be no ground for suspicion in any quarter as to the fairness of the proceeding.* The trial is that of a public officer of the Maharajah's, who on certain conditions, surrendered himself to the Political Agent of the British Government. It is very difficult to devise a mode of trial which is not open to some objection. The justice of the case, however, will require that you, Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence, and Mr. J. Lawrence, should, in the presence of the Durbar and Chiefs assembled for the purpose, state that a flagrant breach of treaty has been committed by Shiek Imanoodeen, the servant of the Lahore Government, of which the British Government has just reason to complain, and that, as he pleads in justification of his conduct, the orders he received from his own Government, it will be necessary to proceed in so grave and important an inquiry with all due forms of deliberation. And I need scarcely recommend that the minutes of all the proceedings be recorded with the utmost precision.

In the event of the Sheik succeeding in exonerating himself, by proving that he acted in obedience to the orders of the Vizier, the Rajah's deposition from power, and his immediate exile from the Punjab into the British territories, will be demanded, under such arrangements as may be determined upon, after the whole case has been fully investigated.

In the latter case, it is probable that the interposition of the Rancee in his favour will be attempted, and that Her Highness will not consent to his exile without great reluctance.

Facilities may be afforded, arising out of this state of things, to deprive Her Highness of power. The great scandal which Her Highness' intercourse with the Vizier has caused, has rendered her government as Regent odious to the people; and her deprivation of power would be justified, on the ground that the notoriety of her profligacy has been carried to an extent which disqualifies her for the duty of acting as the Regent of the Lahore State during the minority of her son.

If the British Government should be called upon by the Chiefs to act in behalf of the minor, for the preservation of the Raj, and the maintenance of tranquillity, there can be no doubt that *Her Highness must cease to have any authority as Regent, her conduct being so abandoned as to be a serious impediment to the success of any Government."*

The next letter commences Act the 2nd. The Sheikh having made good the promise of his Vakíl Púrun Chund, and given up the written orders to rebel which he had received from Rajah Lal Singh, it became necessary to ascertain their authenticity or falsity. This some people deny; the same people who justify "the conquest of Sindh." They say that the papers had nothing to do with the question: and that reading them even was quite a work of supererogation; that the Lahore Durbar should have been held responsible for the acts of Sheikh Imam-ú-d-dín, in the same way that Mír Rústüm was held responsible by Sir Charles Napier for the non-delivery of the two penny post in his dominions! And herein to us consists the value of the present Blue Book that it shews what a stride the British India Government has made in

political morality since the conquest of Sindh. We just note *en passant* for the benefit of our readers the following

Pleasing Discrepancies.

SIR CHARLES NAPIER.

"My dawks have been robbed either by your orders, or without your orders. If you ordered it to be done you are guilty; or if it was done without your order, you are not able to command your people, and it is evident they won't obey you. In either case I order you to disband your armed men; and I will myself see in Khyrpur, that you obey my order."

LORD HARDINGE.

"The conviction of the Lahore Government of being guilty of a gross and violent infraction of the Lahore treaty might, if pushed to the extreme limit of our right, lead to very serious consequences; but it is not my intention to make the Lahore State responsible for the misconduct of one or more individuals, &c. &c."

MR. SECRETARY CURRIE.

* * * * *

"I was resolved when there was a breach of treaty, whether great or small, I would hold all the Amirs responsible, and would not be played off like a shuttle-cock, and told *this* was done by one Amir, *that* by another, and so have a week's enquiry to find out who was responsible for the aggression."

"— it is our intention to place the Rajah immediately under surveillance in his own house, under charge of Sirdar Tej Singh, the Commander-in-Chief, holding the latter responsible for his safe custody, pending your instructions, and intimating to the Durbar that it is not your intention to visit the offence on the subordinate members of Government personally, or to allow this treachery of the minister to his own Sovereign (involving though it does an insult to the British Government) to affect the relations which have been entered into with the Maharajah."

The sentiments above proclaimed by the British Government beyond the Sutlej, are calculated to raise it in the eyes of the Native Princes, as much as those published beyond the Indus were to destroy all confidence in British justice. The advocates of annexation may still maintain that Lord Hardinge committed an error in not taking the Punjab in February 1846; for that is a mere matter of *policy* and *opinion*: but even if Lord Hardinge had seen reason to alter his convictions—if he had come to regret that he had not annexed the Punjab at first, we trust there are few Englishmen who will say, that after entering with Maharajah Dhulip Singh into the treaty of March 1846, he would have been justified in seizing upon the Kashmir rebellion as an opportunity for rectifying his error. This point is no matter of opinion; it is a matter of national *honour*, affecting every native state with which we are in alliance; for it is a question whether the word we pledge in all our Indian treaties is the mere literal word of a

professed hair-splitting lawyer, or the honest word of an Englishman which means the idea that it conveys. *Legally*, there can be no doubt, that the Governor-General might have held this language to the Durbar. "By Article IV. of the treaty of 9th March, you were bound to cede to the British the province of Kashmír. Instead of ceding it, your Governor held it against the Governor whom the British appointed, to receive it, and put us to the expence of taking the field with an army. It is true that you also hurried up troops to make over Kashmír to Maharajah Golab Singh; but this was either to keep up appearances and prove that the Sheikh was acting without your orders; or else you were alarmed at the serious light in which the British looked at the affair, and made over Kashmír only to save the rest of your dominions. It is true also that British officers accompanied those troops, and led you to believe, that even at the eleventh hour, if the transfer of Kashmír should be effected, no more would be said about the matter. But this was only a little *ruse de guerre*; and you are now formally apprised that the Governor-General considers the act of any one of your servants, as the act of the state; that the Maharajah must be punished for either the duplicity of Rajah Lal Singh, or the rebellion of Sheikh Imam-úd-dín; and that consequently he will be treated as the infringer of treaties, and his dominions be annexed to British India."

This language, we say, might *legally* have been held by the Governor-General; and the last paragraph in particular (wherein the odium of infringing the treaty is transferred to the other party) would have been thought rather smart and dexterous by the old school of diplomacy.

But put it beside the passages we have quoted in our "Pleasing Discrepancies," and it must be acknowledged that the principles laid down by Lord Hardinge are both honester in themselves, and offer a broader basis for political relations. The one is the justice of a Shylock; the other of a Portia. A British treaty of friendship and alliance should be felt to be a *rock* beneath any native state with which we have relations: and a quibbling construction put upon its terms be looked upon as a mine driven into it by night. Peace would then be able to alight on certain ground; and not stand a-tip-toe, with wings half-folded and half-spread. On the other hand the Political authorities would do well to define their own principles; to see clearly where they are leading us. For the question intrudes itself, "How far does this generous justice go?" Is it with the individual Maharajah Dhullip Singh

alone that we have made a treaty? And if all the Sirdars and all the army conspire together and intrigue against or attack us: are we merely to banish the former to Hindustan and disband the latter, if it should appear that a child of nine or ten, or twelve or fifteen years of age did not organize the plot? Are we to conclude in short (for it comes to that) that the new treaty of December 1846, which is limited to the nonage of the Maharajah, must necessarily, arbitrarily, and under any possible circumstances of treason in the Punjab, be binding on us to the very last, *because* Dhulip Singh is a minor, and it is not right to make him responsible for the acts of ministers who are ruling in his place? This question requires an answer; and will probably be the first which Lord Hardinge's successor will strive to resolve by perusal of his farewell minutes. It is much to be hoped that that nobleman will leave no doubt on this interesting point: but meet the difficulty which his own policy has created. Cordially approving of that policy, we yet see no reason why having avoided the Scylla of questionable absorption, we are to rush head-long into the Charybdis of Quixotic endurance. *It is with the Lahore State and not with Maharajah Dhulip Singh, that we have entered into alliance. The Sikh chiefs and jaghirdars, the merchants and the people; the possessors of the land and its riches; and the army whose discipline vouches for their friendship, and whose excesses represent their enmity; these are they whom we forgave in March 1846; to whose interests we were faithful in December of the same year; whom we distinguished and separated from Rajah Lal Singh, a traitor as much to them as to us; whose rank we ought to respect, whose jaghirs we ought to confirm, whose pay we ought to secure so long, and so long only, as in bodies they are true to us.* A hole-and-corner conspiracy, an individual treason, or even an occasional bullet should not be visited on the state; such things happen both in London and Paris. But if in the harem by his mother's side the boy-sovereign imbibes unconsciously hatred of Rajah Lal Singh's deponents, instead of gratitude to the restorers of his own throne; if as time flies on, parasites should find in him a second Nao Nihal, and persuade him ere the down sprouts on his lip, that he is quite equal to governing the Punjab; if year by year as the treaty draws near its close, Sikh feeling should revive, and the memory of Sikh anarchy decay; if the cowed Sirdars, who in December 1846, shrunk from another contest with the Khalsa army, should, in 1850, think we have reduced it to their own level, and that it is just strong enough to conspire with, just weak enough for them to rule; if, in short, it ever comes to pass, that the

Durbar and the army grow weary of our honesty, and our economy, and either with or *without* the sanction of the Maharajah, combine to throw us off in a spirit which would render *friendly relations hopeless*, and restore our frontier to the condition that it was in before the war—then no voice will be louder than ours for “punishing the state,” and annexing the Punjab, though a Royal Minor be the lord of both.

In the above remarks, we have endeavoured to shew that it was an honest policy to bring Sheikh Imam-ud-din and Rajah Lal Singh to trial, that the guilt of the Kashmir rebellion might be brought home to one of them; than to annex the Punjab as a punishment for an assumed breach of the treaty of 9th March, 1846.

We come next to the way in which it was done. The trial of the Sheikh and Vizier determined on, Lord Hardinge deputed Mr. Currie to Lahore, with the intention apparently of his being president of a commission of which Colonel Lawrence, C. B. and his brother, Mr. John Lawrence, (then officiating agent at Lahore) were to be the British members. We say “the *British* members,” for the Governor-General’s direction to Mr. Currie, “so to arrange the inquiry into the Sheikh’s conduct, *in concert with the Lahore authorities*, that there shall be no ground for suspicion in any quarter as to the fairness of the proceeding,” shews that His Lordship contemplated the possible necessity of associating with those officers some members of the Durbar. In this way, at all events, Mr. Currie must have understood Lord Hardinge; for in his reply he writes—“I have consulted with Lieut. Col. Lawrence, C. B. and with Mr. J. Lawrence upon this subject, and we have determined that it is impossible to associate any of the members of the Durbar with us as judges of the conduct of Sheikh Imam-ud-din.”

If Lord Hardinge had not left it an open question, Mr. Currie would not have consulted anybody about it, or given Lord Hardinge his reasons in detail for not doing what he had no authority to do. In the end, however, no Sirdars were placed upon the commission; but two more British officers, Major General Sir John Littler, K. C. B. and Colonel Goldie. Mr. Currie’s reasons are given in full in the following extract:—

“I have consulted with Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence, C. B., and with Mr. J. Lawrence, upon this subject, and we have determined that it is impossible to associate any of the members of the Durbar with us as judges of the conduct of Sheikh Imamooddeen. His plea and grounds of defence are known to all; and they directly implicate the Durbar; the matter at issue

being, whether he was, or was not, acting in accordance to their instructions in forcibly opposing the occupation of Cashmere by Maharajah Golab Sing, and in raising the rebellion in that province.

Neither could we associate with us other Chiefs not members of the Durbar. In the first place, this would be calling on the subjects of the Lahore State to sit in judgment on the acts of their Government, and in the next, it would be impossible to find any Chief who is not a friend or enemy of the Vizier, and interested either in his conviction or acquittal.

The only mode of fairly redeeming the promise under which Sheik Imam-ooddeen surrendered, and of doing impartial justice to all, appears to us to be, that the Sheik's conduct and defence should be investigated by a tribunal of the British officers, in the presence of the parties interested in the result of the trial.

I have, therefore, requested General Littler to join us in this inquiry, and to nominate another intelligent officer of high rank, also to act as a member; and we propose that the Court shall consist of myself as President, Major-General Littler and Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence, Mr. John Lawrence, and Lieutenant-Colonel Goldie, (the officer General Littler seems to desire to name,) as members.

Rajah Lal Sing, with all the officers of the Durbar, and most of the leading and influential Sirdars of the State, will be requested to attend. The investigation will commence at 8 A. M. to-morrow, and I have every reason to hope will close by the afternoon, when the result in full detail will be communicated to you."

This account of the arrangement seems to us to be straightforward and satisfactory: the reasons given are such as without the aid of "the Blue Book" most probably suggested themselves to every mind on first perusal of the trial in the columns of the *Delhi Gazette*. A most extraordinary objection has however been raised by a Calcutta contemporary in reviewing the papers before us;—to wit, that the trial was not *judicial*—the constitution of the court not *legal*! What does "*The Eastern Star*" mean by not *legal*? Does he literally mean not according to law? And if so, of what law is he asserting the offended Majesty? The law of England; the law of the regulation provinces; the law of Mahommed; or the law of the Dharma Shastras? Does he stickle for the criminal being tried by twelve men or five? by a jury of his peers or a punchayat of elders? If he had given the matter a second thought, how inapplicable is all civil law from the laws of Manu to the Acts of Parliament, to the trial of political offenders in general; how particularly inapplicable to an inquiry between two foreign states whose domestic laws seem *illegal* to each other. No civil law that we are aware of was violated by either Sheikh Imam-ud-din or Rajah Lal Singh: as agents of the Lahore Government they sinned against the law of nations which stands upon the broad basis of mutual justice, unconfined by technicalities, and open to common sense. It was not a matter for attorneyship at all; and to say that the

trial was *illegal* is nothing to the point. The object was simply to do justice to both governments; not to act up to the terms of a "statute;" to decide between two ministers of a friendly state who mutually accused each other of violating treaty, which was the guilty party; or whether either or both of them were acting under the instructions of their sovereign and our ally. To do this a *lawyer* was not wanted; but a court of sensible and honest men, with the courage to return a verdict according to their judgment. It is right that the public should be told what chance there was of finding such men in the Lahore Court. The Durbar, out of which the *Star* regrets that Lal Singh's judges were not chosen, was composed of his *enemies*; of old Sirdars, or the sons of old Sirdars, among whose shoes he had once stood beyond the carpet; who detested him as an upstart; who would not have submitted to his assuming the Vizirut in September 1845; whose hatred had been exasperated a thousand-fold during the last year by his greedy appropriation of their jaghirs; and who had consoled themselves during the last three months of his administration by such ill-concealed plots for his destruction on the retirement of the British, that even Lord Hardinge in his letters anticipated his murder. Amongst them were three who had actually sworn to take his life: and a fourth who, removed by Lal Singh from the Nizamut of Peshawar *was marching on Lahore with troops to avenge the insult* when the rebellion in Kashmir broke out. Amongst them also, it is fair to add, that there were *two* men who were the Rajah's friends: but whether they would have assisted him if they had been on the jury may be reasonably doubted, since though present in the court at the trial, neither of them had the courage even to "speak to character." The only man indeed of the whole Durbar who defended the Vizier's conduct was Dewan Dina Nath; but that it was *ex officio* as "*Queen's Counsel*," and not as a friend, would appear from an anecdote we have heard; that after the trial was over, when the chief Sirdars retired to Mr. Currie's tent to hear the verdict of the court; and *nemine dissentiente*, voted for the Rajah's deposition; Dewan Dina Nath was the very first to call the attention of the other Sirdars to the necessity of confiscating his property without delay, and seizing his relations; an agreeable duty which was confided to, —whom does the *Eastern Star* suppose?—*one of the Rajah's two friends!* It is clear, therefore, that though there might have been much *law*, there would have been little *justice* in handing over the Vizier to the tender mercies of his peers.

But suppose that the Vizier had been as popular in the Durbar as he was odious; can any one who has been six months in India, and once in a Judge's Cutchery, doubt for a moment that the very fact of putting the Vizier upon his trial would have been equivalent to packing the jury? The maxim that every man is innocent until he is proved guilty; and the possibility of his character coming out even brighter from the fire; are niceties which natives do not understand; and the difficulty increases in exact proportion with the rank of the offender. An accused minister in the East is as good as a condemned one. The arraignment of Lal Singh before a jury of his countrymen would in their eyes have been an unmistakeable expression of our opinion; the whole jury would have considered his ruin as determined on, and worshipped the rising Sun by a verdict of "Guilty," even against their friend. Of this we are so confident that we think the political authorities would not have been justified in bringing Rajah Lal Singh to trial at all, unless morally convinced of his guilt themselves, and prepared with the means of convincing others; but the trial once decided on, it must be esteemed the most conclusive proof of their fairness, that they excluded from the tribunal, men well capable of forming, but utterly incapable of expressing, an opinion. Nay, more, it is our conscientious belief, that had Rajah Lal Singh been offered the choice of five British Officers, or a jury of his peers, to try him, he would have unhesitatingly chosen the former, and exclaimed in alarm, "save me from my friends."

In shewing that the danger of employing the Durbar as judges, was not that they would *acquit* Lal Singh, but *convict* him *coûte qui coûte*; we trust we have thrown a new light upon "the course pursued in forming at the capital of an ally, a court for the trial of the minister of the country in which no single native had a voice."* But should the above explanation still seem insufficient, we would draw the attention of every one who has a doubt about the matter to one simple circumstance of the case which has been entirely overlooked, viz.—that the enquiry into the causes and origin of the Kashmir rebellion was purely for the information and satisfaction of the British Government; an unanswerable reason for its being entrusted to British officers. An article of the treaty between the Lahore and British Governments had been so grossly violated that in appearance, as Lord Hardinge unmistakeably hints, it was sufficient "if pushed to extreme," to justify his declaring that treaty null and void, and proceeding to annex the Punjab. But

* "Eastern Star," Calcutta, Saturday, May 29, 1847.

Lord Hardinge had every reason to believe that the Lahore State was innocent in the matter; and he was honestly desirous of ascertaining the truth; that he might know exactly on what ground he stood. And surely no one is so infatuated as to believe, that "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth," was to be expected from any number of pliable Sirdars from two up to a million? As it was, the Governor-General was assured by five public servants of high standing and character that he had no cause to regret his alliance with the Lahore state; Rajah Lal Singh alone being in their opinion the proved originator of the rebellion. Upon this, the British Government, instead of an uncalled-for aggression, accepts the atonement of a bad minister's disgrace.

We have entered thus fully into the objections raised by the *Eastern Star*, not only because we have over and over again said that our pages are offerings made in a truthful spirit to the future historian of our times, and we deem it essential that the trial of the Lahore Vizier should be understood as a precedent; but because we believe our able contemporary to be sincere in the entertainment of opinions, which are founded on imperfect knowledge, and must vanish before explanation. Other and less scrupulous contemporaries there are, whose opinions are more hostile to the policy under discussion, but less worthy of correction. Indeed the generous conqueror of the Punjab, the maintainer of the dynasty of Runjit Singh, and the scrupulous interpreter of treaties, might not thank us for involving him in the good opinion of such public writers as are not content to admire, but must needs justify "the conquest of Sindh;" who defend the hunting down of old Mir Rústum: subscribe to the Napier theory of treaties;* recommend the dethronement of every native prince in India: and the abrogation of "the *perpetual* settlement of Bengal!"

The thread of the narrative cannot be better taken up than with the following concise summary of Mr. Currie's; to passages in which we have drawn our reader's attention by italics:—

Inclosure 1 in No. 9.

F. Currie, Esq., to the Governor-General.

MY LORD,

Lahore, December 5, 1846.

In continuation of my letter to your Lordship of the 2nd instant, I have the honour to report that, on the afternoon of that day, the members of the Durbar, with the more influential Chiefs, came to my Durbar tent, when I

* Vide Sindh Blue Book; *passim*, but *ex. gra.*; Inclosure one in No. 279, October 17, 1842.

requested Khaleefa Noorooddeen to read aloud to them your Lordship's khureetta, and then explained to them the mode we proposed to adopt for conducting the investigation into the truth, or otherwise, of the statements made by the Sheik Imamooddeen.

The Chiefs unanimously assented to the propriety of the measure, and declared that no other mode of investigation would be so satisfactory to themselves.

They all expressed their desire to be present, and it was arranged that the investigation should commence at 8 o'clock the following morning.

Accordingly, soon after 8 o'clock on the morning of the 3rd, the Sheik having come from his camp at Shahderrah, and the Chiefs being assembled, the proceedings were commenced.

The court, if I may so call it, was composed of myself, as President Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence, C.B. Major-General Sir John Littler, K.C.B. John Lawrence, Esq., and Lieutenant-Colonel Goldie, 12th Native Infantry, as members; and the proceedings were taken down for record in English by Captains Broome and Edwardes and Ensign Hodgson, and in Persian by the Meer Moonshee of my office, an officer of the Agency, and one attached to the establishment of Mr. John Lawrence. The proceedings were also taken down in Persian by Dewan Deena Nath and Vakeel Rao Kishen Chund, on the part of the Durbar.

The court was crowded with Chiefs: a list of those present is given with the detailed record of proceedings. *Your Lordship will see that there were sixty-five principal persons, exclusive of followers and Vakeels.*

I was never present in a more orderly or attentive assembly.

The examination of the evidence adduced by Sheik Imamooddeen in support of his statements occupied the first day till 3 in the afternoon. We thought it better to close the proceedings for that day, and give the Durbar time and opportunity to prepare their defence. The court, therefore, adjourned till 8 o'clock yesterday.

On its reassembly, all were again present, and several military officers also—a few only attended on the former day, not knowing that they would be permitted to do so.

The defence was then entered on by the Durbar, and occupied no less than two hours.

The proceedings in detail are inclosed for your Lordship's information.

A separate paper, drawn up by me, being an abstract of the proceedings, with our opinions on the evidence, and our unanimous decision as to the guilt of Rajah Lall Sing, also accompanies this letter. This paper is signed by all the members of the Commission.

It did not appear to me expedient that our decision should be proclaimed in that crowded and mixed assembly; I, therefore, proposed that the members of the Durbar, excepting Rajah Lall Sing, with the more influential Chiefs, being the heads and representatives of the principal families, should adjourn with us to my own tent. A list of these parties, twenty-two in number, will be found with the proceedings.

I went through the whole of the evidence, carefully and deliberately to this assembly, and explained to them our decision, and the circumstances on which it was grounded.

I then, at once, explained that your Lordship had directed me, if Sheik Imamooddeen established his assertions, to state that it was not your intention, in consideration of the circumstances mentioned in your later instructions, to consider the misconduct of the Vizier as a violation of the Treaty, and as involving a termination of the relations which had been established between the two Governments, *provided the other members of the Durbar and the chiefs disclaimed participation in the offence; but I stated that*

your Lordship did, in the event of the Rajah's conviction, demand his being forthwith deposed by the Maharajah from his office of Vizier, and held under surveillance pending your Lordship's further orders, as it was manifestly impossible that the Government of the Maharajah could be carried on with any prospect of success by one who had proved so faithless to His Highness' interests, or that the British Government could continue to act in concert with one who had so grievously offended against them.

All were unanimous in determining his immediate deposition from the Vizierut, in expressions of approbation of your Lordship's justice and gratitude for the consideration and kindness of the British Government.

It was then agreed by the Sirdars that Rajah Lall Sing should be detained in the Durbar tent till his followers were removed from the Fort and Palace, which were to be placed under the charge of Sirdar Tej Sing, Dewan Deena Nath, and Sirdar Shere Sing, the brother-in-law of the Maharajah. On the relief of the Rajah's guards from the Palace, and the substitution of troops under Tej Sing, it was determined that Rajah Lall Sing should be escorted by a company of the State troops (Tej Sing's) to his own house in the town, without returning to the Palace.

All this was effected without the slightest trouble or disturbance of any kind. Colonel Lawrence, accompanied Sirdar Tej Sing with Dewan Deena Nath and Sirdar Shere Sing to the Palace; and Lieutenant Edwards, at the request of Sirdar Tej Sing, accompanied Rajah Lall Sing to his own house in the town.

Rajah Lall Sing is now under surveillance of Sikh troops, at his own house, awaiting, by the Chiefs' desire, your Lordship's orders as to his future disposal.

The government is to be carried on by a Commission composed of Sirdar Tej Sing, Dewan Deena Nath, Sirdar Shere Sing, and Khaleefa Noorooddeen, till some further arrangement is made. The seal of the Maharajah has been for the present deposited, at the joint request of those persons, with Colonel Lawrence.

Everything is to-day as quiet in the town as if nothing of interest to the people had happened, and the deposition of the Vizier is said to have given universal satisfaction.

The necessary proclamations to the provincial governors and district officers were issued before the Sirdars left my tent yesterday afternoon.

I have, &c.

F. CURRIE.

The Prime Minister conducted as a prisoner to his house by the Sikh troops,—nay, we believe, by his own guard of honor;—and the signet of the Royal minor deposited for safest custody with the British agent: are minute circumstances full of meaning, and which will not escape the eye of the historian.

Rajah Lal Singh's pet project was the creation of a devoted body guard of foreigners and Mussulmans who were to bear him scatheless through revolution. The whole power and wealth of the crown had been at his disposal for nine months; he had raised, equipped and drilled in the English fashion, four new infantry corps, and two troops of horse artillery; and lying perdu in the suburbs of Lahore were between 2,000 and 3,000 Afghan sowars, sworn on the Koran to defend the Brahman Vizier! Yet his own escort led him a prisoner from the

council tent; and all the benefit he derived from their swords was that they cleared the streets of Lahore for him, to pass to the place of his confinement. The incident of the seal is equally significant. The very first emblem of power was a stumbling block to the Sirdars; to which of them was it to be given in charge? Even for a day or two until arrangements could be made to carry on the Government, the jealousy of the other chiefs would not allow one of their number to be trusted with the all-powerful signet, which gives and which takes away. All felt that it would be safe only with a British officer. After this, what augury was wanted to foretell the destiny of the Punjab.

Our space will not permit us to reprint the evidence, and our remarks are only intended as a running commentary on the Blue Book. But we subjoin these three papers on whose authenticity or falsity rested the proof of the Rajah's treason:—

No. 1.—*Translation of a perwanna from the Lahore Government to the officers and soldiers under the command of Sheik Imamooddeen.*

“By the grace of God.”

Sign manual of Rajah Lall Sing.

To the officers, and sepoy, and non-commissioned officers under the command of the Governor Sheik Imamooddeen Khan Behadoor in Cashmere.

Seal of Maharajah Duleep Sing.

This order is now sent to you, and after receiving it you will remain with the Governor Sheik Imamooddeen Khan Behadoor, doing the work of the State; and whenever he returns to the presence, you shall be kept on in the service as before. Have no fear, therefore, but remain with the person in question. This is an imperative order. Consider your welfare as my care.

Dated 15th of Sawun, 1903, (or 28th of July, 1846.)

[N. B.—The original MS. is in the handwriting of Mūnshi Ruttun Chund of the long beard. The last sentence “consider, &c.,” and the date, are in a different hand.]

No. 2.—*Translation of an Ikrarnamah, or deed of promise, accompanying Letter No. 1.*

“By the grace of God.”

Sign manual of Rajah Lall Sing.

I hereby promise that if my friend Sheik Imamooddeen Khan Behadoor, with good-will and fidelity to his proper masters, duly performs the task imposed upon him in a separate letter, my whole interest shall be exerted to secure him from being called to account by the British Government. Whatever allowance either he, or his jagheerdaree horsemen, or the Sheik, his late father, received from the Lahore Government, the same jagheers, and something added to them, as a reward for service, shall be assigned him in the Lahore territory. By the grace of God I will not fail to fulfil this that I have written.

Dated, Lahore, 12th Sawun, 1903, (or 25th of July, 1846.)

[N. B.—The original MS. is in the handwriting of Lala Púrun Chund, No. 8.—*Translation of a letter from Rajah Lall Sing to Sheik Imamooddeen.*

Doubtless you will have perused the contents of my former letter.

My friend, you are not ignorant of the ingratitude and want of faith which Rajah Golab Sing has exhibited towards the Lahore Sirkar. It is indeed sufficiently glaring. I now write, therefore, to request, my friend, that you will not set before your eyes the example of your late father's former intercourse with the aforesaid Rajah, but consider both your duty and your interest to lie this way, and inflict such injury and chastisement upon the said Rajah, that he shall have reason to remember it. It is to be hoped that if the Rajah makes but one false step, he will never be able to re-establish himself again. For your security and confidence, my friend, I have sent you a separate written guarantee, that you may have no misgivings as to the consequences. Let me hear often of your welfare.

P.S.—Tear up this paper when you have read it.

Dated 13th Sawun.

[N. B.—The original MS. is in the handwriting of Lala Púrun Chund. The envelope in which the letter is inclosed is separate; and separate from that again is a slide of paper which closes the envelope; and on this latter is on one side, part of the direction to the Sheikh, and on the other, the sign manual of Rajah Lall Sing.]

We did not intend extracting from the Court's abstract of the proceedings any more than their remarks on the authenticity of the three documents quoted above; but on reperusal the whole summary of the evidence seems so concise and complete, and the argument upon it so admirable and convincing, that we should do injustice to the subject, if we curtailed it of a line:—

Abstract of Proceedings, with remarks and decision.

"The statement of Sheik Imamooddeen is to the effect that he received secret instructions from the Vizier Rajah Lall Sing, through his confidential agent Poorun Chund, to resist the occupation of Cashmere by Rajah Golab Sing, and to create disturbances in the province; that he replied in a matter of this kind, the mere letters of Poorun Chund would not be sufficient for him to act upon, he must have a writing from the Rajah to himself, and a paper to assure and guide the troops, and that he subsequently received the three papers which he delivered to Colonel Lawrence at Thana, and that he considered these papers his warrant for raising the rebellion which he had headed, and in which Vizier Luckput Rae and others were killed.

The proofs adduced by Sheik Imamooddeen in substantiation of his statement, are these :—

1. A letter said to have been written to him by Rajah Lall Sing, desiring him to create disturbances in the Province of Cashmere and oppose the occupation thereof by Maharajah Golab Sing, dated 13th Sawun.

2. An ikrarnameli, dated 12th Sawun, which accompanied the said letter, engaging to maintain him in his jagheers and to intercede with the British officers for his Julunder property, and promising further reward to him and to his followers, if he did as directed in the letter.

3. A perwanna from the Durbar to the officers and soldiers in Cashmere, exhorting them to exert themselves and do good service (khidmut) at the bidding of the Sheik, without fear of consequences, and promising in that case, that they should be continued in service when they came to Lahore.

4. The evidence of Poorun Chund, in corroboration of the statement of the Sheik, as to the nature of the communications which passed between Rajah Lall Sing and the Sheik, through him, his confidential agent at Lahore, and as to the authenticity of the documents.

5. The evidence of Dewan Hakim Rae, a confidential servant of the Durbar, who was deputed from Lahore in August, to bring away the Sheik from Cashmere.

Translations of the above letters and paper, and a transcript of the evidence in full, are in the proceedings.

The above is the evidence adduced by the Sheik, the examination of which occupied the whole of the first day.

On the second day Dewan Deena Nath, on the part of the Durbar, read from notes a paper to the effect that, from the date of concluding the Treaty, the Durbar had at once set themselves to work to carry into effect its provisions, and that in no instance had anything been done in opposition thereto; that in regard to Cashmere measures had been taken to put the officers of the Maharajah Golab Sing in possession of the province, and that as early as May last, the Hurree Purbut was made over to Luckput Rae, the Maharajah's Vizier, who had given a dukkulanameh (a deed acknowledging possession), which he had with him and would produce. In evidence of these assertions, copies of several perwannas to Sheik Imamooddeen, written on different dates about April and May, peremptorily directing him to make over the province and the forts, according to the terms of the Treaty, were produced, the authenticity of which the Sheik did not deny; an urzee from the Sheik to the Durbar was also read (admitted by the Sheik) acknowledging the receipt of these orders and stating his readiness to obey them, but urging the difficulties of settling his accounts with the Maharajah, and making the necessary arrangements in accordance with the Treaty, and requesting a few months' delay. This urzee is dated 1st Bysack, early in May.

The defence then proceeded, in reference to the statement of Dewan Hakim Rae, to state that several perwannas had been sent to that officer from the Durbar to hasten on his way and to perform the service on which he had been sent to bring away the Sheik. Some of these were produced, and admitted by Dewan Hakim Rae. It was urged that Hakim Rae having, contrary to the orders of the Durbar, made culpable delay in proceeding to Cashmere, had concocted the story of secret instructions to exculpate himself.

The next point referred to was the facility of forging signatures, and the great difficulty in detecting such forgeries; in proof of which two orders on the Lahore Pay Office were put in, on which it was asserted pay had been issued on the faith of the signatures being that of Rajah Lall Sing, and which proved afterwards to have been fabricated. (The signatures were clumsy imitations.)

The defence then referred to the evidence of Poorun Chund, in regard to the ikrarnameh and letter, in his handwriting, to the Sheik, and stated that it was never the custom of the Durbar, or Vizier, to send an order or important communication to a principal in the handwriting of his confidential agent, but usually the Durbar Moonshees only wrote these orders or communications, but that sometimes other parties, but never the Agents of the parties addressed. (To this Sirdar Shere Sing Attareewala dissented, and told the Dewan that he knew the facts to be otherwise.)

The defence concluded by general observations of the kindness, consideration, and mercy, shown by the British Government to the Maharajah and to the Durbar and to all its members, and dwelt on the improbability, not to say impossibility, of their being so mad as to do an act which must endanger not only themselves and their prospects individually, but must affect the interest of the Maharajah and the existence of the Government. It is stated that this was one of the machinations of Maharajah Golab Sing, whose creature the Sheik was, and had always been, and that this infamous plot was contrived by the Maharajah for the destruction of the Durbar.

Dewan Deena Nath stated that he had nothing further to urge, and the Sheik was asked if he had anything to say in reply. He stated, in reference to the assertion, regarding confidential agents never being employed to write to their principals, that he had numberless letters from the Rajah to himself, written by Poorun Chund, which the Rajah could not, if produced, deny; that two of these he had given to Colonel Lawrence at Thanah (these were with Colonel Lawrence's office, which has not yet arrived, and could not be produced,) and that he had one with him which he requested might be examined, and shown the Rajah. This was a letter written to the Sheik, in the hand-writing of Poorun Chund, and bearing the signature of the Rajah, evidently corresponding with those in the letter and ikrarnameh. This communication was apparently sent in April or May. It began by lamenting that the province of Cashmere had been made over to Golab Sing, but stated, that as such was the will of the British Government, it could not be helped. It told him, that when he had made over charge of the Government to the new possessors, he should come to Lahore, where all kindness and consideration would be shown him, and arrangements for his future provision would be made. (The Rajah admitted the authenticity of the letter.)

The Sheik requested that Poorun Chund might be examined as to the important matters in which letters had been written by him in the name of the Rajah, and as to the extent to which the Rajah trusted him. This was assented to. Poorun Chund then commenced disclosures of secret affairs in which he had been employed by the Rajah to write to the Sheik, and other parties, to bring about the murder of Rajah Heera Sing and Pundit Julla, and relative to his having been employed to negotiate the sale of gold stolen from the palace when the Rajah was Toshakanneah, but these being foreign to the question at issue, the Court did not think it right to allow him to proceed.

The Sheik said he had nothing further to urge.

With regard to the first letter produced by Sheik Imamooddeen, it is in the hand-writing of Poorun Chund, and not of any of the Durbar Moonshees, but it bears the signature of the Rajah, to all appearance. The Rajah denies this signature; and though, from a comparison with a great many other undoubted and admitted signatures of the Rajah, there seems no reason to doubt its authenticity, it is difficult to prove judicially its genuineness. The genuineness of the letter itself, as to the instructions of Rajah Lal Sing, must rest mainly on the circumstances of the case which will be adverted to more fully hereafter.

The ikrarnameh is also in the hand-writing of Poorun Chund; it bears a

date differing one day from that of the letter, which accompanied it; this circumstance is satisfactorily explained by Poorun Chund, in his evidence; and the fact of this difference of date is not to be lost sight of; a person fabricating two documents connected one with the other, and concerning the same transaction, stated to have been sent and delivered by the same bearer, would not be likely to make them of different dates, and thus to render an explanation of their discrepancy necessary. The same as was said of the writing and the seal, in the case of the letter, is equally applicable to the *ikrarnameh*. The seal appears genuine; judicial proof of its genuineness, apart from the circumstances of the case is difficult.

The *perwanna* is in the hand-writing of Moonshce Rutten Chund Reshderras, the Durbar Moonshce. Its authenticity is proved by the writer, and admitted by the Rajah. It is a remarkable document; a literal translation of it, with its date, is given in the margin.* This, though not noticed by the Durbar in the defence, was stated by the Rajah, on its being produced, to be the only document addressed by him to the troops in Cashmere, either before or after the rebellion. It is proved by the Durbar Moonshce, that it was written by the order of Rajah Lall Sing, when none of the other members of the Government were present, and that it was written after a private and secret conference, the purport of which he does not know, and at the close of which he was called to write it. The Rajah states that it was written at the request of Poorun Chund, who told him that the Sheik asked for a document to assure the troops, and to promise that they would receive their pay on arrival at Lahore with the Sheik, if they would come with him, and that the Sheik could not come away without the troops, as he was afraid of Maharajah Golab Sing, and of being plundered by the way.

But the purport of the *perwanna* is quite different, *it does not direct the troops to leave Cashmere, and accompany the Sheik to Lahore. It directs them to remain with the Sheik in the performance of service at his bidding, and to have no apprehension.* What assurance and encouragement could the troops require to come to Lahore for their pay?

But if such was the purport and intent of the *perwanna*, why was its existence studiously kept secret from the political officers at Lahore, who were in daily communication with the Rajah about the evacuation of Cashmere, when every minute circumstance in connection with the affairs of Cashmere, was constantly discussed? On the arrival of this *perwanna* a salute was fired by the troops. Shortly afterwards the rebellion broke out, and these troops did perform service with the Sheik at his bidding, by attacking the troops of Maharajah Golab Sing, killing the Vizier Luckput Rae, and putting themselves in open rebellion in the province.

If the Rajah did not intend this to be the result of his *perwanna*, he would assuredly have sent another, explaining what he did mean, and ordering the troops to come away, in direct terms; but he admits that he sent the troops no other communication. If he did not mean the rebellion to be the result of his order, he is still responsible for such result, when he took no means to counteract it. It is altogether impossible, however, to believe, that a document so worded, independently of other

* Be it known to the officers and soldiers and office-bearers, who are under the orders of Ameenool Moolk Sheik Imamooddeen Behadoor, Governor of (appointed to) Cashmere.

At this time the orders of the Maharajah are issued to you. It behoves you on the receipt of His Highness' order, to remain with Ameenool Moolk Sheik Imamooddeen, in performing services for the Government; and whenever you return to the presence, you will be continued in the service. Be assured; have no apprehension. Remain with the Sheik: attend to his order.

This bears the seal of the Maharajah, and the signature of Rajah Lall Sing.

Dated 15th Sawun, 1303 (or 28th of July, 1846.)

circumstances, was intended to be understood by the troops that they were merely to return to Lahore. *If it were an obscurely worded document, which it is not, its meaning must be judged by the result it produced.*

The Rajah states that his perwanna to the troops was sent to Sheik Imamooddeen, at his request. It could not possibly have gone alone. *It must have been accompanied by some perwanna or letter to the Sheik, apprizing him of its having been sent, and of its purport.* The Sheik produces the letter, which he says accompanied it, and which, if true, explains distinctly the meaning of the perwanna and the transaction. *The Rajah denies the authenticity of this letter, but does not produce or refer to any other; and as some letter must exist, and the Rajah has no other to adduce, it is but fair to the Sheik, and in accordance with reason, to suppose that the one produced by the Sheik is the true one.*

The letter and ikranameh, moreover, have all the appearance of authenticity, and their seals of being genuine; *prima facie*, there is nothing but the improbability of the transaction, to throw doubt upon them,—the fact of the transaction is established independently of them by the perwanna. All circumstances favour the belief of their authenticity, and the only attempt made by the Durbar to establish their invalidity has signally failed.

Supposing the letter and ikranameh to be true, *the perwanna to the troops is quite intelligible, and all is in keeping. Assuming them false, and the Rajah's story true, the perwanna, and the reasons for writing it, are altogether inexplicable.*

The evidence of Poorun Chund, as might be expected, tallies with that of his principal, Sheik Imamooddeen. It was given, however, with all the appearance of being true. Every opportunity was given to the Durbar to disprove it, and the only attempt they made to do so, failed. The explanation of the discrepancy of dates is satisfactory.

The evidence of Dewan Hakim Rae is important. He was deputed by the Durbar to Cashmere about the period that the letter was written. He was sent in consequence of the Political officers urging the Durbar to send a special emissary to bring away the Sheik, who was assuming a posture of defiance. It was of importance that he should go with all expedition, and invested with authority to bring away the Sheik. His open instructions were to this purport. He declares that he received secret verbal instructions from the Rajah, directing him to aid and assist the Sheik, who had been written to by him to raise disturbances, and oppose the occupation of Rajah Golab Sing. A vakeel from the Agency was sent with the Dewan, to take him the nearest road, by Jummoo. On learning this, by the written representation of the Dewan, Rajah Lall Sing, ordered him to go by the circuitous route of Bhimber and Rajourie. The Dewan, who was in constant communication with the Rajah, took twenty days in reaching Rajourie, which he could easily have done in seven, and did not reach that place until the rebellion had broken out. His delay was known to the Rajah. Perwannas were certainly sent by the Durbar to hasten on, but no other emissary was sent to enforce the orders, the neglect of which was known; till at last the Political Agent insisted on another officer going, and then Utter Sing was dispatched. The written orders to go by Bhimber and Rajourie, and not as the Political Agent directed, by Jummoo, and the unaccountable delay in reaching Rajourie and Cashmere (he was one month and eight days in going, and fifteen days in returning), tend to confirm the statement which he makes that he received secret orders from the Rajah, contrary to those which were given openly by the Durbar.

The circumstances stated in the defence bear very little on the matter at issue. The only facts stated are: 1st, the orders given by the Durbar to the Sheik, to evacuate the province; 2dly, the perwanna sent to Dewan Hakim

Rae, to proceed on his mission; and 3dly, the practice of never employing an agent to write the letter addressed to his principal. The two first of these are admitted, and they do not affect the case; and the third is satisfactorily disproved by a document admitted to be true.

Upon full deliberation and consideration of the evidence and statements referred to above, we are unanimously of opinion that it is established and proved, that the Vizier, Rajah Lall Sing, did encourage Sheik Imamooddeen to excite disturbance in Cashmere, and to oppose the occupation of the province by Maharajah Golab Sing; and that he did encourage the troops in the province to aid Sheik Imamoodden in the late rebellion.

We do not find it proved that the other members of the Durbar were participators with the Rajah Lall Sing in the above proceeding, or cognizant thereof.

F. CURRIE, <i>President</i> ,	
H. M. LAWRENCE,	
J. H. LITTLER, M.-Gen.,	} <i>Members.</i> "
JOHN LAWRENCE,	
A. GOLDIE, Lt.-Col.	

But one act of the Drama now remains: the one most interesting to all thinking minds, all who believe that the extension of our influence in the East brings good with it to the people.

After the deposition of Rajah Lal Singh from the Vizarut, it was resolved to remove him also from the kingdom. This was rendered necessary by the violent and shameless passion of the Queen Mother. Laying aside even the last appearances of matronly modesty, she abandoned herself to alternate ravings and intrigues; now imprecating like deserted Dido—

"——— Nullus amor populis, nec fœdera sunt."

"Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor."*

—now imploring the Sirdars—the British Resident—*any body*—to restore her lover. It was quite inconsistent with the peace of the Punjab, that the Rani and the late Vizier should both remain in it. Accordingly the Rajah was sent into a merciful banishment at Agra, in the British territory; where he still resides upon a pension of rupees 2,000 a month from the Lahore state.

So far back as September 19th, 1846, we learn from the Blue Book, that Lord Hardinge had determined (in case the Lahore authorities should feel unable to carry on the government, and place themselves in the hands of the British) to refuse positively any further interference, which was not based on the complete control of the civil and military administrations. He would consent only to "a transfer of power from their hands to those of a British officer, residing at the capital, assisted by a native council, and supported by British troops."†

* *Æneid*, Lib. IV. 624.

† Letter No. 2, September 19th, 1846.

For this Lord Hardinge has been blamed. We think if he had not calculated *all* chances, and been prepared for *all* events, he ought to have been *impeached*. He was pledged to withdraw the British troops in December; the Durbar, the Rani, and the Vizier all warned him that in that case the government must fall, and disorganization ensue; i. e., the supreme power in the Punjab would once more return into the hands of the Khalsa Army. Yet the Governor-General of British India was not to premeditate such a catastrophe. Last year the cry was that *he was taken by surprise* in December 1845; that the Sikh invasion found him *unprepared*; that he should have even *anticipated the attack*!

There's a deal of wit in that fable of Æsop's about "the old man, and his son, and the ass." We recommend it to certain oblivious and inconsistent public writers; or (if they prefer their own wit to Æsop's) an occasional reperusal of what they wrote six months ago. On December 9th, 1846, Mr. Currie conveyed to the Maharajah the Governor-General's sentiments as follows:—

"It is now incumbent on Your Highness' Government and the Chiefs who have the greatest interest in the preservation of the Reasut, to decide upon the course which may be deemed best for the interest of the State to adopt, under present circumstances. It is the anxious hope of his Lordship, that such arrangements will be made, as may conduce to the establishment and maintenance of the Government; but it must be clearly understood that *after the experience, during the last eight months, of the misadministration and bad faith of the late Vizier, Rajah Lall Sing, the Governor-General will not consent to leave a British force at Lahore, beyond the stipulated period, for the sake of supporting a Government which can give no assurance of its power to govern justly as regards its people, and no guarantee for the performance of its obligations towards its neighbours.* It behoves Your Highness and the Sirdars of the State, to be most careful in the reconstruction of the Government, either by the appointment of a capable Vizier, or by such other course as may be deemed most expedient: in these arrangements the British Government can exercise no interference, but the Governor-General will be ready, if required, in accordance with the terms of the Treaty, to give the Government of Your Highness the aid of his advice and good offices, for the furtherance of his interests of the Lahore Government.

The Governor-General, however, considers it incumbent on him to caution Your Highness and the Sirdars of the Reasut, that *his Lordship is determined to hold the Lahore Government responsible for the tranquillity of the frontier, and that he will not permit the renewal of a state of anarchy, misrule, and military insubordination, similar to that which existed last year.* His Lordship is anxious that the British Government should always continue in terms of peace and amity with its neighbours, but it must hold the neighbouring State responsible that a state of things adverse to the interests of British subjects and destructive of the tranquillity of the British frontier, shall not be permitted to prevail within it. My friend, I have communicated to Your Highness these friendly sentiments of the Governor-General, which have their origin in a sincere desire for the welfare of

Your Highness' Government, and I feel satisfied that, by following the advice of His Lordship, Your Highness will secure the happiness and prosperity of yourself and kingdom."

And the Maharajah thus replied :—

"As the Governor-General is desirous of maintaining this State, it is not proper that the whole of the British force stationed here should be put to further inconvenience and annoyance. Nevertheless with regard to the necessity for establishing the Government of the country, and the fact of the time for the withdrawal of the troops having arrived, it is hoped, *that the Agent, with two battalions, and one regiment of cavalry, and one battery, may be allowed to continue for some months*, during which, what still remains to be done to complete the organization of the Government in an efficient manner may be effected; and there can be no doubt that Colonel Lawrence will, according to the provisions of the Treaty, give every aid and assistance in establishing the Government."

In other words the Sikh Sirdars wanted to have a continuance; to vaccinate Maharajah Dhulip Singh from the arm of the little boy at Gwalior.

Mr. Currie assured them that there was no hope of their being assisted to tyrannise, and insured against insurrection,—that melancholy birthright of the oppressed! The Sirdars were invited to Mr. Currie's tent to hear in detail on what terms alone the Governor-General would any longer assist them in governing the country. We quote his own words :—

"If solicited to aid in the administration of the Government, during the minority of the Maharajah, the British Agent must have *full authority to interfere in, and to control all matters, in every department of the State*, for the benefit of all connected with the Reasut.

In such case every attention would be paid to the feelings of the Sikh people, to preserving the national institutions and customs, and to maintaining the just rights of all classes. *No changes in the details of administration would be made not necessary for obtaining these objects, and these details would be conducted by Native officers, as at present, who would be appointed and superintended by a Council of Regency, composed of the leading Chiefs and Sirdars, acting under the control and guidance of the British officers.*

The administration of the country would be conducted by this Council of Regency in the manner determined on by themselves in consultation with the British officer, who would have full authority to interfere in, and to direct the duties of every department.

The members of this Council of Regency, once chosen, would not be liable to be displaced or changed without the concurrence of the Governor-General in Council.

A British force would remain at Lahore for the protection of the city and country, in such position as the Governor-General should think best adapted for the security of the force, and, at the same time, for the convenience of the inhabitants of the town.

A fixed sum in monthly instalments must be set apart from the revenues of the country for the maintenance of this force.

The Governor-General must be at liberty to occupy any military post or fort with British soldiers which his Lordship may deem necessary for the security of the capital, or for maintaining the peace of the country.

The provisions of the Treaty of Lahore, dated 9th of March, would remain in full force, except as affected, temporarily, by this arrangement, which would have effect only during the minority of the Maharajah Duleep Sing, or such shorter period as should be determined on by the British Government, with the concurrence of the Council of Regency.

On the coming of age of the Maharajah, or at any period prior to that event, when the Governor-General should be satisfied that the interposition of British agency is no longer necessary for the maintenance of the Government, this arrangement would cease. The British troops and officers would withdraw, and the Treaty of Lahore of the 9th of March, would be in full force and operation.

If these principles are agreed to by the Chiefs, minor details may be determined on, and Articles of Agreement, to supersede those of the 11th of March, may be executed."

The "fixed sum" was afterwards defined to mean twenty-four lakhs of rupees per annum. The expences of the original force of occupation were thirty lakhs; and the Governor-General did not think that that force could be prudently reduced; but a generous allowance was made for the difficulties of the Maharajah, and six lakhs short of the estimated expence demanded.

Finally the sum was still further reduced and fixed at twenty-two lakhs. The hard bargaining on this point gives us a high opinion of the financial abilities of Dewan Dina Nath, the Sikh Chancellor of Exchequer; and assures us that Col. Lawrence will have a powerful coadjutor in increasing the revenues and reducing the expences of the Lahore State!

The new articles of agreement of which these were the preliminaries were signed at Lahore on the 16th December; and ratified by the Governor-General at Byrowal on the Beas river on the 26th December, 1846. In them was inserted a provision of 1,50,000 Rs. a year for the Rani; a sugar plum to help down the bitter pill of exclusion from the regency and all political power. In our humble opinion, this was a half measure; and not "a golden mean." The character of Rani Junda was well known. Her life had been spent in the most exciting political intrigues, and the most unbridled gratification of her sensual passions; she was now to be denied both. Physically, and morally, she was to be "cabinéd, cribbed, confined." Then why not get rid of her altogether? If she had been sent to Hindustan at once, it could not have added a grain to her disgust; even if she had been kept at a decent distance from her exiled lover; and it would have effectually prevented her from disturbing the peace, and thwarting those who had succeeded her in authority, instead of which, she has a lakh and a half of rupees put at her disposal. To cross a bad woman's path, and then give her the power to be mischevous, is as misplaced

mercy, as when a traveller who treads upon a snake, relents and lifts his foot to give it an opportunity to escape. The first use the reptile makes of liberty is not to hide itself in the earth, but to bite the heel that bruised it.

We close our extracts from this interesting "Blue Book" with the following :—

"The notification which I have caused to be published of the recent transactions at Lahore contains a statement of the circumstances which have led to the modification of the Treaty. The Articles of Agreement have been inserted in that document. The Sirdars and Chiefs, in coming to this decision, have exercised their own judgment, influenced, no doubt, by the conviction that the interests of the Maharajah and the welfare of the people can best be secured by cultivating the friendship of the British Government.

Acting on the same principle, of maintaining the Lahore Treaty, and of strengthening the bonds of amity and peace, I have undertaken, on the part of the British Government, to carry the terms of the Agreement into effect. No permanent alteration has been made in the Treaty of Lahore; every Article remains in full force, with the exception of the temporary suspension of Article XV. during the minority of the Maharajah.

The interposition of British influence will be exercised for the advantage of the people, and the success of this interposition will be assisted by the confidence and cordiality with which the Sirdars will co-operate with the British Resident.

That Officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence, is well known to the Chiefs, by his energy, talents, and integrity; by these qualities he has conciliated their good-will and respect.

The Agreement ratified this day, as well as the recent events at Lahore, will, I trust, impress upon every State in India the conviction that, whilst the British Government will, by just means, firmly consolidate its Eastern Empire, it will omit no efforts to improve the condition, and promote the prosperity, of all classes of the people.

I also trust, that when His Highness shall have arrived at the age prescribed by law for assuming the government of the country, he will establish his rule on the firm basis of making his people happy, by his equity and justice.

In the interval, the British Government will feel a cordial solicitude in all that regards His Highness' personal welfare."

A word or two, ere we bid our readers good bye on our past and present position at the Sikh Capital.

A drizzling shower of small criticisms has assailed Lord Hardinge's *non-interference* policy throughout the year; and the Lahore Akbars have been diligently searched for items of *interference* to convict him of breach of treaty. We number ourselves also among the "constant readers" of that corner of the *Delhi Gazette* which reports sayings and doings at Lahore; but we never could find that the British authorities had interfered for aught save peace and mercy; objects so holy that we should assuredly forgive a stretch of prerogative to secure them, and when the critics themselves are so divided in opinion, it is rather hard to talk of inconsistency. One writer (Dr.

MacGregor, a great admirer of Sindh policy and Sindh tactics) commenting on the "Cow Row" at Lahore, in April, 1846, blames the Governor-General's agent for *not interfering*, and leaving the punishment of the citizens of the capital to the Maharajah's ministers.* In the end, by the patience of the political officers who would not allow their escort to draw their swords, or to fire a shot, and thus bring on a massacre, the riot subsided; the ringleader, a brahman of notorious bad character, was arrested, tried, and convicted of having led on an armed mob to attack the Governor-General's agent and his assistants; and by the advice of the agent, the Durbar hanged him. Yet another writer called this interference a *murder*! If any one of the British officers had fallen on the occasion in question, we presume it would have been simple manslaughter? As it was, one had his head broken and all were struck; and the connoisseurs in civic riots need not to be told that bullets soon follow bricks. The denouncers of the brahman's murder would perhaps have better understood the case, had they, like Col. Lawrence and his assistants, stood face to face with him and a thousand other armed blackguards "as good as he," all furious with religious excitement, and thirsting for the blood of the Feringhi: if turning to avoid collision and bloodshed, they had run the gauntlet down a narrow street, every house top and balcony of which was crowded with banyahs, tearing up bricks and copings, and hurling them down with right hearty "intent to kill." Strange to say, the very same conscientious journalist, who was horrified at the execution of the convicted malefactor, was, a month after, eloquent upon the folly of interfering in the Kote Kangra affair, and taking the siege into our own hands: the alternative being that if the *fort* was not *given up* by the Durbar, the *Punjab* would be again at our mercy for breach of treaty! Even some impartial writers have been so far run away with by the cry of *non-interference* as to question what right we had to meddle in the Mooltan dispute between Rajah Lal Singh and Dewan Múlraj. What right? Why the right that any one man has to mediate between two others who call him in as umpire: and the obligation of every honest man to repress strife, and make peace when it lies in his power. It would have been a creditable thing truly, for the Governor-General to have refused to be the mediator; to have stuck to the letter, and not to the spirit of the treaty; and said "I am very sorry, but I have pledged myself *not to interfere* in the internal management of the kingdom. Fight away, therefore, gentlemen, for I have also pledged myself to

* "History of the Sikhs," 2nd vol. p. 288.

enforce peace on the frontier; and your quarrel puts the Punjab in jeopardy!"

We take a totally different view of these *interferences*; and congratulate Lord Hardinge and his agents in the N. W. on these eccentric "breaches of the treaty," which in one instance restored peace to the capital and prevented a rising at Amritsur; in another, saved the Maharajah from breaking the treaty with *us*, and so losing his kingdom; and in the third, put an instant stop to a civil war: brought an ill-used and victorious Governor as a suppliant to Lahore; and preserved to the state the services of the best Nazim in the Punjab.

We cannot leave this subject without expressing our regret, that the well-informed and trust-worthy journal, which supplies all India, and we believe all England with North West Frontier Intelligence (the "*Delhi Gazette*,") and which in general so cordially supports the forbearing policy pursued by Lord Hardinge in the Punjab, should not only assert our right, but set forth the propriety of killing cows at Lahore.

We utterly deny both.

The Punjab is not ours; it belongs to the Sikh people: and we have pledged ourselves solemnly by treaty "to pay every attention to their feelings; to *preserve their national institutions and customs*." History tells us that no national institution or custom has been more dearly cherished or more bloodily maintained by the Khalsa, than their veneration for the cow.

The *Delhi's* proposition therefore is simply that we should perjure ourselves, and break the treaty, in order that our soldiers may eat beef.

So much for our *right* to kill cows: the impropriety of our doing so rests on other grounds.

Would it be proper, or would it be humane, during our short occupancy of the Punjab, to sanction proceedings that would inevitably cause slaughter and bloodshed the day we gave the country? If we set the example of cow-killing ourselves, how can we expect to prevent the Mussulman population from doing so too? Then mark the consequences. The offence is *murder* by the Sikh law; and the Sikh law we are bound to uphold.*

Say it is a bad law; still the fact remains the same that it is the law, and that therefore we must maintain it; and just as certainly as any Mussulman would suffer *death* for killing

* In saying this we do not believe, that the political authorities would permit the Lahore Durbar to exact the penalty of a human life for that of a brute beast; but surely they would not interfere further than to commute the punishment of death.

a cow, were we not occupying Lahore; so certainly would the common practice of it under our protection be fearfully avenged by a Mussulman massacre as soon as we departed.

We anticipate here the easy but somewhat profligate jest that, "we shall never depart from the Punjab." In all deference, we do not see the certainty; and should be very sorry to do so: much less should we like to see our authorities acting on such an expectation.

No: in entire good faith, let us act up to the honest spirit of our Sikh treaties; and we may rely upon it that we shall then have the Punjab, and all else that is good for us, as soon as it is our real interest that it should become an integral portion of British India.

In earlier numbers of the *Calcutta Review* we have made confession of our political faith; of our notions of the rights of Indian princes, and the Indian people; of the duties of residents, ministers and kings. We have repeatedly expressed our belief that those three authorities can never work well together; and the Lahore proceedings of 1846 are the latest, if not the strongest, illustration of the fact. But our readers require not to be reminded, that Lord Hardinge consented to the original occupation of Lahore against his own wishes and convictions—and that only at the last moment—in the magnanimous though desperate hope of re-establishing a prostrate state. There was just *one* new and favourable feature in the circumstances of the case which justified trying the experiment of a triumvirate policy again; the king was a nonentity from his age—thus reducing the triumvirate to two; and the minister knew so well that he kept his head upon his shoulders only by our presence, that it was reasonable to suppose there would be but *one* opinion between him and the British agent. But blinded by pride and vanity he "threw to the dogs" the physic of advice. He always accepted but never followed the prescription,—the worst species of intractability either in medicine or morals. Incapable of taking a broad view of his own position, he thought that if he pleased the *Sahib log*, in little things, they would not look closely into great things. Accordingly he cultivated garrison popularity; and made his approaches to the good opinion of John Bull through the old avenue—the stomach. Grapes, quinces and pomegranates from Kabul, oranges from Shalimar; mangoes from Mooltan; ice from the Chumba hills;—all were pressed upon the Generals, Brigadiers, Colonels, Captains, and Politicals. And wild boars were hunted down on the banks, and nets of fish drawn from the waters of the Ravi, to relieve the monotony of the

European Soldier's Barrack fare. Scarce a British officer or soldier in Lahore, but owed him some courtesy or another. From General Littler and Col. Lawrence, down to Jack Sepoy, he was a general favourite; but he drew a fatal distinction between private and public life, and miscalculating the serious earnestness of the English character, made the latter secondary to the former. To watch his policy, one would have thought that "Zeyafut" was the great business of the state; and that a strong Government could alone be maintained by a constant supply of lollipops and sugar candy. It would have been more to the purpose had he paid the Sikh soldiers instead of robbing them; reduced the army which was preying on the vitals of the country, instead of raising body-guards; appropriated confiscated jaghírs to discharging the obligations of the state, instead of to his poor relations; sought to consolidate what remained of the Punjab instead of hankering after Kashmir; and cultivated the friendship of the British government instead of seeking revenge on Maharajah Golar Singh.

But it was not in him to be so wise. His talents had raised him as high as they could reach, and there they left him. He was born the paramour of a queen, not the minister of a king.

We have seen in the "Blue Book," how he fell; and what scheme of Government was projected for the future. The kind friends and "constant readers" to whom the *Calcutta Review* owes so much of its success, will share with us the pride we feel at seeing adopted at Lahore, the system which long ago was recommended in our pages for Oude, which we still recommend for that ill-ruled country; and advise now for Hyderabad.

The system is briefly this. The minister is a British officer; but instead of being as in other despotisms, Commander-in-Chief, and every-thing-else-in-chief, holding all offices in his hands; he acts through a council of selected chiefs and elders; his own and their plans, opinions, and proceedings being canvassed twice a week in open Durbar, attended by all the officials of the Government, and the chiefs present at the capital. All the executive officers of the state remain in *statu quo*: the machinery of Government is in fact the same; though worked by a firmer hand and a single purposed intellect. One organic change we can discover in "The Lahore Intelligence," viz. the appointment of four Sirdars to administer the judicial duties of the four Doabs; to take cognisance of the acts of kardars, and to do justice to the ryot on the spot; appeals

from all, whether high or low, lying to the British Resident and his assistants. This is an institution as new as it must be beneficial to the people, if kept pure from bribery, by occasional circuits of the political officers.

That the change has even in these few months effected much good is deducible from the fact that we read no more of the Khalsa army. Reduced to a constitutional number, routed out of Lahore, and dispersed by single regiments or Brigades over the country, they now keep the peace of the provinces, instead of revolutionizing the capital. We should not know of their existence, if it was not for the regular issue of their pay;—at least as gratifying to *them*, we suspect, as to us.

Are we too sanguine in hoping ere long to hear of a revenue assessment, however rough; something to define quotas; and what is to be given by the ryot?

Civilization has already made its great "*premier pas*" at Lahore! A gibbet has been erected near the Delhi gate, and some fifteen or twenty murderers and highwaymen swing thereon as a warning to their brethren.

At Peshawur, the key of the kingdom, we read that the best parts of General Ayvabile's code have been again brought into play, after an almost total suspension of justice for three years.

We may, therefore, reckon that there is both vitality and energy, in the administration; the want of which was what we most apprehended. Those who remember Sirdar Lenah Singh taking ignoble refuge in Calcutta during the troubles of his country; or have read of Sirdar Tej Singh's declining battle at Ferozshah, might be excused if they despaired of a lion's heart in the breast of the new Governor of the lawless Manjha! or of finding courage enough in the "Commander-in-chief" to preside at the Council Board in times when the army was to be reduced.

Fortunately there has been no jobbing in the selection of the British *Corps Diplomatique*. From the Resident to his *ministres extra* (who baptised the appointments?) we believe they have all been chosen for their abilities, and not their blood; practical men who know their duty, and fear not to do it.

In the arduous but noble enterprise in which they are engaged, may their efforts be crowned at the end of the eight years of the treaty, by the delivery to a grateful sovereign, of a flourishing country, a contented people, and an overflowing treasury, by the firm establishment of a friendly Hindu power between us and Mahommedanism, and by the happy consciousness of having secured the peace of India.

THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW.

- ART. I.—1. *Report on the state of Public Instruction in Prussia*, by M. Victor Cousin, translated by Sarah Austin. London, Effingham Wilson, 1834.
2. *On the state of Education in Holland*, by M. Victor Cousin, translated by Leonard Horner, Esq. F. R. S. London, John Murray, 1838.
3. *The Training system of Education, religious, intellectual and moral*, by David Stow, Esq. &c. &c. Sixth Edition. Glasgow, Blackie and Son, 1845.
4. *Letters from Hofwyl by a parent, on the Educational institutions of De Fellenberg*. London, Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1842.
5. *Religion in connexion with a National System of Institution*, by W. M. Gunn, one of the masters of the High School, Edinburgh, Edinburgh, Oliver and Boyd, 1846.
6. *The Quarterly Journal of Education*. Vols. I-X. London, Charles Knight, 1835.
7. *General Report on Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency for 1845-46*. Calcutta, W. Ridsdale, 1846.

THAT it is the duty of a Government to assist in educating the youthful portion of the population under its care is a principle recognized by our rulers in the establishment of the existing colleges and schools; and its being so recognized, renders it unnecessary for us to point out the grounds of the obligation. If an education is to be given, however, to the people of India, it is unquestionably of the utmost importance that *that Education* should be of the best possible description, and hence the utility of such discussions on the subject as are likely to elicit truth; hence, too, the wisdom of reform in, or addition to, the existing system, when the necessity of such has been established.

In connexion with education man presents himself to our notice under three different aspects—as an *individual*, as a *social being*, and as a *citizen*, or member of the state—and, in

each of these distinct characters, education has to him a special and separate relationship. The child, considered as an individual, is a compound animal, consisting of a mind and body—both necessary for the fulfilment of its duties in the world, and both demanding the attention of the philanthropist and educator. To the former, as being the nobler part, education more especially directs its attention, for instinct in a great measure performs what is requisite for the other without external aid. If we figure to ourselves an infant left alone in some region of the world favorable to its preservation and growth, advancing to maturity without intercourse with its fellow-creatures, and consorting only with the inferior animals, we shall obtain some idea of what an individual becomes *without* education. Whatever the natural talent or capacity of that man's mind might have been, whom we have supposed to be reared under such circumstances, can we believe that he would in his individual character differ very much from the inferior animals around him? Subject to the same bodily wants he would unquestionably devote his entire time to the supply of those wants. If his mind were unusually active, it would probably suggest questions, as to his origin and destiny which his obvious inability to answer would doubtless soon cause him to dismiss from his thoughts. Whilst his body received from him every attention, and was the object of his peculiar care, his nobler part would remain in a state of inaction or bootless activity, and the more would he be assimilated to the brute creation, the more striking this result. Such would be the influence of a total want of education on the individual in an extreme case. That this result is not a mere fanciful creation of the imagination, a cursory contemplation of the condition of the uninstructed natives of New Holland or America will suffice to establish—cases in which we see an almost complete neglect of the higher and nobler part of man, combined with its invariable concomitant, an approximation to the brute creation. From these facts we may safely draw the conclusion that man rises in the scale of creation precisely in proportion to the cultivation which he bestows upon that part of his compound nature which distinguishes him from the inferior animals, and that in proportion as he neglects it, he sinks in the scale of animated nature.

Constituted as society is, however, in Europe and even in India, it is impossible for any man to grow up to maturity without receiving *some* education from daily contact and intercourse with his fellow-creatures. As soon as the infant lips commence to lisp forth the first accents of language, the second

great instrument of impression on the mind is opened to those around it. The actions which the infant has previously observed have probably left little impression on its facile mind, but with the first distinct articulations commence a conformity and adaptation to the attendant circumstances and influences. The kind of thoughts, the manner of thinking, the peculiar bias are all usually impressed upon the million by those surrounding them in their infancy, and through the lingering course of their sixty or seventy years of toil, this kind of thoughts, this manner of thinking, this peculiar bias continue to exert each its own indestructible influence—the result being, in nine hundred and ninety-nine instances out of every thousand, that the individual lives and dies a wild and untameable North American Indian, an energetic and grumbling Englishman, or an acute and bigotted Hindu, according to the country in which he happens to be born, and the society with which he happens to be surrounded. So much is man the creature of circumstance and accident! True, a Luther in one age, a Rammohun Roy in another, may burst these fetters and disregard these influences, but we are speaking now of the rule not of the exceptions.

If the education thus given by society were the best that we could desire, or the best possible, there would be little wisdom in governments taking the trouble, and incurring the expense of systems of national instruction;—the misery, the folly, the mental degradation of the masses of the people, when uneducated, are proofs as lamentable as they are convincing, that the influence of uninstructed society is any thing but salutary; that man when left to himself invariably employs his higher powers, not as the guides and controllers of his inferior nature, but as its instruments and subservients.

If then a want of education leads to such lamentable results, in the case of the *individual man*, what is the consequence of educating him properly? The consequences are momentous to himself and his family—they are of importance too to the state in which he lives. As an individual, a *true* education will, in the first place, elevate him in the scale of creation, by the cultivation of that nobler portion which constitutes him a *man*, and raises him above the mere *animal*. It opens to him the purest and truest sources of enjoyment. As an animal he is instinctively acquainted with the pleasures of the body, as a man education acquaints him with the pleasures of the mind. The very exertion of the intellect in itself is a pleasure, just as the exertion of the body is a pleasure when used in moderation. These pleasures of the mind too are such as he can

enjoy under the most disadvantageous circumstances. Who can contemplate the unfortunate Raleigh composing his History of the World in prison without feeling that if educated, he has a resource to which he can look for comfort, and even happiness, when the world would perhaps pronounce him miserable, because it frowns upon him? To the man whose daily life is one continued scene of toil and bodily exertion, education opens the calmest and purest enjoyments at those intervals when a cessation from labour would otherwise leave him deprived of all employment, and sink him into a condition of brutal lethargy. Nor is it to such alone that it is of importance. To the man engaged in commerce, whether in its higher or lower branches, education suggests a means whereby the deteriorating influence of constant gain-seeking may be arrested and removed, and in which he may learn to take as much, or more delight, than in the acquisition of riches. To those in the highest sphere of life too the advantages of a trained intellect and well-tutored mind are beyond measure valuable as affording occupation for their constant leisure and thus taking them away from degrading pursuits. To the people of India of all classes and castes, these remarks are peculiarly applicable. The nobility, if duly instructed, we may fairly presume, would leave the contemplation or pursuit of visionary schemes for the delights of literature, and would endeavour by the improvement of their properties to raise their countrymen around them to a level with those of more highly favored nations, whilst the diffusion of a sound education amongst the inferior ranks must result in the elevation of the people religiously, morally, intellectually, and physically.

To the individual man, however, education presents advantages infinitely greater than any that we have yet noticed. It should fit him not for this world alone, but for one also where no physical incumbrance will tie him down to the world of sense. It should fit him for that nobler destiny which is reserved for man—the enjoyment of a high spiritual life hereafter; and if it does not do this, or at least attempt to do it, it neglects its highest and noblest office. And surely if in civilized Europe, where, whatever be the errors spread abroad, any ancestral systems of an absolutely demoralizing tendency are certainly not imbibed with the first impressions of childhood—if, *there*, a religious education is considered necessary to the development of the individual character,—if enlightened Prussia, Holland, France, and Scotland find that the inculcation of religious and moral truth is absolutely necessary for the well-being of the country, how much more in India, where the youthful native

from the very dawn of childhood is surrounded by the types and shadows of an abominable, a demoralizing superstition and idolatry ! But there are difficulties in the way, it will be replied ; doubtless there are, for if there were not, India must be an exception to the general rule. There are difficulties in the way of carrying out every great measure of reform whether in Asia or Europe ; but that the difficulties in the present case are by no means insuperable, we have only to cast our eyes around us to discover.

Nor are the benefits conferred by a true education upon man in a *social* point of view less important than those which it offers to the individual. We need not here expatiate on the lamentable results which ensue from the example of demoralized parents, in influencing the characters and conduct of their children—who is surprized for an instant when he hears that the son of the robber has turned out a thief—the son of a drunkard, a drunkard—or that the son of a tyrant is cruel ? Is it not indeed almost a proverbial form of expression, that *although* such a man's father was depraved, yet that he is not so, or that *although* the father was vicious, yet the son is virtuous ? expressions which plainly intimate the conviction in the minds of most men that the prevailing disposition of the parent is likely to influence, in 'no ordinary degree, the character of the offspring. In connexion with India, this view of the case is peculiarly important, for never, probably, was a people so entirely moulded by its ancestors into a peculiar form as the natives of this country have been. Regard for a moment the Englishman of 1847 and the Englishman of 847, in connexion with each other. What a contrast in almost every respect do they not present ! Compare the Hindu of 1847 with the Hindu of 847, and a similarity almost amounting to an identity will be perceived.* True, this is the result of other causes acting in concert with the influence of a race on its posterity, but we cannot, after such a contemplation as this, assert, with any semblance of truth whatever, that the influence of the parent on the child is *less* in India than in Europe.

If we glance at the peculiarities of the social relationship in India we cannot but conclude that if education have any influence on social man at all, it must be all-important for this country. No intelligent Hindu, even at the present day, can speak of these peculiarities without regret. The demoralizing influence of the practice of polygamy, the early age at which

* We speak, of course, of those Hindus not directly subject to European example and influence.

the matrimonial contract is entered into, the exclusion of female from general society, the small influence for good possessed by the mother, her exclusion from all the advantages possessed by the father in the control and direction of the family—these and numerous other circumstances will suffice to prove to us that if there is a social revolution required any where, it is in India. Education promises to be the means whereby that revolution will be most surely, although quietly, brought about.

On man, as a member of the state, education must exercise considerable influence; some will have it that this influence is anything but salutary, and that although education makes man a better individual, a better son, father, or friend, it makes him a worse citizen. Where injustice is openly sanctioned or connived at by "the powers that be," doubtless this is the case, and, under such circumstances, it is unquestionably the best policy of a Government to withhold education. But where the Government is just, where security of life and property is granted, where justice is not a thing to be bought and sold, in fine where public opinion, expressed by a press or otherwise, exists, *there* the state invariably gains by the elevation of its members. Every one is fond at the present day, of appealing to facts in support of his conclusions, and these triumphantly bear out our assertion. Are the best educated countries the most turbulent and riotous? Far from it. Prussia, Holland, and Scotland may convince us of the contrary. But, we have heard it argued, that the circumstances of India are so peculiar that education here cannot but prove pernicious. The educated Hindu, say these reasoners, will be a discontented, turbulent individual—educate the mass, and you make so many enemies to the established Government. Doubtless it may be so if the education be merely an intellectual one—unregulated by moral and religious motives and principles. But were the education such as all really sound, comprehensive and enlightened education ought to be, we might reasonably expect the very contrary. Were this result attained, we should then be prepared to take the case of the educated Hindu to decide whether these allegations be true. What does history inform him, was the condition of his country under its Native or Mahomedan rulers? Was justice then more impartially administered? Were life and property more secure? Was the commerce of the country more flourishing? Were its inhabitants more happy? None of these questions can be answered in the affirmative, and the educated Hindu cannot but perceive this. He cannot avoid the conviction that supposing the existing Government overturned, there is no power in the

country capable of eradicating the wide-spread superstition with which it is cursed, nor any capable of imparting such a unity to the entire peninsula as would render it a great empire, supposing that superstition to remain. When all India is Christian, and all its inhabitants elevated, it will be time enough to talk of the danger of enlightenment.

Looking at the question of the education of the people of India in a purely political point of view, we cannot but conclude that the teaching of the Christian Faith would be an important instrument in the political regeneration of its numerous inhabitants. There can be no question that the adoption of that Faith by Europe was one of the means by which its civilization and enlightenment were brought about, why then should it have a different effect upon India? Would the supercession of the gross system of superstition which now prevails by the general adoption of the pure doctrines of Christianity be likely to entail any other than the most important advantages to the country politically and generally? and how much less would there be to fear, morally and politically, if instead of bringing up a race of infidels, all our schools and colleges were laying the foundation of a Christian race in the extensive plains of India?

Having then glanced at the relationship in which education stands to man as an individual, as a social being, and as a citizen, let us next enquire in what a true education consists. Evidently in a due cultivation of the *religious* or *moral*, the *intellectual* and the *physical* nature of man. As a being composed of an aspiring soul, and a body which ties that soul for the present to the earth, man demands such a cultivation of his nature, and, as we should consider it unreasonable and impolitic to develop his physical, without exercising his intellectual, powers, so also should we consider it unreasonable to develop these latter without ministering instruction to that principle within him which yearns after something higher, purer and more excellent than the world can afford. The cultivation of the intellect *alone* has a tendency to contract this principle; to lead man into a proud reliance upon his carnal reason, and to make him adopt *that* alone as the rule of his life,—a tendency which never fails to land its possessors in the haven of infidelity—probably of atheism. We have seen what the effect of such a reliance has been upon a great nation in modern times, and its consequence. The French revolution, with all the profanity, atheism, and debauchery which preceded and accompanied it, was the result. The existence of *some* religion amongst all people, accompanied as that religion

is, either by disgustingly barbaric rites, or those of a more pure order, *proves* that this aspiration of man is not the result of education as some will have it, nor of intercourse with the world. Call it superstition if you will, still it is an attribute of humanity, a feeling, a longing, an aspiration, which, if not directed and guided in infancy, may lead its possessor into the most lamentable errors. True, it may be weakened, if not destroyed and eradicated, by constant exertions of the intellectual powers opposing it, but though an individual, a nation or an age, may thus succeed in repressing it, it *will* break out again in some form or other, for it is a part of humanity.

Religion, then, viewed as supplying an essential want in the nature of man, or as indispensable to the full development of the powers and susceptibilities of the soul, ought to have its due place in any truly large, liberal, and beneficial scheme of tuition. Now, since it is demonstrable that the prevailing system of religion, or rather idolatrous superstition in India, cannot possibly co-exist long with any really enlightened system of intellectual culture; and since it is equally demonstrable that Christianity—altogether apart from the paramount consideration of its being the only authoritative Revelation from God—is the only religion that can maintain its ground and permanently co-exist with, direct and control any such enlightened system of intellectual culture,—it follows that Christianity ought to be the grand regulating element in the moral and religious department of any educational course, that is expected to be fraught with the greatest and surest blessings. This, however, we at present record, merely as our matured opinion of what is necessary to constitute a complete education, considered abstractly and by itself, as well as what ought to be uniformly aimed at in practice. That there are practical difficulties in the way of giving full effect to so large and comprehensive a scheme, both in this and other lands, we very well know. But it does not fall within the scope of our present design to expose the nature of these difficulties, or to shew how they may best be obviated. By referring to a former article in this work,* it will be seen how easily the said difficulties have been surmounted in the neighbouring island of Ceylon; where the people are, in many respects, as much attached to their own ancestral faith as the natives of Continental India.

Few probably will deny that *intellectual* development is also a constituent part of a true education; on this point indeed

* See Art. VI. No. X. Government Education in Ceylon.

the probability is, that most people in India fall into precisely the opposite error to that which we have just pointed out relative to the religious part of it, and consider that intellectual cultivation comprises *all* that is necessary. This we consider an error not less lamentable in its effect than the former, but it is one which must be the result of prejudice not of reasoning. To argue the point would be a waste of words.

Lastly, a true education comprises *physical* development, a branch very much neglected in the existing institutions. Whatever that mysterious link may be which attaches the mind of man to his body, certain it is that such a link exists, and that the unhealthiness or prostration of the latter seriously confines the exertions of the former. The *mens sana* every one admits is desirable, and that it is an object, the attainment of which should be aimed at in our early years, whilst the *corpus sanum* is too frequently neglected altogether. In India where the climate is indisputably unfavorable to the proper development of the body, there is the greater necessity that we should pay particular attention to it in youth, especially so when it is an undoubted fact that the habits of those attending the Government colleges and schools, in private life, are anything but favorable to the promotion of health, vigor, activity or strength of body, nor can we avoid attributing much of the superior energy of character in Europeans to their superior physical development.

Having thus endeavoured, in a few words, to shew what a true education consists in, let us now briefly investigate the peculiar laws which govern it, more especially in reference to our present subject. They may be shortly condensed into three, the first of which particularly refers to the point we have just been discussing. It is, *that a PARTIAL development of man's nature is by no means desirable*. The day has long gone by, when it was the true policy of a state (if indeed it ever were so) to cultivate or develop in its citizens one particular class of faculties and none other. The education of savage nations, with their characteristic barbarity, inhumanity, and debauchery will serve to convince us of the dreadful consequences of nurturing the physical powers and animal passions of man alone, leaving untouched and neglected his higher intellectual, moral, and religious qualities. Yet this is the cultivation which plausible enthusiasts of France and Germany at one time advocated! probably, however, more from a propensity, urging them to singularity, and a desire to excite attention, than from any settled conviction of the truth of the assertion. Sparta will afford an instance of the hardy virtues and

unblushing vices which a military education alone will impress upon a people—the bloody maxims, the tyrannical habits, the abominably loose principles acquired by a state when its sole object is to make soldiers. Athens, with its immorality and disorder, its fickleness and vice, exhibits the effects of a high intellectual education, when combined with a system of superstition, perfectly powerless on the mass. That state in which literature was almost perfected, which, in the arts, surpassed all others, and in which intellectual cultivation was certainly superior to any thing which a *state* or *city* has ever since displayed—that same state has left the record of its crimes, the evidence of its want of principle and firmness,—a melancholy proof that intellect, intellect in its highest development, without religion, is not sufficient to guide the mass—a proof that the highest physical and intellectual developments are worse than useless without a corresponding religious development. History, then, warrants us in boldly asserting that, not only is a partial development of man's nature undesirable, but, also, absolutely hurtful.

The second of our three laws will not probably receive the immediate assent of our readers, it is, that *in proportion to the excellence of the system of education in a country will be the excellence of the community.* History and experience we maintain will establish the truth of this principle. The North American Indians are distinguished by great contempt of death, extraordinary sagacity in war, an indomitable love of freedom, and a proneness to excessive sensuality. These facts are attested by innumerable witnesses to their ordinary life. Their education (we use the term throughout in its widest acceptation) fully explains how it is that this character is stamped upon them. In the first place, they are brought up from their infancy to despise danger and pain. This contempt is urged upon them continually as a *virtue*, and the consequence is that their own exertions go hand in hand with the instructions of their teachers to produce this frame of mind. Combined with this contempt for bodily ills, they see their fathers accustomed to look upon the most sagacious of their order as superior to the others, whilst a very short experience in their peculiar kind of warfare tends to prove to them the value of that sagacity; they accordingly endeavor to attain it, with what success, let the astonishment of Europeans at the exhibition of their powers in this respect, attest. In their infancy and youth they daily see examples of the excessive pride of their fathers, and of the older members of the tribe. This pride they esteem in the end as a virtue befitting man well, and especially befitting

an orator or warrior, the two demi-gods of their admiration, and the result naturally is that they prefer loss of life to loss of liberty or any minor dishonor. Lastly, they see their fathers working for their own, and their tribe's advantage, they see them revelling in intoxication when they can procure the "fire-water" of the "pale-faces," and gratifying their baser propensities to excess whenever an opportunity is given. Without any guiding star of morality, without any religious dogmas of a pure or spiritual nature to keep them in awe, they regard this conduct as *right*, morally and socially, and they follow the example thus set them, on the first opportunity. Did we not justly observe then, that a community is excellent in proportion to the excellence of its system of education? But it will perhaps be replied that we have not taken a fair example of the human race, that the circumstances of the North American Indians are so very peculiar, that they are unlike other people in this and other respects. To remove this objection, which is one of little weight however, let us take another example—that of a people totally different in every respect from the preceding—the Chinese. The national character of this extraordinary people is a compound of intense pride, unbounded reverence for established customs, admiration almost amounting to idolatry for their sovereign and their rulers, a high respect for literature and literary excellence, combined with a cunning and crafty disposition. Every portion of this character, its excellencies equally with its defects, is to be traced to some prevailing influence in their early nurture. Accustomed from their infancy to hear the panegyrics of China itself, which are so plentifully scattered over their religious works, and to see the effects of these panegyrics in the foolish pride of their parents, they naturally imbibe the opinion that China is really, what it is nominally,—that it is so superior to every other nation in the universe, as *justly* to deserve the appellation of the *Celestial Empire*. This impression exhibits itself in their lives and conduct, and hence the overweening haughtiness, the supreme contempt of foreigners which characterize them. Their unbounded reverence for established usages has been lately explained by a writer in the pages of this Review,* as resulting from the general inculcation of the *Li-ki* or book of rites, which prescribe the particular duties and modes of life peculiar to every class of the population in every varying situation. Their excessive admiration of the sovereign and subordinate rulers is the natural result of that unmitigated despotism which has, for centuries been the

only political philosophy taught throughout their extensive empire, whilst their high appreciation of literary excellence and of literature itself is the direct result of the teaching of their preceptors and the maxims of their philosophers. Lastly, whilst openly liberal-minded and honest, they are secretly deceitful and dishonest, for their system of religion, whether Confucian or Buddhistic, has reference, in its rewards and punishments, only to the outward actions, and has no reference further than vague declamations to purity of heart; nor is that feeling of honor which may sometimes supply the place of a pure religion in this respect exhibited constantly before their view in the lives of their parents or preceptors. Thus then is it that the people of China present themselves to our notice as living proofs of the truth of that law which we have above enunciated, that in proportion to the excellence of the system of education in a country, will be the excellence of the community.

The third and last of the laws with which we have at present to do, is, that, *in a country not arrived at the highest stage of refinement, the assistance and interference of Government is absolutely necessary to ensure the carrying out of an efficient scheme of education.* In this, education but follows the general rule which applies to all great measures of improvement, which cannot be carried out without the assistance of the ruling power. In a country arrived at a higher stage of civilization, education is felt throughout the length and breadth of the land, to be a *want*, which ought to be, which in fact, *must* be supplied; and if Government does not come forward to supply this want, private enterprize steps boldly in to supply its place. Many in England at present argue that Government ought not to interfere in the education of the people—whether their arguments on this subject are sound or not, however, it is not our present object to enquire: certain it is that some of the best educated countries at the present day are those in which Government not only so interferes, but absolutely directs and guides the whole, of which Prussia, Holland, several minor states of Germany, and those of New England, are examples. And if experience has proved in these countries how necessary the interference of Government is in this matter, how much more in a country such as India, where the great mass of the population can by no means be considered to have yet entered upon the career of civilization.

In the development of our argument relative to the necessity of Normal Colleges, we were obliged to enter into these details. We have now established, we trust, that education has its distinct subject, to wit, man in his various relationships, as an individual, as a social being, and as a citizen; its distinct

object, to wit, the elevation of man religiously, intellectually and physically ; its distinct laws, of which we have enunciated only those three more particularly bearing upon our present subject,—and having thus its distinct *subject, object* and *laws*, we claim for education, the character and rank of a *science*. We cannot here attempt a development of that science; the task would be too extended, would require a much greater space than the pages of a review can afford, but we trust enough has been said to prove to the most sceptical that it *is* a science, just as much as medicine, jurisprudence or theology ; yet whilst man's attention has been for ages so attentively directed to the study of his physical nature, and whilst he has afforded every encouragement and facility to its investigators, those who have been attempting to build the science of education, to unfold the progress of the religious, moral, intellectual, and physical development of man, have met with little attention, or have been totally disregarded ! Most sciences have their corresponding *arts*, and education is no exception to the general rule. On this *art*, indeed, the art of instruction, of training, of developing the nature of the child, much more attention has been bestowed than upon the corresponding science, and in this too education has but followed the usual rule. Men practise first and speculate afterwards ; and as education, even as an *art*, is scarcely advanced beyond its infancy, we need not wonder that the *science* has, for the most part, to be yet constructed. A brief consideration of the attempts which have been hitherto made to improve this art, will directly introduce us to the object and utility of Normal Instruction,* whilst it will illustrate our conclusion of their absolute necessity for its due carrying out and improvement.

• By the Germans three distinct terms, to which we have none perfectly analogous in our language, are used to express the different parts of an educational course, viz. *Pädagogik, Didaktik*, and *Methodik* ; the first being the general title given to the art and science combined ; the second to the art alone ; the third to the science of methods as applied to education. Our simple division however into the art and science will be found sufficient for all useful purposes. All will concede that we usually have little faith in the knowledge of any individual respecting a particular science, if we have no warrant that he has at some period of his life, made it his peculiar study. Nor would we even trust to

* The question is continually asked, what is *Normal* Instruction ? It is Instruction according to *rule*—according to an established *system*—and the Institutions where those, who are to conduct this system subsequently, are trained, are properly called *Normal*.

the knowledge of the meanest artizan were we not certain that in the great majority of instances a long apprenticeship is served to the particular art which he professes to practice. And yet with a strange inconsistency, men have been allowed to profess the science, and practice the art, of education, not only without any apprenticeship being served, but even without any questions being asked, as to their proficiency or knowledge of them! The very fact that the science of education is as yet far from being perfected, or its true principles discovered, the very fact that the art of education is daily being amended, prove that neither is a thing so simple and plain as to be understood of all, or likely to be intuitively known, and yet the world has acted as if all men knew these things, and all men could practise them, for it has allowed any who chose to call himself a schoolmaster, and establish a school. We prefer thus addressing the reason, to appealing to the feelings, although doubtless all parents who consider the matter must agree with us in considering the committal of youths to the care of those who understand nothing of the theory or practise of education as an evil of the greatest magnitude. A prudent mother would not even give a valuable piece of cloth to a man to be made into a garment, if she had not some well-founded reason for believing that he was an expert tailor, and yet she would probably feel little hesitation in sending her children daily to some individual in her vicinity who called himself a teacher, without any other proof of his fitness for the task than his own testimony! What a strange inconsistency! She would, by no means, allow the piece of cloth in question to be shaped and fashioned by the tailor of whose skill she had no proof, and yet she will allow the infant mind of her child to be moulded and formed, directed and influenced by the daily tutelage of a man perhaps totally ignorant of its nature, and of the best means of guiding it. These things are strange anomalies, yet they are those which have been daily practised, not in semi-civilized, not in barbarous countries, but in those calling themselves the most enlightened in the world.

If, then, we have been successful in shewing, that education is a science as well as an art, that it is a matter not likely to be thoroughly understood—impossible in fact to be thoroughly understood—without previous study and practice; that in requiring such previous study and practice in its professor, the parent is but demanding that which he requires from the worker who pretends to knowledge in the meanest art,—if these things have been proved, nothing more will be needed to establish the absolute necessity of Normal Institutions, that is, of

institutions in which those who are afterwards to be teachers of youth, shall receive instruction in the theory and practice of education. "Training," says an eminent educationist,* while, pointing out the absurdities of the old system—"Training is admitted to be necessary in every art but education; the mechanic, the soldier, the sailor, the lawyer, the man of business, all require to be trained—all must learn their art. We would not employ even a gardener or an hostler who had not served an apprenticeship; but the persons who are 'to teach the young idea how to shoot,' and who may be in possession of a vast fund of knowledge, but ignorant of the arts of communication and moral training, must work themselves into a system, good or indifferent, according to circumstances; not, however, until in general a sad havoc is made of the human intellect, which a regular course of training in a Normal Seminary might have prevented. Many teachers work out and arrive at a good system of their own, it is true, but no one man can possess all that may be concentrated and exhibited in a Normal Seminary, to which every student may be trained." In such an institution the future educator is indoctrinated into those methods of education which have been most successful in the world hitherto, and in it he sees in operation around him, a system which has been elaborated not by any one man, but by the labors of successive educationists, who have been toiling for centuries perhaps. If then it is of any advantage that those men to whose nurture the youthful minds of a nation is to be confided, should be able to discharge their duties efficiently, it must be of the utmost importance that they should be trained in Normal Institutions. This conclusion is so simply obvious, that there would be little utility in our insisting upon it at greater length. & the study of the practical part of medicine in the hospital be necessary to the future physician, the study of the practical part of education in a Normal College is not less necessary to the future educator.

Having thus far discoursed of the necessity of Normal Institutions, let us now turn our attention to their peculiar *object*. This object is twofold. In the first place they present for the study and practice of the intended teacher, a system of education, the best, we may presume, that can be carried out as suitable to the sort of school, which he is likely to be subsequently appointed to conduct. In the second place, as education must be the peculiar study of the heads of such institutions, it might

* Mr. Stow. "The Training system," sixth edition, p. 354.

be presumed *a priori*, that these studies would tend to its further development as a science, and to its further improvement as an art; facts prove that this result has followed, and we may, therefore, justly consider this development and improvement as among the most important objects to be attained by the establishment of Normal Institutions. If the teacher enter upon the performance of his duties without any such previous training, however great may be the amount of knowledge which he possesses, he must necessarily be ignorant of the best means of communicating that knowledge to his pupils. Under such circumstances a thousand little annoyances daily occur which perplex him and render him unhappy, and the probability is that he throws up the appointment with disgust, the moment he finds an opening for himself elsewhere. If this be not the case, and his perseverance is sufficient to carry him through all the difficulties he encounters, yet must he make one experiment after another until he works out for himself a consistent system good or bad, which he finds to answer his purpose. And what is the result of all this experimentalizing? It is fearful to contemplate. One pupil of a fine manly disposition, perhaps, which requires to be led and coaxed, not driven and coerced, becomes daily worse and worse from continuous opposition and jarring discord. His temper sours, he becomes doggedly wicked, or daily more malicious, from the constant opposition he encounters, and finally leaves the school a determined enemy to all authority and control, to become a dangerous villain or a worthless reprobate. Such—for we assure our readers this is no exaggerated, or overdrawn picture—*such* is the result of this experimentalizing on that most delicate of all studies—human character. Who that has been at a public school in England, conducted on the old flogging system, does not remember instances in which he was unjustly punished, and thereby hardened? How many retain any impression from their old classical studies, but one of abhorrence and nausea at the manner in which these studies were conducted? And does not the memory of every one of our readers who have gone through a course of studies in these hot-beds of vice and iniquity—public-schools—remember numerous, or at least *some* instances of young men thoroughly ruined by the education received there? Let it not be conceived that these remarks are the result of bias or prejudice. The Rev. Sidney Smith himself, by no means a wholesale or rash reformer, has characterized these schools as “evils of the greatest magnitude,

however they may be sanctioned by opinion or rendered familiar by habit.* But why is this the case? Why, but that the common fallacy is still prevalent in England, of supposing every man capable of teaching who has a sufficient amount of knowledge himself. A university education is supposed to give all that is necessary in the way of instruction to those who are to take the charge of these schools, it being totally overlooked that the possession of knowledge, and the communication of that knowledge to others, are two totally distinct things, and that the art of *properly* conducting a school is no more to be learnt by common sense, than the navigation of a vessel or the practice of anatomy.

The history of education proves then, with the utmost clearness and certainty, that the first object of Normal Schools is by no means a matter of little importance—that it is absolutely necessary that men should receive previous training in their profession if they are to practise it efficiently, and this, without such a model being presented to them as they should subsequently imitate, cannot be efficiently given. Model schools are therefore a necessary part of a Normal Institution or College as a whole.

The second great object of these establishments—the development of education as a science and its improvement as an art—is one on which it will be necessary for us somewhat to dilate. The system almost universally in practice in the village schools in Europe of old, as our readers are probably aware, consisted in the master sitting before his class all day, and taking up one boy after another to repeat the task previously learned and to be asked *perhaps* a few questions besides. This was the practice of the art in its most rudimentary state. To improve this state of things Dr. Bell, at Madras, and Joseph Lancaster, in England, applied themselves with zeal and success. The result of their labors was the Bell-Lancasterian system, as it has since been called, in which the principal new feature was the great number of pupils, whose studies it enabled one master to conduct. His attention was chiefly confined to the first or monitorial class, the pupils of which conducted, under the name of monitors, the studies of the others, subject of course to the master's constant supervision. By this simple improvement the studies of 300 pupils could be as easily and as efficiently conducted as those of 40 were previously by the old system. This was unquestionably a great step, in the progress of Education, but it was still far

* *Edinburgh Review*. Art. "Remarks on Public Schools," 1810.

from perfection. *Now*, when the defects of the method have been ascertained, and the art very considerably advanced beyond the point to which Bell and Lancaster brought it, it is amusing to consider the extravagant eulogiums at first heaped upon it. The profound and philanthropic Jeremy Bentham hailed it as the new regenerator of the masses, as the means by which humanity was at length to be raised to the position it ought to occupy. The enthusiasm with which he endeavoured to forward it will be seen exemplified in his "Chrestomathia," a noble instance of his disinterestedness, philanthropy and ardour. From the appendix to that work* we extract the following testimony from a practical man to the excellencies of the system noticed:—"For many years it had been a subject of melancholy reflection to me, why so many boys *failed* in acquiring a competent knowledge of classical learning, whilst they *succeeded* in every thing else. This objection to our classical schools may *now* be easily obviated. I do not say that every boy will be equally successful. Nature has made strong and marked distinctions in the extent of capacity; but I will venture to assert that every one may be made to turn his talents to the best account. One of the most important of the objects of a good education is to inspire a literary taste; and I know no way in which this may be done so effectually. What deters many boys from the prosecution of ancient learning is its difficulty. By the aid of this (the monitorial) system, asperities may be smoothed, the boy may be gently led over the threshold of the temple; and when he is once introduced, he cannot fail to be charmed by its beauties." This is but a sample of the encomiums so lavishly bestowed upon the new system by its first cultivators, and however much they may *now* appear exaggerated, they prove that it was a vast improvement upon that which preceded it, a fact that no one can deny. A more extended acquaintance with this system, however, has proved to the satisfaction of all unprejudiced men, that however excellent it may be in some points, it is equally defective in others. Its discipline is excellent, and the principle on which it proceeds, one, which restrained within due bounds, may be eminently useful. But it does not sufficiently tend to develop the intellectual or moral faculties—the intellect of a boy is always liable to bias and his morals to error, it is therefore a hazardous thing to allow him to direct the intellect of others. The system may do for instilling the rudiments of knowledge, but not for the attainment of any considerable im-

* Bentham's Works, Bowring's edit. part xv. p. 63.

improvement. Lastly, the master may thoroughly ground his pupils in elementary knowledge himself, more efficiently by addressing in a simple and intelligible manner, large numbers at once.* These defects were not long in being perceived upon the continent of Europe where the next great step was made in the progress of education as an art, by a man who enthusiastically devoted himself to its study—Pestalozzi. Starting with the principle that all should be embraced in a system of education which can promote the formation of the man, and prepare him for the eternal destiny of his spirit, he perceived that for the due development of the intellectual powers very much depended upon the *method* which was used to convey information. Practical utility, the great object of attention by previous educators, Pestalozzi perceived was too much the entire aim of the master's exertions, and that the development of the mind itself should hold no despicable position in a true system, inasmuch as a certain degree of it was necessary for every occupation and station in life. "The means of this development," says a zealous exponent of his system, "he supposed himself to have found, so far as the intellectual faculties were concerned, in the elements of form and number, which are combined in the science of mathematics, in language, and in natural history. The senses and the bodily powers he endeavored to develop in accordance with the views of the philanthropic school, by the careful examination of the various objects of nature and art, which surround the pupil, by means of music, and by gymnastic exercises, alternated or combined with labour." The most striking improvement in the *method* of giving instruction, introduced by Pestalozzi was that of appealing as much as possible to the senses and by a species of conversation conducted between the pupils and the teacher to render the lessons as interesting as possible. By this peculiarity his

* The following conversation on the Bell-Lancasterian system between M. Cousin and M. L'Ange, a school inspector in Holland, is interesting. The former commences—"Are you well acquainted, Sir, with the system of mutual instruction?—have you applied it in practice?—And what is your opinion of it?" "We know it," he replied; "we have tried it, and we consider it as wholly insufficient for the object to be attained. It is not," I make use of the very words of M. L'Ange—"it is not a system which is calculated for moral and intelligent beings; and we do not admit the justice of applying it in a school for the poor, more than in any other school. For the poor have especial need of education, and you cannot educate by a plan of mutual instruction; you can *instruct* only by it, and that in so superficial, and in some respects mechanical a way, that it is no cultivation of the mind. At the time when Holland and Belgium were united, the Belgian liberals used to talk so highly in favor of that system, especially for large numbers of children, as in the schools for the poor, that our college of curators, who are attentive to every thing of importance that is going on, which bears upon the education of the people, thought it their duty to make trial of the new system; and the result of that trial was, that the plan of *simultaneous* teaching is the only truly rational mode of education."—*Education in Holland*, p. 73.

system appears to be best known to English writers, its comprehensive character and sagacious universality being usually neglected by them. That his system had faults cannot be, for a moment, denied—the preponderating importance attached to the study of mathematics in it was unfavorable to the due development of the entire mental powers, whilst his religious method had a greater tendency to create and maintain in activity short-lived impulses than to fix in their place determination and submission. These defects were to be plainly seen by the unbiassed in his establishment at Yverdun, which was yet one, however, sufficiently in advance of the age to attract crowds of visitors from all parts of Europe, the influential amongst them being anxious to confer similar benefits on their own districts and countries, which that of Yverdun conferred upon its vicinity, the poorer anxious to benefit by what they saw in the management of their own families and schools.

The exertions of Pestalozzi were the means of directing the attention of a man to education, much better able to render it efficient service in a practical point of view, than the limited resources of the former admitted of. If De Fellenberg had done nothing more for education, his having pointed out its true object in the following sentence would have been by no means of little importance. The object he declares “is to develop all the faculties of our nature, physical, intellectual and moral, and to endeavor to train and unite them into one harmonious system, which shall form the most perfect character of which the individual is susceptible; and thus prepare him for every period, and every sphere of action to which he may be called.” The defects in the existing education which he saw around him were the causes of M. De Fellenberg’s exertions, and the noble institutions which have resulted from these exertions, are to be ascribed as well to the genius of the man as to his perseverance and energy. Born of a patrician family in Berne, he early resolved to dedicate his fortune and his life to the welfare of mankind, and despising the pleasures and amusements of his class, patiently enduring the taunts of his companions and the frown of Government, uninfluenced by the whispers which the fashionable of Berne circulated as to his madness, he patiently persevered, and by his labours has left behind him a name which shall descend to posterity with that of Howard and Wilberforce, which will be remembered and honored, when those who laughed at, and reviled him, have sunk into merited nothingness. De Fellenberg has succeeded probably better than any other

individual in pointing out in *what* the difference of the education to be given to the higher and lower orders really consists. In his institutions at Hofwyl near Berne, he reduced his principles on this subject to practice, and probably with a greater degree of success than ever before attended a similar attempt. Whilst in his High School for the superior classes an intellectual education of the first order and embracing every subject likely to be of future utility, viz. Greek, Latin, German, English and French literature, mathematics, natural philosophy, history, logic, political economy, drawing, gardening, fencing and music—whilst all these were inculcated, the physical powers were cultivated by gymnastic exercises, and the taste improved by handy-craft working in the finer departments of joinery and carpentry, intended, it is true, merely as an amusement, but which *might* subsequently be turned to purposes of practical utility. At the same time that the students of this higher department were fitting themselves, intellectually and physically for their future position in life, those of the Rural school were imbibing such a stock of agricultural knowledge, theoretical and practical, as would fit them to become farmers and laborers subsequently. Nor was there a better cultivated estate to be seen in Switzerland than that tended by the Rural pupils. It would be an injustice to the philanthropist, of whom we treat to suppose that the intellectual cultivation of these pupils was neglected in the midst of their manual occupations. They acquired, on the contrary, such a knowledge of the sciences as tended to improve their minds, such rules of conduct as might produce a *habit* of morality and religious observance, and such an amount of literary knowledge as would tend to render their subsequent reading in their leisure hours when they entered upon the arena of citizen life, agreeable as well as instructive. Nor was this all that M. De Fellenberg accomplished—he was the means of getting several Normal schools established in Berne and Geneva, whilst at Hofwyl he yearly collected together all the teachers of his vicinity and lectured them on the theory and practice of education. “Here,” said the venerable philanthropist to a visitor as he pointed out in 1832 his Normal School, “*here is the engine upon which I rely for effecting the moral regeneration of my country*; these are the masters of village schools come here to imbibe my principles, and to perfect themselves in their duty. These men have 6000 pupils under them, and if, by the blessing of God, I can continue the direction of them, success is certain.” Of so much importance did he consider the fitting of the educator for his duties. The peculiar benefits

then conferred by De Fellenberg on education consisted not so much in the improvement of its methods as in the establishment of the possibility of carrying out a scheme such as he proposed, and which, had it been merely left in writing, most men would have declared to be remarkably fine in theory, but utterly impossible in practice.

To Prussia belongs the honor of having first established a state education for the benefit of its schoolmasters. During the early part of the last century education was in as backward a condition there as elsewhere in Europe. All that was then required of the Parish schoolmasters, who were chiefly mechanics, was to be "able to read, say the catechism, sing tolerably a few psalm tunes, and to write and cipher a little." * Many shepherds, says the same unquestionable authority, who were employed during the summer-time in keeping their sheep, during winter changed themselves into school-masters, whilst the nobility frequently gave away the educational appointments in their gift to their valets or grooms! We need not wonder at such a state of things when we find something so analogous to it at the present day in England and Bengal, where shoemakers, tailors, soldiers, and sailors, if they can but pass some trivial examination required, or if they succeed in gaining the favor of some influential individual are appointed to the high and honorable employment of instructing youth. In 1748 the first Normal school was established at Berlin by JOHAN JULIUS HECKER, (a name deserving of honor and celebrity) chief councillor of the consistory at Berlin and minister of Trinity Church, the object of which was to supply masters for the schools of his own diocese. For five years his exertions were quietly prosecuted, and in 1753 his establishment was erected into a "royal primary Normal Institution."

The sagacious mind of Frederick the Great perceived the importance, the necessity, of efficient national instruction, and in 1771 he issued a proclamation on the subject, directing certain funds to be applied to its improvement, and in which he declared that "primary education, especially in the country, had been hitherto much neglected," and that, therefore, "it became imperative to remove the bad masters, and replace them by competent men." Political schemes, however, interfered with these intentions of that great man, and in consequence little was done till the early part of the present century; but whilst the attention of the reigning King was directed to this subject, and measures were being taken to place the

* M. Cousin's report, p. 239.

education of the country on a properly efficient basis, the French invasion under Napoleon overthrew all his schemes of improvement and retarded for a few years the progress of reform. It was not till 1819 that those principles were zealously carried out, which have resulted in the present enlightened system. It is not our intention to enter into any detailed explanation of the excellent system of education prevalent in Prussia, we shall confine our attention to the constitution and effects of the Normal Seminaries. That of Potsdam will serve as an example of the rest.

This establishment is calculated to contain from 75 to 80 students, divided into three classes, of which one annually leaves the College—the course being thus determined at three years. The greater number of the students reside on the premises, those only being permitted to live out of the institution who can satisfactorily prove that they are of regular moral habits, and have relations capable of looking after them in the town; these latter are not usually more than one-tenth or twelfth of the whole number. The examination of the candidates for admission, who must have attained the age of 17, is conducted partly in writing, and partly *viva voce*; the principal subjects of which a knowledge is required previous to entrance, being religious doctrines, a thorough knowledge of the German language, a facility in composition, the elements of mathematics, history, particularly sacred and Prussian, the theory and practice of music. Besides these intellectual qualifications, general good health, with freedom from all bodily infirmities, such as short-sightedness, weak lungs, and so forth is indispensable. Supposing the candidate to have obtained admission, he is then bound to enter into the following engagement with the Director:—"I, the undersigned, N— of N— by these presents, bind myself, conformably with the ordinance of the royal minister of public instruction and ecclesiastical and medical affairs, dated 28th February 1825, with the consent of my father or guardian who signs this with me, to place myself during three years after my leaving the Normal school, at the disposal of the King's Government; and consequently not to subscribe anything contrary to this engagement; or in such case, to refund to the Normal school the expenses incurred by the state for my instruction, namely, 1. Ten thalers (Rs. 15) for each half year passed in the Normal school, and for the instruction received in this period of time; 2. The whole amount of the grants and exhibitions I may have received."* Each pupil is calculated to cost the school 100

thalers (150 Rs.) a year, whilst he pays during his attendance, but 48 thalers (72 Rs.)

The building itself is a large two-storied one, with a frontage of 127 feet, and large out-houses, the whole forming a square, within which is a tolerably spacious court. The whole comprehends—

1. A family residence for the Principal and another for one master.
2. Apartments for three unmarried masters.
3. An apartment for the stewards and his servants, with sufficient convenience for household business and stowage.
4. A dining room for the students.
5. An organ-room in which the music lessons are given, the examinations take place, and the morning and evening prayers are said.
6. Two lectures for the students.
7. Four large rooms for the Model Schools.
8. Five Sitting Rooms and two Dormitories for the students.
9. Two Infirmaries.
10. A Wash-house.
11. Two Cabinets of Natural History.
12. Granaries, Cellars, Fuel-houses, &c.

The Institution is conducted by a Director and four masters, of whom the first lectures on Education, theoretical and practical, according to the three-fold division formerly given of the Germans. The first master instructs the students in Religion, History and Literature; the second in Mathematics and Natural Philosophy; the third in Singing and Music; the fourth in Drawing. By this division of the various duties a first-rate education in each department is secured to the students, whilst the Director being continually with them serves to form their habits and manners in consistency with the precepts of Christianity, and the requirements of their future profession. Model schools are of course attached to the institution, in which the students practice the art of communicating knowledge. "The Normal course," says M. Cousin, in reference to this school, "which occupies three years, is composed, for the first year, of studies calculated to open the mind, and to inculcate on the pupils good methods in every branch, and the feeling of what is the true vocation of a primary teacher. This is what is called the *formal* instruction, in opposition to the *material* or more *positive* instruction of the second year, in which the students go through special studies of a very solid kind, and learn considerably more than they

will generally be called upon to teach. The third year is entirely *practical*, and is devoted to learning the art of teaching." The annual income of the Potsdam Normal school, consisting of state funds, the sums paid by the students, and the fees of the pupils in the annexed schools, is about 9,000 thalers (13,500 rs.), a very large sum if we consider the relative value of money there and here. This sum is sufficient to defray the following items of expenditure—the salaries of the masters,* the household expenses, the materials for instruction, the garden-ground, heating and lighting, repairs of building, and a physician and surgeon.

Having thus gone over the constitution and practical working of the school, the next point to be considered is, what becomes of the students when they leave it? To illustrate this we shall merely quote the words of the report to which we have so frequently referred above. "The pupils quit the Normal school after having pursued the course for three years; for the lengthening of their stay would be an obstacle to the reception of new pupils. But they must first go through an examination in writing and *viva voce*, as decreed by the ordinance of the minister of public instruction and ecclesiastical and medical affairs, of which we give an abstract:—1, All the students of all the primary Normal schools in the kingdom shall go through an examination on leaving. 2, The examinations shall be conducted by all the masters of the Normal school, on all the subjects taught in the house, in the presence and under the direction of one or more Commissioners delegated by the provincial school-board. 3, Every pupil, before leaving shall give a probationary lesson, to show to what degree he possesses the art of teaching. 4, After the examination is over, and exact accounts of the students leaving are given by the directors and all the masters, a certificate shall be delivered to each pupil, signed by the Director, the Masters and the Commissioners. 5, This certificate shall specify the knowledge and talents of the pupil; it shall state whether he possesses the art of teaching, and whether his moral character renders him fit for the office of primary schoolmaster. It shall include, besides a general opinion of his character and attainments, expressed by one of the terms 'excellent,' 'good,' 'passable,' and corresponding to the numbers 1, 2, 3, 6, This certificate only gives the pupil a provisional power of receiving an appointment for three years, after that time he must undergo a

* The importance attached by Government to the Institution is evident from the fact of the Director's salary being about four times as great as that of a Lieutenant in the Prussian Army.

new examination at the Normal school. But any pupil who on leaving the establishment, obtained number 1, and has in the course of the three first years been teacher in a public school, shall not have to pass another examination. No others can take a situation, except provisionally. 7, These new examinations shall not take place at the same time as those of the pupils who are leaving; but, like those, always in the presence, and under the direction of the Commissioners of school-board. 8, In the first examinations the principal object is, to ascertain if the pupils have well understood the lessons of the Normal school, and learned to apply them; in the last the only object of inquiry is the practical skill of the candidate. 9, The result of this new examination shall likewise be expressed in a certificate, appended to the first, and care shall be taken to specify therein the fitness of the candidate for the profession of a schoolmaster.' " Although all who leave the various Government Normal Institutions cannot at once be appointed to situations, it is rarely found that any properly qualified have been left longer than a year without some appointment in the Government schools. Such is the sort of institution, and such the method by means of which the future schoolmasters of Prussia are trained and qualified for the important duties which they have afterwards to fulfil.

And now let us ask, what is the result of this costly and valuable system of Normal schools? The result is an important one. It has raised the kingdom of Prussia to a rank amongst nations which its size or power could not otherwise have obtained for it. The spread of intelligence, of enlightenment, of prosperity, caused by the cultivation of the minds of the great masses of the people, is surely a consummation to be desired: such has been the *political* result of the establishment of that system of education of which Normal schools forms so prominent a part. The *social* result has been one more deeply affecting the happiness of the great mass of the population. By spreading abroad moral and intellectual cultivation it spreads abroad too happiness and contentment and prosperity. The labourer who has passed five or six years of his life in a primary school of Prussia is not the unreflecting, improvident, debauched character which he is, in three cases perhaps out of four, in many other lands. His hours of leisure he is enabled to occupy in rational and intellectual amusement or cultivation, and is not compelled like his uneducated brother elsewhere for want of something else to do, to resort to drunkenness or dissipation. His duties as a son, as a brother, as a husband, as a parent, will be all fulfilled the more cheerfully and the more diligently,

when he has been in early life instructed in the relationship of man to man, in the constitution of society, and in the duties which he *owes* to his relations and neighbours. *Individually* the poor man, by the obtainment of an education, becomes a man higher in the scale of civilization, becomes in every respect a superior being to what he would be without it. But these, it will perhaps be objected, are the results of the entire system of education, not of the establishment of Normal schools. They are the results of the entire system we admit, but of that system the establishment referred to is the most important feature, and we are, therefore, justified in attributing a great portion of the general result to its influence. The mere opening of schools in different parts of a country is not giving the people of that country an education. The men who conduct these schools must be previously laboriously trained and qualified for the situations which they are to hold, otherwise we have a series of frightful experiments proceeding in each of them which may end in the moral and intellectual ruin of thousands of otherwise useful citizens. Is it likely, that those who have never had this initiatory training will be able to develop the moral, intellectual, and physical character of those committed to their care, so as to form ultimately the most perfect character from the materials before him of which the individual is capable? As well might we expect the man who had never practiced the art of shoemaking to make an excellent pair of shoes, when the leather and implements necessary are placed in his hands. We should confidently anticipate failure in the latter case, and yet we should scarcely consider it absurd to anticipate success in the former! If education is to be given then, we should surely give the *best* possible.—Without Normal schools at the foundation of the system, we may give if not the *worst* possible, something very nearly approximating to it.

Having thus seen in what the system of Normal instruction in Prussia consists, let us now turn our attention to another of the better-educated countries of Europe, Holland, and view the system in practice there. We shall take as an example the Normal primary school of Haarlem.

The great distinction between Normal systems of Prussia, and of Holland consists in the fact of the pupils in the former country being resident in the establishment, whilst in the latter they lodge in the towns, and daily attend the seminaries. Every student at Haarlem has a royal pension or half pension for his support in the town, and none are admitted until they have completed their fifteenth year, whilst the course of instruction extends over four years. Besides the pensioned students,

there are others, however, who receive no aid from Government, and who are subsequently employed in private educational establishments, besides a few schoolmasters who annually return to perfect themselves in *methodik*. A probation of three months is enjoined on all pupils before entrance, during which time the Director has opportunities of becoming acquainted with their dispositions and capacities, an acquaintance of which he subsequently avails himself in recommending their admission or dismissal. The course of instruction taught in the Haarlem Normal school includes the science and art of teaching, history and mechanical philosophy, subjects treated solely by the director and head-master, also natural history, mathematics, drawing, singing, &c. which are left to assistants. "The religious instruction is independent of any dogma or creed peculiar to this or that communion; but Bible history, as the basis of the religion of every sect, is regularly taught, and the moral precepts which occur in the course of the reading are then inculcated."* The students are employed during almost the whole of the day as assistants, or under temporary head-masters in different schools in the town, according to their degree of advancement.

"I was peculiarly anxious," says M. Cousin, "to study the discipline of the system attentively, especially in a day Normal school. I had seen some such schools, and tolerably good ones, in Prussia, but in the best Normal primary schools, the admirable establishments at Potsdam and at Brühl, the pupils live and are boarded in the house. They consider, in Prussia, that in this way the young schoolmasters are better trained; that the Director is able to exert a greater degree of influence over them, inasmuch as it is more constant; and that, by having two or three schools in different degrees of advancement attached to the establishment, the pupils have quite as good an opportunity of seeing the practical application of the system, as they would have in schools in the town, detached from the Normal school. They also attach great importance to that preparation for the hard life of a school-master, which the discipline of a boarding-school may be made to afford: thus, they are not waited upon by servants, but must serve themselves. They are, moreover, excited to a greater degree of emulation by living together, their different characters and talents are better seen, and they have a better opportunity of practising those duties by which a truly Christian spirit is cultivated. Such, at least, is the opinion of

* M. Cousin's Report on the state of Education in Holland, p. 40.

the most able educators of Germany, and it is the system most generally acted upon there. There are nevertheless some very good day Normal schools, and I have recommended in my report, that we should begin with these in France; but at the same time I must say that they ought, in my opinion, to be viewed only as make-shifts, under particular circumstances; either when there is no suitable building or when it is necessary to study economy. The Normal school at Haarlem, therefore, excited my curiosity in the highest degree, and I was desirous of learning the most minute details as to the maintenance of order, &c. Mr. Prinsen (the director) gave me the following account:—

‘I must begin with observing that the pupils come here voluntarily, and with the object of perfecting themselves in the profession they have chosen: it is one, therefore, of the highest moment to them, and in which their whole future existence is deeply interested. They are thus predisposed of themselves to orderly conduct, and do not require the discipline of a boarding school. Every one of them may be said to subject himself to the moral discipline which he maintains in the school, and besides, any one who has not these good dispositions, or does not acquire them in the first three months, is immediately sent away.’

There can be little doubt, however, that M. Cousin is right, and that boarding Normal schools are infinitely preferable to those in which the pupils only attend during the day. It is easy for an individual successfully to disguise his real character in the latter case, but almost impossible in the former, whilst few will be disposed to deny that the strict collegiate discipline of a boarding establishment will powerfully tend to introduce regularity and order into the future lives of the schoolmasters.

The effects of the extensive educational system of Holland upon the mass of the inhabitants are strikingly exemplified in the state of the prisons as attested by M. Cousin. In the central prison at Rotterdam, the only one in all Holland, for boys, there were usually but from sixty to eighty prisoners, “so that adding seventy, who were expected from a dépôt at Leyden, there were, at most, only 150, out of a population of 2,500,000.” “To find a solution of this phenomenon,” remarks the same gentleman, “I had only to reflect on the excellent schools I had every where met with.” If prevention be better than cure, there can be little doubt that the establishment of a general system of education is infinitely preferable to the maintenance of an expensive police, and that *such* an esta-

blishment is productive of consequences likely to lead to a great diminution of crime is proved by the examples of Prussia and Holland.

Having thus taken examples of the Normal Institutions of Prussia and Holland, let us now turn our attention to the country which, of all others in Europe, was formerly most distinguished for its system of education, Scotland, and see what has been *there* done for the preparation of efficient teachers. Scotland has long been celebrated for its excellent system of parochial schools, which, however, have of late been found inadequate to the educational wants of the community, owing to the great increase of population, especially in the manufacturing districts. This inadequacy of the existing means to the wants of the population, led a philanthropist of no ordinary energy and talent to endeavor to solve the enigma, how Scotland was to be raised to that moral and intellectual supremacy which she formerly enjoyed? and from this endeavor arose a new system of education, of which the open admiration of most and the silent combination by others of its peculiarities in their own systems, attest the excellence. This endeavor led remotely also to the establishment of the first Normal Seminary in the United Kingdom.

The first exertions of Mr. David Stow were confined to the establishment of a number of Sunday schools in which he endeavored not only to *teach* religiously and intellectually, but also morally to *train*, the pupils who attended them. These pupils were taken from the very worst districts of Glasgow, and presented all that infantile depravity and ignorance which are the worst features of large manufacturing towns. From 1819 to 1825 did the gentleman mentioned patiently continue his exertions year after year, undiscouraged by the difficulties he met with, and undismayed by the greatness of his undertaking; "but we gradually discovered," he writes, "that one day's *teaching in school* was not equal to six days' *training on the streets*." These schools served an important purpose, however—they tended to prove to him the necessity of taking advantage of the *sympathy of numbers*, and other important principles which lie at the very foundation of the training system. Day schools were established under his superintendence, and in these was the system laboriously developed, until finally in 1828 or 1829, they were united together—students were invited and gladly came to learn the system, and thus did the whole become a Normal seminary. The system itself is now universally allowed to have been a great step in the art of education, or in *didaktik* and *methodik*, as the Germans would say. It starts

with the fundamental precept, that the inculcation of duties or lessons, and the practice of these duties or lessons, are two totally distinct things, and that the former without the latter is of very little importance. Nor is it only in a moral point of view that this system professes to have discovered the proper method of development. Intellectually it proceeds upon the principle, that ideas, not words, should be the great object of attention, that without a proper *picturing out* in simple language of the ideas intended to be conveyed, there will be little received by the pupils, however much of instruction may be thrown out by the teacher. Nor is the physical development of the student neglected, every suitable means being provided for the relaxation necessary after intellectual exertion, and to promote the physical powers. It would be of course quite out of place for us to enter upon the minutiae of the system here, let it suffice to explain what is meant by taking advantage of the "sympathy of numbers" which we formerly noticed. Every one who is in the midst of a company of men whom he considers his equals will naturally feel a disinclination to differ from them outwardly in any way so conspicuously as to excite their ridicule or contempt. This results from the sympathy of numbers. A boy placed with a number of companions will be anxious to conform to their habits and practices—as for instance a young English lad residing in France becomes gradually assimilated to the French youths around him, and is ashamed of those peculiarities which mark him out as an object of attention. Why? From the influence of the principle we are illustrating—the sympathy of numbers; similarly a youth will naturally imbibe the moral atmosphere around him, and his standard of morality will be precisely that which he sees in practice amongst his companions. Yet of this important principle little or no advantage was taken by educators previous to Mr. Stow's having pointed out its importance. Let us now turn our attention to the constitution of the Normal seminary established by him.

Four model schools form the foundation of this Institution—an Infant, a Juvenile, an Industrial, and a Classical school. In all of these the Training system is rigidly carried out with the most admirable results. A class of Normal students, usually about forty in number, is attached, forming the Normal school proper. The funds of the Institution not admitting of it, no assistance is granted by the seminary to its attached students, on the contrary indeed they pay an entrance fee of £3. 3s. on admittance, and such is the high estimation in which the system there pursued is held, that they gladly submit to this exaction, in the hope of obtaining better situations afterwards; an ex-

mination is held previous to admission, which is strict or otherwise according to the professions of the candidates, none being admitted who are unacquainted with the ordinary branches taught in the village schools. It is of course of the utmost importance to the students entering to pass as good an examination as possible, a circumstance which may materially influence their future prospects. The shortest course consists of but six months, by far the greater portion of which is occupied in obtaining a knowledge of the system which they are subsequently to pursue, but a longer course is recommended to all who can afford it. The establishment is presided over by a Secretary (Mr. Stow) who takes a very active part in its management, and a Rector who attends particularly to the students. The following is the account its founder gives of the "routine" practised—"It is difficult to state here the precise routine to which the students are subjected, some being intended for the Initiatory department; others for the Juvenile; others for schools of Industry; whilst a large portion have no object but to acquire the system, and get an appointment in any department for which they may be found suitable.

"The male students are uniformly placed first in the Model Initiatory school, and then they alternate fortnightly between it and the junior and senior departments, during stated portions of each day, throughout the whole of their course. The remainder of the day is spent at the criticisms, and in perfecting themselves in grammar, geography, &c. or in acquiring a knowledge of music or elocution. In addition to the criticisms, the students practise the system with portions of classes from the model schools, one hour and a half per day in the side classrooms, under the superintendence of the head trainer, of the particular department in which they happen to be placed; and while thus employed, the assistant trainer fulfills his duties.

"The students spend one day weekly in the particular department in which they are placed, simply observing the master as a model. Each alternate day in succession, for an hour or two in the forenoon, they remain in the hall with a portion of the children from the model schools, practising the system under the superintendence of the rector. Twice a-week the rector requires from each student a written essay, on some lesson previously given in the model schools, or on some point in the system of training. The time of the students, therefore, is divided between receiving instruction in the theory and art of training, observing the operations of the model schools, and

in practising the system in both the covered and uncovered schools under the masters, rector, &c."*

It will afford some idea of the rapid extension of the training system throughout the world, when we mention that, besides the hundreds who are carrying it out in England, Scotland, and Ireland, between twenty and thirty have been sent to the West India Islands for private schools, and for the Government school charities, including a superintendent for the latter, and a rector for their Normal training seminary. To British America several have gone to be connected with private schools, and one as rector of a seminary. To Australia eighteen, under Government patronage. To Ceylon two, as rectors of seminaries, whilst repeated applications were received from the United States, but, none chose to accept of the situations offered. From these facts it will be seen, that the labors of the philanthropic Mr. Stow have resulted in the elaboration and establishment of a system of Education, which is slowly spreading its branches in all directions, and which is gradually being established in the remotest corners of the world. When we consider the impulse which he has given to Education as an art; when we reflect that at the period when his Normal seminary was established, there was none other in Britain, and that they are now spreading far and wide: and when we take into account the influence which his example has had in making others do likewise,—bearing all this in mind we shall then and then only be in a position to estimate correctly his value to the country at large.

These observations will be sufficient to give the reader some general idea of what Normal colleges are in Prussia, Holland and Scotland. We at first endeavored to prove *a priori* that such institutions are indispensable to the carrying out of any enlarged or improved system of Education—the best educated countries being precisely those in which the want of these establishments has been most felt, and where most attention has been paid to them—a sufficient proof, we hope, that wherever the educator is not trained to his profession, *there* must the education be but in its infancy. Let us now direct our attention more particularly to India, and endeavor to discover the peculiar relationship our immediate subject bears to the country in which we live.

The system of education prevalent in England one hundred years ago was that which may be emphatically styled the *old system*, and consisted in the master having before him and

* "Training system, p. 358."

questioning each individual of the class which he taught, so that out of the five hours devoted to the school, each pupil received instruction (supposing there were forty of them) eight or ten minutes daily at the utmost. This may be said to be the earliest and rudest condition in which the art can exist—there is here no combination, no advantage taken of the influence of mind on mind, no *method* adopted, no intellectual or moral development attempted, nothing but a dull dry system of monotonous tasks addressed to the memory alone, and neither calculated to excite, nor attempting to excite any other power. The physical, the intellectual, the moral nature of man are all equally neglected, and no means taken to improve or develop them. This condition of the art of education it was which first called Bell and Lancaster into the field, whilst the subsequent exertions of Pestalozzi, De Fellenberg and Stow, have all been directed to remove some one or other of the prevalent defects. The Government of India, in contemplating the educational wants of the immense empire which Providence has put into its hands, has acted apparently on the conviction that the establishment of central schools and colleges is the surest way of gaining ultimate success. Whilst, however, it has taken pains to train to their professions, its future soldiers and politicians, whilst it has required a previous initiation into their future duties from all who were to serve it in any other capacity, those who were to train its future population—those who were to conduct and guide the education of its inhabitants—alone were exempted from any acquaintance with the duties they undertook; and what has been the consequence?—The inefficient, badly-conducted, Government schools which we see around us, and which are scattered over the length and breadth of Bengal. The men who are at the head of these schools, generally speaking, know nothing theoretically, or practically of what a *good education* really is. The local committees who are to direct them cannot be expected to enter into the detail of the establishments under their control, nor is it to be supposed that their members should have made a study of Education. One or two annual visits from an inspector cannot infuse life and energy into the sleeping, half-dead establishments, upon which he is obliged to report, however intimately he may be acquainted with the subject so as to have it perfectly in his power to supply the deficiencies, and correct the evils he finds in them.

In these schools we usually find a sufficient number of masters in proportion to that of the pupils to admit of each distinct teacher having about thirty under his own peculiar care, that is, about half or one-third of the number usually educated by one

man in the village schools of England; and what is the result? Instead of finding these pupils *educated* in the true sense of the word, we find few of them who attain to even a very moderate knowledge of the great object of their study—the English language. They may profess some knowledge of mathematics; but this knowledge, examination will often prove to be a mere exercise of the memory, not of the reason. They are probably acquainted with the best works of Milton and Pope and Shakspeare, whilst they know nothing of the works of that Being who formed them, or of the system of nature around them! Ask them the simplest questions in natural history, in astronomy, in arts and manufactures, and what will be the result? the plainest proofs of their lamentable ignorance. Require them to narrate the processes through which the cotton went that they wear, before it was made into clothing, or to explain the reason why a corrupt atmosphere around them will destroy their health, and in nine cases out of ten, they and their teachers will smile at your *curious* questions, but be utterly unable to answer them, whilst they will fluently discourse, if you require it, on the history of Hector and Achilles, of Ulysses and Telemachus! They know why it was that Achilles was safe in battle, and the precise spot in which alone he was vulnerable, whilst they are utterly ignorant of the principle which supports their boat upon the water, or of the reason why a course of dissipation will physically injure them. The mythology of ancient Greece and Rome is an object of their peculiar study, but the pure system of Christianity their teachers must by no means inculcate! The laws of ancient warfare and those peculiar to Greece and Rome they endeavour to become acquainted with, those of morality, common to all ages and people, they neglect! Such are some of the inconsistencies of the present educational practice with reference to the inferior schools. The education given to the pupils in these schools is by no means the practical one which it ought to be if its object be to fit them for future utility—it is one which aims at intellectual development, neglecting the moral and physical, but only so far attains its object as to load their memories with useless details of fictitious histories, and a few of the properties and relations of form and magnitude, whilst the greater part of the really useful branches of an intellectual education are omitted. But why should they not be introduced? does some one ask. The reason is plain—the masters are unable to do so. They themselves have been reared to study Pope's Homer and other literary or scientific works instead of nature and man, nor has the knowledge which they have received been sufficient to excite in them a desire to know more.

The education which the future masters themselves get is then essentially bad. Let us now turn to the manner of their appointment, and see whether that be such as is likely to counteract the former evil. The following are the rules by which the examination of candidates for employment in the educational department is regulated :—

1.—“ A Committee shall be formed for the purpose of examining candidates for employment and promotion in the Education Department.

2.—The Committee shall ordinarily consist of the Secretary to the Council of Education, the Secretary to the Madrassah, the Inspector of Colleges and Schools, the Principals and Head-masters of the Hindu and Hooghly Colleges, and the Professors of Literature and Mathematics in those Colleges. The Council of Education may add to the Committee from time to time any other fit persons as extraordinary members. Three members shall form a quorum.

3.—The regular meetings of the Committee shall be held at the Hindu College once every three months; viz. upon the first Saturdays in January, April, July and October, at 10 A. M.

4.—Emergent meetings shall be held at such times, and for such purposes, as the Council of Education may direct, due notice of at least one week being given of every such meeting.

5.—The principal business of the committee will be to examine all candidates for employment in the education department, to ascertain the qualifications and fitness of those in the department who are otherwise eligible for promotion from one grade to another, and to dispose of such other matters of a similar nature as the Council of Education may direct.

6.—All candidates for employment as teachers in Government Institutions shall be ranked in four classes, according to their acquirements and general aptitude for conducting the important and responsible duty of education.

7.—The fourth or lowest class shall comprehend all such as are skilled in reading, writing, arithmetic, and the subjects laid down in the junior scholarship standard; and who likewise shew some aptitude in imparting instruction and explaining all difficulties correctly and in precise and appropriate terms. This class will be considered eligible to situations, of which the salary is from 10 to 50 rupees a month.

8.—The third shall consist of those who are *highly skilled* in the branches of study required to be taught by the fourth class, and who also exhibit great aptitude in teaching, and a good general knowledge of the duties of a schoolmaster. They shall be eligible to situations of which the salary is from 50 to 150 rupees a month.

9.—The second class shall comprise those who are well acquainted with the subjects contained in the senior scholarship standard, whose knowledge is exact and of a high order, and who exhibit a capacity for imparting an advanced degree of instruction. They shall be eligible to situations, of which the salary is from 150 to 250 rupees a month.

10.—None shall compose the first or highest class but those who are capable of imparting the highest order of instruction required in the Government Schools, or who possess in an eminent degree an acquaintance with the principles and practice of an enlightened method of teaching, and eminent acquirements either in Literature or Science. These shall be eligible to situations of Rs. 250 and upwards, to the Headmasterships of Schools and Colleges.

11.—All candidates for employment in the education department who are

present or have been recent holders of Senior or Junior Scholarships, shall be exempted from the written, and subjected only to the *viva voce* examination of the grades in which the standard of their scholarships entitles them to serve.

12.—Senior scholars shall, upon first entering the service, be only entitled to serve in the 2nd, and junior scholars in the 4th grade. For subsequent promotion, they shall be amenable to the general regulations of the committee of examination in the cases of those already employed who have not been scholarship holders.

13.—Candidates for situations in Mofussil Colleges and Schools will be expected to possess a competent knowledge of the Vernacular.

14.—Persons now in the department shall be classed according to their salaries; except in those cases in which their qualifications may be deemed doubtful, when they shall be subjected to examination by the committee, and classed according to the result.

15.—No master shall be promoted from a lower to a higher grade upon the occurrence of a vacancy in his own or any other Institution until his qualifications shall have been ascertained by the committee, in accordance with the standard fixed. If he be found deficient he shall be passed over, and the vacancy thrown open to competition, or bestowed upon a candidate of known qualifications, selected from the register of the Council. Mere seniority and length of service, when unaccompanied by fitness for a higher office, shall in no case be considered to give a right to promotion.

16.—Any master who shall be found deficient in zeal and energy in the performance of his duties, and whose class may not exhibit a sufficient degree of improvement at the annual examinations, shall be subject to examinations by the committee, and the result reported to the Council or to the Government (as the case may be) for information and orders.

17.—Each candidate shall be presented after examination with a certificate, specifying the grade in which he has been placed by the committee, and shall be permitted to undergo an examination at any future period to prove his qualification for a higher position.

18.—These rules do not necessarily apply to the offices of Principal and Professor, who may be selected on account of their known qualifications, or the academic honors they may have obtained in Universities of eminence and repute."

By these rules it will be seen that those who are to examine the candidates for employment are usually those who cannot be expected to have much practical knowledge of education as an art. The Principals, Professors and Head Masters of Colleges form usually the working portion of such committees, and of these three classes, but one is likely to be practically acquainted with the subject, to wit the head-masters; for it is expressly declared that those selected for the offices of Principal and Professor are usually so selected "on account of their known qualifications, or the academic honors they may have obtained in universities of eminence and repute." Ordinary practice confirms the statement, that, as education, theoretical or practical, is not a branch of study in universities of eminence and repute, it cannot be expected that the Principals or Professors engaged in these examinations should have any knowledge

whatever of the different systems, or modern improvements in Education. How then can they be capable of judging whether a man is fitted for the responsible duty of head-master of a village or other school? True, he may have the necessary amount of information himself, his moral character may be unexceptionable, and yet he may be by no means fitted for the task: for the possession of learning or moral excellence, and the communication of that learning, or the inculcation of moral excellence, are totally distinct and different things. These committees may judge of the fitness of the applicants as to attainments go certainly, but nothing farther. These observations are founded in truth, and require no support from authority; but as the latter weighs with many when the former warns in vain, we shall support our views by a short extract from a practical writer of eminence on this subject. Speaking of "the usual methods adopted to guide the choice of teacher," he says—"Examinations are, in our opinion, very objectionable. The qualities to which they have reference are not precisely those which it is most important that the master should possess. The degree of proficiency in science which the candidate may have obtained is the principal point to which enquiry is directed; but the talent of placing science within the reach of youth, and rendering it interesting to them, the power of judgment, the moral direction of ideas, and the intellectual capacity are very imperfectly appreciated. Nevertheless these powers are what should be imperatively required in an educator; for, with zeal and natural capacity, knowledge is readily acquired by study."*

There are few things of more importance to the welfare of a country generally, than that the standard appointed for the teachers to attain to should be a high one. Even though it be so far above the usual qualifications of the class that there is little likelihood of the majority attaining to it, its operation will be most probably beneficial in pointing to a height which it should be their constant endeavour to climb. This it is which renders it of such vast importance in the educated countries of Europe that the model school of the Normal colleges, should be conducted in the best possible manner, that being the school which all who leave the college will ultimately endeavor to rival in their own institutions. Where shall we find in connection with the Government system any institution fulfilling this important purpose? Where is the particular establishment which it is the hope of the future zillah schoolmaster one day to rival? There is none such. He enters upon his

duties ignorant what those duties really are; he professes to educate the pupils committed to his charge, being at the same time ignorant as to what education consists of; he endeavors to cultivate the physical, moral and intellectual powers of his scholars, when the probability is that he has but a vague idea of what the distinction is between man's physical and intellectual nature; he pretends to fit them for the world, and make them useful members of society, when in truth he has no clear conception of what the peculiar qualities are which tend to make a man such; in fine, he commences to educate without the most remote idea of the proper manner to practise the art of education! Under such circumstances as these what can we expect? Nothing but the spread of prejudices and evil habits, nothing but the inculcation of frivolous observances, and a total neglect of every thing likely to elevate man's nature. If we were to wait for the regeneration of India till it shall be accomplished by such means as these, we should wait long indeed. Where the education of the future schoolmaster is so defective, where the examples before him are so bad, where the system of future appointment is such an erroneous one, and the practice around him so deteriorating in its influence, what can we expect from the zillah schools of Bengal but a failure in promoting the true interests of civilization?

Few people in the world commence life with a larger stock of prejudices than the Hindus, and although these are no where very easily eradicated, it is peculiarly difficult to do so here. Measures adopted for this purpose, addressed to the adult population, are not very likely to be successful: for the impressions of a life-time are not to be effaced by the lectures or reasoning of a few hours. The consequences of these prejudices are lamentably evident around us—the most cursory consideration of the state of the people will be sufficient to convince us that a great part of the vices of the community, and a very large proportion of their degrading practices, are to be attributed to these prejudices. Now if an appeal to the adult population is not likely to be successful for their eradication, what is? Evidently the proper training of the youth, who, when they come to fill the positions formerly occupied by their forefathers, may then be expected to cast these prejudices aside, and take a higher position in the scale of humanity. If it be important anywhere therefore that education should be efficiently conducted, it is peculiarly so in India. We have shewn above that not only are the elementary educators unfitted by ignorance from properly prosecuting their duties, but that all the influences to which they are subjected are opposed to their

becoming so. With the smattering of knowledge which the intended schoolmasters acquire when prosecuting their own education, they are obliged to encounter the state of society which they find amongst their new friends in the village or district which is to be the scene of their labours. If they had been properly qualified previously, we might have anticipated the best results from this connexion. They would then set themselves steadily to resist the evil influences at work around them, they would make the superior excellence of their own cultivation apparent by the contrast their lives presented when compared with those of their fellow-villagers; they would take an honest and an honorable pride in being in every respect superior, and in the exhibition of that superiority; such an influence as this spread abroad could not be but beneficial, whilst under existing circumstances such conduct on the part of the educators is almost an impossibility. The remedy for this is plain—give the future village schoolmasters a good, a solid education first, and then fit them for their duties in a Normal College.

But whilst it is thus apparent from the existing state of things, and from the condition of the population generally, that such a course of preparation is indispensable for the future efficient performance of their duties by the teachers of the elementary schools of India, we shall be led to the same conclusion if we consider what the individual character of the Hindu is. That the natives of Europe, *generally speaking*, are a more energetic race is now universally allowed. Indeed we could not well decide otherwise when the respective situations of each are taken into our view. The most energetic of all Europeans invariably find that the influence of the climate, even during a residence of a few years, is enervating in a high degree; and if this be true of a shorter period, it, of necessity, follows that it will be still more certainly so of a longer: we cannot, then, wonder that a life-time spent here should cause a diminution of the energy and animal spirits of the individual so placed proportional to his temperament and situation. Setting aside all original difference between the two races, therefore, the individual Hindu is decidedly placed in a more unfavorable position than the individual European, nor would it be fair to look for the same perseverance, decision, and energy of character in the former which we should expect in the latter—numerous cases of the reverse of this dogma might be cited, and will probably suggest themselves to the reader, but we speak now of the rule, not of the exceptions. Indeed we doubt if these cases are exceptions; for it is not with the herd of ordinary people that we should compare such men as Rammohun Roy, but with men

of their own stamp and of equal abilities. The Hindu then, we are entitled to conclude, if our reasoning be valid, will enter upon the performance of his duties with equal abilities perhaps, but with inferior energy and perseverance, to the majority of Europeans. Under the old system of education, which has hitherto so much prevailed in Bengal, the teaching of the rudiments of learning is a disgusting, monotonous, uninteresting and painful task. With a climate which opposes persevering exertion, and makes even gentle exercise disagreeable in the heat of the day, we set a man who has been exposed to its enervating influence all his life over a school, and require him to teach that school by a system barely endurable in Europe, by a system the worst possible abstractedly considered, and of course the least calculated to assist his enervated powers or lead him on to perseverance! So much for the existing state of things, and the necessity of Normal colleges, if the education of the country is ever to be put upon a proper footing.

The question may now be asked, would all these evils be remedied by the proper training of the future educators? We answer, no. Some of these evils are inherent in the nature of things as established here; all that we contend for is that by training the schoolmasters, you do all that can be done to remedy the evils inseparable from their life and habits, whilst by giving them a knowledge of the system of education best adapted to the country, you give them all the advantages they can have, in order to perform their duties efficiently. In the first place the habits of attention, of perseverance, of determination, usually acquired by a course of Normal training are not likely to be allowed to depart from them the moment they leave the walls of their college and enter upon their duties. They see there that it is not by sleepiness, by a regard to ease and comfort, or by short irregular fits of exertion that the Model School is kept in that efficient condition in which it ought to be kept. On the contrary they witness daily the continued and regularly sustained exertion, the constant attention necessary to form and sustain a well-conducted school in efficiency, and however indisposed at first, they can scarcely avoid acquiring habits similar to those they daily see in operation around them. In this manner would a course of Normal training tend to correct as much as possible the faults of individual or national character—we speak not of its religious effects as these would be carefully shunned in any Government Institution of the nature we advocate.

Secondly, the duties of those trained as we assume, are far more interesting, and are performed with much greater alacrity,

in consequence of that training. By the attention which they have bestowed upon Education as a science they work as it were with their eyes opened, not blindfold or in ignorance—they work upon established principles not upon chance—they understand the *reason* of what they do, as well as its *object*. To the man thus enlightened every individual pupil becomes an object of study; he takes an interest in perceiving the differences of character, the peculiarities and prejudices which characterize each, and he verifies the truths taught him, or adds to them, daily, by the results of his own inductions.

Thirdly, by the study of the art of Education he obtains a knowledge of the best methods of communicating his own knowledge to his pupils. He acts upon established rules: his lessons are more interesting to himself and to the recipients and the consequence naturally is that the latter retain more of them—half an hour's tuition by a trained teacher we have little hesitation in affirming to be more salutary in its effects than two hour's instruction as given by one ignorant of his profession. The teacher remembers the Model School with which his Normal studies made him acquainted, and his emulation is roused to make his own equal to it; *that* emulation is communicated to the pupils, and they zealously second the exertions of their teacher. Under such circumstances, in fact, the conduct of a school is a harmonious system of discipline such as awakens the highest powers of both pupil and master, whilst it tends to develop the best feelings of both.

Impelled probably by the impression abroad in Europe that Normal Institutions are absolutely indispensable to the welfare of the country, we find in the last Report on Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, a scheme proposed by the Council of Education to the Government for the establishment of a Normal Institution in Calcutta. This we consider a satisfactory evidence that the Council is anxious to do what it can for the improvement of the education of India.* The following is the scheme to which we refer:—

4. Another matter of considerable consequence, and which has long been deemed essential to the future successful extension of education in India, has been the establishment of a normal school for teachers.

* Since this was written the Normal Institution has actually been opened. In this article, our remarks have been purposely *limited to Government operations*. It is, however, but fair to add that, many years ago, along with an improved system of teaching, the conductors of the Free Church Institution introduced lectures and readings on the Principles of Normal tuition into their educational course—combining, at the same time, the theory with the practice, by employing the senior students as monitors in teaching and training the junior classes.

To accomplish this great and desirable object, the necessity and importance of which have frequently been dwelt upon in our former reports,* the subjoined plan was submitted to Government in October last, with a letter of which the following extract will shew the nature and purport :—

* Para. 23 page 7 of Report for 1812-43-
Do. 11, page 12, of Report for 1813-14.

“ By selecting the school society’s school, numerous advantages will be gained in rendering it a model institution. It is immediately under the control of the Council ; can at all times be carefully watched and visited ; possesses a large body of intelligent pupils in various stages of advancement ; pays the greater part of its own expenses ; and from its close proximity to the Hindu College, renders the library and apparatus of that institution available for the normal scholars.

“ The draft of the plan proposed was originally prepared in this office, and circulated for report to all persons practically engaged in the business of education, from the aggregate of whose opinions and reports the present scheme was compiled.

“ The existing establishment of masters employed in the school could be gradually transferred to other situations as the normal school came into full operation, and their places supplied by the normal school pupils.

“ The detailed plan of instruction has not been specified, lest it should unduly fetter the operations of the school when established, and as it is as great as well as an entirely new experiment in this presidency, it is deemed better to allow the plan to develop itself, than to run any risk of injuring or misdirecting its operations.”

Plan.—The necessity for establishing a normal school is too great and universally acknowledged, and has been too frequently urged by the Council in their published reports, to need any further detailed demonstration.

The object of such an institution in India differs considerably from its uses in Europe, where the immediate moral culture of the masters or normal pupils living within the walls of the school, constitutes the principal portion of his training ; whereas in this country its design must of necessity, from local considerations, be confined to qualifying individuals to teach English literature and sciences, combined with such principles of morality as can be indirectly inculcated by such means upon the natives of India, through the medium of their own and a foreign tongue, by the shortest and most efficient methods. To effect this, the following proposals are submitted :—

1. The classes of the school society’s school shall be made available for the purpose of enabling the normal scholars to become practically acquainted, not only with the art of teaching, but the general control and management of pupils both as respects discipline and instruction, so as to render the institution selected as perfect a model school as possible.

2. The class of persons seeking employment in the education department shall consist of twenty students from different parts of India, upon a monthly stipend of Rs. 12 each, with an unlimited number of free students.

3. The former must be between 16 and 24 years of age, have no physical defects disqualifying them for the active duties of their profession, must produce satisfactory testimonials as to conduct, character and qualifications, and must enter into an engagement to serve in the education department, for at least three years, at whatever station they may be appointed to under the Bengal Presidency, after obtaining their certificates of qualification.

4. The latter must conform to the same regulations as regards age, character, and qualification, but will be allowed to dispose of themselves at their option after completing the prescribed course of their study, either to enter the Education service of the Government or establish private schools on their own account, etc.

5. The increasing demands for and extension of, educational establishments, both Government and private, in addition to the institutions already in existence, will rapidly absorb the elites of the normal school, and provide them with honourable and lucrative employment.

5. Teachers at present employed in the Government schools and colleges, who may be considered worthy of such an indulgence by conduct and character, upon special application, shall be permitted to study in the normal school for six or twelve months upon half their salaries; provided arrangements can be made for carrying on their duties without additional expence, or impairing the efficiency of the institutions to which they are attached.

6. All candidates prior to admission shall be examined, if in Calcutta, by the Committee of Examiners for employment and promotion in the education department, and if in the Mofussil, by the Government Inspector of schools and colleges, with the assistance of the Local Committees, in the following subjects:

Arithmetic, as far as it is contained in De Morgan's Work; Euclid, 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 6th, and 11th books; Algebra (Hind's or Peacock's); Addison's Works; the histories of Greece, Rome, India, and England; Milton and Shakespere (Richardson's Selections); Vernacular Grammar; Translations; and Geography.

7. The Examination of candidates for admission, and that of those who are leaving the school, shall take place simultaneously at the end of every six months, no pupil being permitted to remain in the school for a longer period than two years, under any circumstances.

8. After the establishment and efficient operation of the normal school, employment in the education service for native masters, will be given only to those who shall pass this examination, when they will be classed according to merit, as specified in the existing rules, and upon the occurrence of a vacancy the person at the head of the list shall first have the opinion of filling it.

9. The studies of the school to be those now pursued in the Government Colleges with the introduction, as far as practicable of the Cambridge writing-out system.

10. The advanced normal pupils to lecture occasionally in the presence of the superintendent upon such subjects in literature, history, or science, as he may deem fit, the MS. of the lecture being submitted for the inspection of the superintendent prior to delivery. All other details of the plan of instruction to be organized by the superintendent, and submitted to the Council of Education for information and approval.

11. The establishment shall consist of a superintendent upon a salary of Co's Rupees 600 per mensem, an assistant ditto upon Rupees 300, and a Pundit upon Rupees 50 per mensem.

The servants, etc. of the School Society's school to be made available for the model school without any additional expence to Government.

12. The library and apparatus of the Hindu College shall be available for the use of the normal School.

"The object of such an institution in India," says this report, "differs considerably from its uses in Europe, where the immediate moral culture of the masters or normal pupils living within the walls of the school, constitutes the principal portion of his training; whereas in this country its design must of necessity, from local considerations, be confined to qualifying individuals to teach English Literature and Science combined with such principles of morality as can be indirectly inculcated by such means upon the natives of India, through the medium of their own and a foreign tongue, by the shortest and most efficient methods." That the *object* of such an institution anywhere differs from its *uses* there or any where else, we conceive to be an indisputable fact of universal application, but here it appears we are to consider the *object* and *uses* as synonymous terms, and taking them as such we must confess our inability to discover how, either the object or the use of such an institution differs in India from the same relationships in Europe. The

object in *both* cases will undoubtedly be to fit the future teacher for his destination, to make him an *efficient* teacher, to give him a theoretical knowledge of the science which he is to profess, and a practical knowledge of the art which he is to practice; the use being the communication of efficiency to education, the better training of the population, the elevation of the country morally, socially and politically. The moral culture of the future masters within the walls of the institution is an important object in the Prussian system, is it then of little importance in India, whether the education of the masses of the population be moral or immoral? is it of little importance whether they train up their pupils to habits of vice or virtue by their own example? is it of no consequence whether India be a scene of low and debasing dissipation, or the abode of morality, temperance, and virtue? This is really the point at issue—this the test as to whether the moral culture of the future schoolmasters is to be neglected or not.

But again why should the design, in this country, be of necessity, *from local considerations*, “confined to qualifying individuals to teach English Literature and Science.” Is there any impossibility in having them trained in the institution itself to habits of propriety, order and morality? Nay, is not the very allowing of them to mingle, subsequently to their daily departure from the institution, with their former probably depraved companions, likely to implant more firmly in their minds their previous prejudices, and to eradicate the effects of those lessons which they have just received? Differences of caste and other prejudices may probably, in the first instance, cause a somewhat different arrangement of the students from what would be practised or would be necessary in an European institution, but further than this, we cannot discover any difficulty in the case.

The students in the plan before us are divided into two classes, the first a paid body entering for the first time upon an educational career, the second a class of free students who will be at liberty to dispose of themselves at their option on completing their course of Normal instruction. The only thing we have to object to in the regulations proposed concerning this second class is that stated in the fourth paragraph of the plan above quoted, which allows of those only from 16 to 24 years of age to enter as students. There may be many, we imagine, who at a later age shall have exhibited themselves as fit to enter upon educational duties, and who would prosecute their studies here with zeal and success if permitted. This is a point however easily altered, and we have little doubt that in such cases an infringement of the rule would not be objected to.

The ninth paragraph is somewhat curious in its way—"The studies of the school to be those now pursued in the Government colleges, with the introduction as far as practicable, of the Cambridge writing-out system."

If there is to be no other addition to the course of the Government Colleges, the education will be far from being such as will fit the students for their future duties; and again how can the "Cambridge writing-out system" be introduced into the studies of the school? It may be introduced into the *examinations* certainly, but these are very different from the studies.

The latter clause of the eleventh, and the whole of the twelfth paragraphs plainly prove that it is not the intention of the Council to carry out the institution with all that comprehensiveness and attention to its individual wants which its importance demands. If it is to be a separate establishment from the Hindu College, surely its importance is sufficient to demand for it every requisite, distinct from what may be found in that institution. If it be necessary to have a Normal Institution at all, why not place it on the best possible foundation at once, in order to insure its due efficiency? This is a point on which we would earnestly insist, as being one standing at the very foundation of the question, and being of the greatest importance. Half measures invariably disappoint us in their results. The good they do is limited, for the scheme has every chance against it, and only half those which might be in its favor: besides this, half measures are more expensive in the end, however cheap in the beginning—and one addition after another is found to be necessary as experience enlightens us, the end most generally being that we find stopping short of the complete establishment to be equally disadvantageous and impolitic. If a Normal institution is to be established, prudence and economy equally advise that it should be placed upon the best possible foundation at first, and such we trust will be the case.

In conclusion, we shall only express our firm conviction that until the teachers of the elementary schools of India are properly qualified for their duties previously to entering upon them, until one uniform system is introduced, such as may contribute to the intellectual, physical and moral development of the people, until the future teachers are *trained* instead of being *taught*, and until they learn to train others instead of teaching them, the entire education of the country will be incomplete and unsatisfactory—incomplete in itself as a system of national instruction, and unsatisfactory in its results as the renovator of India.

ART. II.—*Report on the embankments of the Rivers of Bengal. By order of the Deputy Governor of Bengal, dated 14th August, 1846. Calcutta, W. Ridsdale, Bengal Military Orphan Press, 1846.*

THE general question of embanking rivers is one of vast extent, and though of great magnitude, yet of such delicacy, that even any particular case requires much investigation to enable an engineer who has had long experience, in addition to the adequate talents, to decide upon the best mode, and to estimate the cost and results, of conducting such an operation. It is not proposed, therefore, in this paper to attempt to shew all the bearings of the question in respect to the Rivers of Bengal; but the report, lately printed by the Committee appointed by Government to enquire into the matter, seems to call urgently for remarks from any one who may be at all conversant with such subjects.

The questions offered for the consideration of the Committee by Government were, we find, dated the 14th August 1846, and the report of the Committee to Government is dated the 15th September following; the Committee therefore accomplished their work in one month, and came to a full decision in that time, recommending to Government, without qualification, the destruction of 3,000 miles of River Bunds, and the entire abandonment of the whole system which had been in operation for a long series of years. At the first view of the case, therefore, one would naturally conclude that the Members of the Committee were *either thoroughly acquainted with the whole extent of country protected by the embankments, and also men of great talents and experience in such questions*, so that having all the statistics of the tract before them, and the whole subject at their finger's ends, they could decide the question at once with confidence and safety; or that they were in every way unequal to such an investigation, and almost altogether void of the smallest perception of its difficulties, or of the vastness of the consequences of their decision. It seems impossible that any body can consider this case, and see such a question disposed of in a month,—a question involving, not only the property, but the lives of a dense population occupying many thousand square miles of country,—without concluding that one of these two suppositions must be correct. Let us examine the report with a view to decide.

The report begins by disposing of the whole question of confining the waters of rivers on general principles, proving

most satisfactorily in half a dozen paragraphs, that not the rivers of Bengal only, but that all rivers should be left unconfined. We are not going to follow the example of the Committee by attempting to settle such a question within the limits of this paper; but we may remark, that the conclusion is reached by a very simple and indeed not uncommon process: viz, looking at one side only. Certain disadvantages are mentioned as arising out of the system of confining rivers, and an instance is quoted in the rivers of Italy; but on the other side of the question not one glance is bestowed; not the smallest atom of credit is conceded to a system in which so much money has been expended, and under which the country has flourished; and not even the most trivial advantage is allowed to have been derived from it. Nothing is shewn but a dead weight of disasters, without the slightest counterpoise in the shape of benefit. A man is at a considerable expense in building and repairing his house, and after all there is a possibility of its falling upon his head; but against the disadvantage of this danger he sets the advantage of having a shelter from the sun and rain, and people seem generally to have come to the conclusion that upon the whole it is better to have a house to live in. The conclusion seems to be about equally general in civilized countries, that it is better not to let rivers wander about through the length and breadth of the land, as they think proper. The world may have been mistaken in this point, but such a question at least requires a thorough estimate of the actual amount both of advantages and disadvantages, before a system which has universally commended itself to the inhabitants of civilized countries is abandoned.

Further, as to the professional opinions, &c., passed in this portion of the report, every position, taken up and established so summarily, is open to attack; but it is not, as before stated, intended to attempt to go into the professional details of the question.

The Report next proceeds to speak of the origin of these Bunds. It states, that people instinctively built Bunds to keep the water from their lands, and so far, no doubt, it is right. Just in the same way men instinctively build roofs over their heads to protect them from the rain; the distinction between those who are acquainted with physical science and those who are not, seems unnecessary. It traces it to the fears and cupidity of individuals, or, in other words to their anxiety to save their lives and properties. If all that is done in the world from such motives were to be destroyed, there would be but little left.

The paragraphs 12 to 17 are very important; they speak of the mal-construction of the Bunds, of "their vicious locality, and total deficiency of level corresponding with that of the country they ought to protect;" of "their being so low that the floods go over them on the first unusual rise;" of "large portions of the river being without embankments," &c. They thus shew that the question is not simply, whether Bunds are upon the whole advantageous in this tract, but whether the disadvantages said to arise from them are not wholly or principally owing to their having been constructed without any uniform plan, and by persons without professional knowledge or sufficient means. There are many disadvantages connected with the present state of the Native Town of Calcutta, which a town, laid out upon an original and scientific plan, and built by regular architects, and of proper materials, would not have had. In the latter case, nine-tenths of the fires, cholera, &c. from which it at present suffers, would be avoided. But even with all the inconveniences arising from the denseness of the population, the materials of the houses, and the impurity of the streets, it is not considered advisable to burn it down, and let the people return to a state of nature.

The second section of the report professes to consider the effects of the embankments on the country; but, as before stated, in this part of the investigation, there seems to be an unintentional omission; viz: of all the advantages that have arisen from the Bunds. Statements are referred to which shew that the Bunds have altogether cost 115 rupees a mile per annum, including the remission to Zemindars on the lands injured by floods; but statements of the property and revenue secured by all the Bunds, that did *not* give way, and of the improvement in property, population and revenue, arising from the protection afforded by the Bunds, miserable and imperfect as they are, are not given. Perhaps it may be said, that the advantages are so extensive and diversified that it was impossible to shew them in a simple tabular statement, or even to calculate them at all with any approach to correctness,—and this may probably be the case; but it would still have been satisfactory to have shewn, that, at all events, the advantages were ten times the amount of the disadvantages. This might perhaps have been done without much difficulty; in such a case, for instance, as that while the Government expenditure had been $3\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs a year, the revenue was at least 35 lakhs more than it would have been, had the country been always left at the mercy of the river inundations.

In this section also, the rate of the rise of the beds of several rivers during a period of seven or eight years is shewn, terminating in 1827: but what conclusions can be drawn from this we are left to guess; for 1st, What the rise *would* have been, had the Bunds not existed, is not shewn, nor do the Committee attempt to form a judgment on that most essential point. 2nd. It is not stated what the rise has been during the last twenty years. 3rd. The committee *believe* that the rivers have not continued to rise at that rate, and therefore that the increase of sand is *rather apparent than real*: this is a question however that should be decided rather upon realities than appearances. Are there no better data than such as these procurable? Is there nothing known about the progress of the deposits in the beds of the rivers during the last twenty years?

In the fourth section the report professes to shew the effects of leaving rivers without Bunds. No precise statements are given; only some general assertions are made, such as, that in a certain year of inundations some districts with bunded rivers suffered more than others, whose rivers were not bunded: but, as no actual and tangible statement of the property in each case destroyed is given, no inference can be drawn from such assertions. The question is not, whether under certain peculiar circumstances, the one had the advantage over the other, but whether upon the whole, and in a series of years, the results are for or against a certain system. In a hurricane a beggar who has no shelter to live under may escape, while a rich man is killed by the falling of his house; but this does not decide the question against the building of houses. Nobody can come to any sound conclusion from such general assertions as these: nothing but complete statistical returns of the revenue, population, &c. of the different districts for a series of years, accompanied by a close and enlightened investigation of the various causes which have affected them, made by competent persons, can enable any one to come to a satisfactory decision on the question.

The fifth Section speaks of the fertilizing effects of the flood waters, of which there can be no doubt; but cannot this be secured without leaving the floods uncontrolled? The idea mentioned, that the water let in upon the lands by sluices has benefited them, seems to be a tolerably correct one. If the water that overflows, where there are no Bunds, fertilizes it is evident enough that the same water would not be spoiled by passing through a sluice: only there is this vast difference between the two cases, that if the water is admitted by sluices just so much as will be beneficial may be let into the fields

and the rest excluded ;—whereas without Bunds and sluices, whether the crop is to be improved or drowned is left to the floods' will and pleasure, the owner of the field being helpless.

It is stated that the lands between the Bunds and the rivers are highly valuable, and that the zemindars would gladly have the Bunds removed a mile from the river: but, 1st, This is because the zemindars are not engineers, and do not know that the removal of the Bunds would not have the effect they suppose. In rivers without Bunds, the kind of rich soil which is found immediately on the edge of the rivers does not extend to an indefinite distance from them, but is confined to a very narrow space. In the delta of the Godavery there is just the same difference between the land on the bank of the river, and that a mile off, where the river has never been embanked, as there is in other deltas where it has. 2dly, Is there no medium between letting the river flood range where it will, and allowing none of it to flow over the land? Must a man have a house either without walls or without doors? Who would dream of building Bunds without sluices to admit as much water as was desirable, if he understood how, and had the means? 3dly, If the Bunds are placed far from the edges of the rivers, they must be made with greatly increased sections, as the ground falls as you retire inland; and moreover in that case the land near them on the river side will be so submerged as to drown any crops even in moderate floods.

The concluding remarks of this section require some notice. It is said that the transport of the sand necessarily depends upon the velocity and volume of the currents, and that whatever contributes to the latter, tends to increase the former. Compare this with the 28th paragraph, where the Committee state, that, in their opinion, the rising of the beds of the rivers is owing to the bunding system; by the Bunds the depth, and consequently the velocity and volume of the currents, would be increased in the channels of the rivers, and therefore the deposits in their bed should be more rapidly carried off. What would have become of the additional deposits left in the beds of the rivers during a series of years, as mentioned in the third section, if the volume and velocity of the currents in the channel had been diminished by the water spreading over the country, for the beds of the rivers are formed of sand, and the Committee (Para. 35) say that it may be taken as proved that the sand would be carried over the country?

The sixth section speaks of some particular Bunds, apparently the only ones the Committee visited. In remarking on those

of the Damúda they prove so much, that the whole argument nullifies itself. It makes out that the Bunds are not wanted to keep out saltwater, and that they are not wanted to keep out fresh water; so that the inhabitants have put themselves to the expense of constructing embankments for which there was neither real nor apparent necessity. This is incredible! As a proof that they are not wanted in the freshes, it is stated, that the ryots cut them to let the water in;—had one of the members of the Committee, either through ignorance, or want of funds, built walls to his house without doors, he would probably rather break a hole through them, than not have the means of getting in or out. Were the poor people furnished with sluices to their Bunds, they would not be at the risk and trouble of cutting more; but of course, any thing is better than losing the fertilizing effects of the water altogether.

In the 37th and 38th paragraphs, mention is made of a particular breach, and the conclusion arrived at, is, that nothing can resist the natural tendencies of the rivers to find the easiest channels. There certainly are floods at times in all countries, the height of which is so great that the cost of providing against them would be more than the property at stake is worth; but certainly no greater mistake could possibly be made than to suppose that rivers in Deltas cannot be generally, retained in their channels, and that too, at comparatively a most trifling cost. In the Delta of the Cauvery in the Madras presidency, there has been no material change of the course of any river for a long series of years, excepting where it was diverted purposely by the engineer; though it is of course necessary to watch them continually, and frequently to apply remedies, where they show a tendency to wander from their proper course.

The 39th and 40th paragraphs further shew the miserable state of the Bunds, and the gross neglect of this most important subject hitherto.

After examining the Report thus far, could it be believed that the next paragraph should contain the desperate recommendation that the whole system of Bunds should be abandoned, and this by a Committee deeply impressed with the responsibility of their duties? Surely a more reckless conclusion was never arrived at on such grounds.

After a month's investigation, without one single enquiry into the former and present state of those districts, as respects their population, revenue, the amount of property in them now and formerly,—without any one statement that could shew whether, upon the whole, the districts had improved or not

under the system,—without one return from which a judgment can be formed of the effect of abandoning a system under which, and dependent upon which, the whole present state of things in these districts has been formed,—the Committee simply recommend the reversal of it.

It does not require a professional man to see that before deciding a question of this vast extent, upon which depend the lives and property of millions, and revenue to the amount of crores, the following points should have been decided :

1st. What was the state of these districts in respect of population, property and revenue, as far back as can be traced, compared with the same at the present time ?

2nd. How far is the difference between these two attributable to the Bunding system ?

3rd. Have the districts upon the whole therefore improved or not under this system, and to what extent compared with the expenditure ?

4th. How far are the disadvantages of any kind arising from the Bunds to be attributed to the confessedly imperfect way in which they have been constructed, without unity of design, sufficient means, or professional knowledge ?

5th. What would have been the probable present state of the districts had no attempts ever been made to restrain the floods ?

6th. What would have been their present state, had the Bunds been constructed as parts of one grand scheme, planned and carried out by competent professional engineers, with adequate means at their disposal ?

7th. What would be the probable cost and effect of substituting a well planned and systematic series of Bunds, provided with Sluices and all other necessary appendages, for the present miserable and disgraceful patchwork ?

Surely any intelligent person, whatever his profession may be, can see that to decide upon such a question as this, without these points at least being satisfactorily settled, would be desperate trifling with the very lives of the population. The Committee only recommend a return to a state of nature. In a state of nature the Island of Van Diemen's Land supported miserably 600 inhabitants; when improved by a civilized population it will support probably three millions. A *return* to a state of nature not only implies a return to the state in which a district was formerly, but also the destruction of the population that has sprung up under an artificial state of things.

To assist us in judging what would be the result of such an

investigation of this subject in regard to the Bengal Rivers, we may take as nearly a similar case as we can find, for which we have some data.

The Deltas of the Cauvery and Godavery in the Madras presidency will both be of use in this way.

That of the Cauvery first came under the management of our Government about the year 1800. There were some partial Bunds to the Rivers at that time, and they were taken care of by our Government from the first: but in 1818-19 severe floods occurred, which did such extensive mischief, that the subject was pressed more closely upon the Government, and happily, instead of returning to a state of nature, a more intelligent and vigorous system of management than the previous one was adopted: by degrees the Bunds were raised, and strengthened, and provided with the necessary sluices and other masonry works, till they were placed in a tolerably efficient state, so that for the last twelve or fifteen years no serious breach has taken place, and under the shelter of these embankments the people have felt that security which has encouraged them to carry out the improvements of their estates to a very considerable extent.

Nothing can possibly be more satisfactory than the whole result of this system of management, the very foundation of all being the Embankment of the Rivers, without which it was impossible that any man could feel secure of reaping the fruits of his labour and expenditure. It will be seen by the statistical return, which accompanies this article, that, including all the improvements in the embankments, irrigation and communication, the sum of Rs. 39 lakhs has been expended in forty-five years, or at the rate of 86,000 per annum,—and that during that time the Revenue has increased from Rs. 31,40,000 to Rs. 49,30,000, being a total increase of Rs. 17,90,000, per annum; so that with this expenditure of Rs. 86,600, of which probably not more than $\frac{1}{4}$, or Rs. 22,000 per annum, has been laid out upon the Bunds, the district has improved in respect of Revenue to the extent (at present) of Rs. 18 lakhs per annum, or altogether to 4½ lakhs in forty-six years. The population has also increased in the same time, from 8,90,000 to 13,00,000, or at the rate of 10,700 per annum.

Supposing for a moment that the Government could be insane enough to destroy the Bunds, there can be no doubt that the district would speedily return to the state in which it was, in 1800, or rather much below it,—involving the destruction of five lakhs of people; but more Bayonets than pick-

Statement showing the Collection of Land Revenue, &c. in the District of Tanjore.

[illegible]

The collection of 1991 survey data is the first of its kind, so that the survey reflects survey results for the first time.

4. Terms of reference were in accordance with the objectives of the Project.

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f The wrong ability to do calculus: you can't do it because you haven't studied it.

axes would be required to effect the destruction of the Bunds. There is not a man, black or white, civilian, engineer, or ryot, in any way acquainted with this Delta, that has any doubt as to the necessity of Bunds, or that they are the foundation of the wonderful prosperity of this tract. But it must be remembered that they have been improved under regular systematic professional management,—under the eye of able Revenue officers, who have made themselves thoroughly acquainted with the district, and have carefully watched the progress of the works and their effects. Yet they have been carried on under many disadvantages; for instance, there was formerly only one Engineer in a division which contained five collectorates; and even latterly there has been seldom more than one officer, never more than two, in a division consisting of two collectorates; so that the professional supervision has been by no means proportioned to the extent of the operations, and the amount of expenditure, which has been about two lakhs a year for the division. With respect to the levels of the beds of the Rivers, some management has certainly been necessary, some having at times fallen too low, and some having risen too high; but so completely have the means to correct these tendencies answered, that upon the whole the regulation of the beds has been steadily improving, and they have never been in so good a state as they are at present. The tendency of the Rivers to wander has also been effectually counteracted, and the idea of permitting one to take a new course is never entertained for a moment. A very severe flood, far above what has been experienced for half a century, would no doubt do most extensive mischief, far beyond what it would do if the district were in a state of nature; but it must needs be so;—a fire in Calcutta now, would do much more mischief than it would have done when the town consisted of a few huts.

Upon the whole, therefore, it is undeniable that in this case the bunding system has been productive of nothing but prosperity, and that to an astonishing extent, without one disadvantage other than what is of necessity connected with all improvement, that is, that in proportion as prosperity and population increase, so must the extent of mischief be great under certain circumstances.

The statistical table of the Revenue, &c. of this district seems to require some further remarks in connection with this subject.

It is not meant that the Bunds were the sole cause of these

splendid results, but it is certain that they are an essential, and indeed the fundamental part of the system of works required to secure the vast amount of produce of which a Delta is capable. After able civil management, the next thing is the control of the water. The works for this are—

1st. The embanking of the Rivers to secure the lands from being drowned, when they ought to be covered with crops.

2nd. Channels to lead the water to and from the land, that is, to secure the irrigation and drainage of every part.

3rd. Masonry works, such as sluices, drains, aqueducts, tunnels, &c. to regulate the distribution of the water, the levels of the beds of the Rivers, &c.

4th. Communications, without which a Delta country is worse off in some respects than poorer tracts.

An examination of the table will shew in a most striking manner the results of such a system of works in a Delta. Let them be compared with those of a district left in a "state of nature," or with one in which the Bunds have been built, without sluices, without plan or skill or sufficient means, and where the Rivers have been allowed to choose new channels for themselves in any direction they thought proper. The seasons are as irregular now, and the floods as severe as they were fifty years ago; yet we find, that, whereas, at the beginning of that period the produce fluctuated forty-two per cent. in a period of five years, it has steadily become more regular and certain, till the variation has diminished to three per cent. while the average produce has increased fifty-four per cent. so that the least produce of any year of the last period, is upwards of twenty-five per cent. more than the greatest of the first period.

The total expenditure to obtain these ends has been on an average Rs. 86,600 per annum; but during the last ten years, it has amounted to Rupees 1,13,000 per annum, because several few, large and important works have been executed during that time, such as two large weirs across the Colleroon, &c., the full effects of which have not yet been developed. The expenditure, therefore, which has been required both to keep the original works in repair, and to pursue a system of improvement, has been about two per cent. upon the revenue, while the revenue has increased nearly 40 per cent. per annum.

If any person, who was sceptical on the subject of the advantages of Bunds, were to make one journey through this district, he would probably be satisfied at least that they were not universally injurious. Perhaps no tract in the world presents such a picture of fertility. The whole Delta, of which

Tanjore is the principal part, contains about $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions of people, or perhaps five hundred to the square mile. Yet, as a Delta, it has not such remarkable natural advantages,—the River which waters it not being very regular in its supply, and in some years having no large quantity of water in it; indeed in 1836 there was an almost total failure of the main freshes for more than three months, so that were it not for the strict economizing of the water, the main crop would occasionally be lost entirely; and on the other hand, but for the Bunds, the whole district would at times be submerged, and the entire crop be destroyed by the floods.

The results in this district are of immense importance, if duly considered. They shew what might have been made of this country generally, had European science, capital and energy been applied to it, as they ought to have been. The increase of revenue is a very good test of the prosperity of the people, besides shewing how abundantly the Government might have been supplied with money for all the expenses of the state. The total collections during this period of forty-six years, *above* what they would have been, had the district remained stationary, as the remaining portion of that presidency has, is four hundred and fourteen lakhs or four millions sterling. The prosperity of the people is shewn also by the value of land; ~~about ten years ago~~ it was found by an average of many sales of estates, that the land sells for about forty Rupees an acre, so that the saleable value of the lands must have been about four millions sterling at that time; and it is probably much more now.

The state of the Delta of the Godavery in the Rajahmundry district, which has been *without* Bunds till within the last few years, and in which they are yet in a most imperfect state, will, on the other hand, shew the consequence of *neglecting* these most essential works. It is a Delta of vastly superior natural advantages to Tanjore; the soil is much superior on an average,—the river in the worst years contains water enough to secure two crops, on two or three such tracts; and it has a large body of water in it throughout the dry season. The statement of revenue shews at one time an increase to the extent of about twenty-two per cent., and then a decline, so that it is now scarcely above what it was forty-five years ago. This is the revenue of the whole district, of which a large portion is not in the Delta of the Godavery. The collections in this Delta are now about thirteen lakhs, while those of the Cauvery (a Delta of the same extent, but inferior natural advantages) are about fifty lakhs, or nearly four times as great.

The population of the latter being also, as stated, about thirteen lakhs, while that of the former is under four lakhs. Some progress had been made in the last five years towards effectually bunding the river; and the Court of Directors have now sanctioned a plan, including the complete embanking, irrigating and draining of the Delta at an estimated cost of twelve lakhs.

For the satisfaction of those to whom the present subject is one of deep interest, we may here subjoin the *statistical statement, the result of which has now been given, shewing the collection of Land Revenue, &c. in the District of Rajahmundry* :—

Years.	Total Collection.	Average of each 5 years.	Years.	Total Collection.	Average of each 5 years.
Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1803	20,60,000	19,90,000	1824	25,80,000	23,90,000
1804	15,90,000		1825	23,40,000	
1805	20,80,000		1826	25,10,000	
1806	20,50,000		1827	23,60,000	
1807	21,50,000		1828	24,90,000	
1808	20,40,000	23,10,000	1829	23,40,000	22,40,000
1809	21,40,000		1830	23,60,000	
1810	25,90,000		1831	20,80,000	
1811	21,10,000		1832	19,10,000	
1812	26,50,000		1833	26,70,000	
1813	23,90,000	22,50,000	1834	26,40,000	23,10,000
1814	22,70,000		1835	19,60,000	
1815	18,70,000		1836	21,50,000	
1816	23,70,000		1837	21,40,000	
1817	23,40,000		1838	17,30,000	
1818	23,40,000	22,60,000	1839	17,20,000	18,50,000
1819	22,50,000		1840	17,40,000	
1820	21,50,000		1841	21,10,000	
1821	22,90,000		1842	19,60,000	
1822	22,50,000		1843	17,30,000	
1823	21,80,000		1844	17,70,000	

By such statistical tables as those which we have given, the effects of a certain system of management may be judged of: no conclusion whatever can be possibly formed from a mere statement of what it has cost to keep it up. If a man were to ask his friend whether he did not think it were a pity to lay out ten rupees a year upon the repairs of his house, he would probably request, before giving his opinion, to be informed what the value of the building was, on which he was laying out such an annual sum in repairs. For all that appears in the Report, the amount of property at stake may be a hundred times the amount expended in the Bunds, or it may not equal it. The district may have been annually improving to any extent under the shelter of the Bunds, miserably imperfect as they are, or they may have been constantly retrograding; and even were it shewn in the Report, that they had become impoverished,

it would remain to shew by some actual and tangible statement, not by "we are of opinion," and "we believe,"—

1st. That such deterioration is owing to the Bunds, &c.

2nd. That it is owing not merely to the Bunds as they are, but to the bunding system itself; that is, that if the Government had constructed an efficient system of Bunds, on sound engineering principles, provided with the necessary sluices, &c. for admitting the water and regulating the beds and courses of the rivers, the district would still have been injured by them.

Till these points are proved nothing is done. As to the Bunds having cost one hundred and fifteen Rs. a mile per annum, it says nothing at all, either for or against them. The question is, not what anything costs absolutely, but what it costs in comparison of its real worth. Further; the Report says, "that such catastrophes (the breaching of the Bunds) have not arisen from any want of an ample expenditure by the Government to keep the Bunds in an efficient state." In the first place, not one proof of any kind is given to shew that one hundred and fifteen Rs. a year is ample to keep the Bunds in order; and if an opponent were, therefore, to meet this by a simple counter-assertion, that it would require three times as much to keep them up, he would be on as good ground as the Committee.

But every part of their own Report flatly contradicts this assertion. The following are the expressions used in the Report on this point—"Their malconstruction, vicious locality, and deficiency of level corresponding with that of the country they ought to protect;"—"The disjointed nature of the Bunds, and the large extent of the different portions of the several rivers remaining without embankments;"—"It appears that these Bunds were constructed bit by bit, and apparently without any, or very little reference to the general level of the country;"—"A uniform system of bunding the rivers had never been thought of," and as we are informed by one of themselves this patch-work exists in the Damoodah embankments, &c.;—"Their uncertain levels and irregular construction;"—"One portion of the Bunds three feet above the River, while the adjoining one is overtopped and breached,"—"On several of the rivers the Bunds are now, whatever they may once have been, so low and intermixed with the Zemindary Bunds, that the floods go over them at the least unusual rise." If it should be said that still money enough has been expended by Government, there can be only one alternative left us; viz. that the officers in charge of the embankments were so totally unfit for their charge, that the money in their hands has been worse than thrown away.

In whatever way it is taken, as the Report itself stands,

no conclusion against the Bunding system can be formed from such a document. What can be expected of a ship that is originally viciously constructed and on false lines, commanded by a man ignorant of navigation, not half equipped, her cordage rotten, masts in the wrong places, and in every respect unseaworthy; and what should we think of a man arguing from the danger he had met with in sailing in her, that we had better return to a state of nature, and either stay on shore, or go to sea on a log of wood?

All that we learn from the Report is,—

1st. That the Bunds have been originally constructed in an imperfect manner in every respect.

2nd. That they have cost one hundred and fifteen Rs. a mile per annum.

3rd. That they are not kept in order.

4th. That they are constantly overtopped and breached.

Scarcely one of the essential points in the enquiry is even touched upon. Were the Committee called upon to report on the operations of a Banking Company for a given series of years, and to give an account of the actual position of its affairs, some such statement as the following might probably be put forth as the result of their labours to awaken the unsuspecting shareholders to a conviction of their impending fate:—

“A statement of the operations of the Hugly Banking Company from 1835-36 to 1844-45 inclusive, being a period of ten years:—

Capital (not ascertained.)	Amount lent on security of landed
Deposits ditto.	property Co.'s Rs. 19,73,558 12 4
Profit and Loss account ditto.	Charges in Trade .. 14,77,891 15 9
	Co.'s Rs. 34,51,450 12 1

Actual position of the affairs of the Hugly Banking Company, September 15, 1846.

Loss on the Banks operations during the last 10 years 34,51,450 12 1

Probable result of further operations (not ascertained.)

Your Committee feel satisfied from the above statements that the system on which this establishment is conducted is an unsound one, and fraught with the most serious evils to the Proprietors, and do not hesitate for a moment to recommend that the whole system be immediately abandoned.”

The question however is in itself no joke. The lives and property of the inhabitants of a tract of most fertile land, protected by 3,000 miles of River Bank, and the Government Revenue derived from it are no trifles, and call most loudly for the most decided measures on the part of Government to

secure their protection. Is it possible that there is not in the presidency one man to be found, able to grapple with this question, not one member of the Civil Service, not one engineer competent to conduct an efficient enquiry into the respective branches of this most important question? Is there nobody even that knows already without any farther enquiry, whether upon the whole the districts have thriven or retrograded under the Bunding system, or who could shew on unanswerable grounds that an expenditure of ten times the sum stated, if placed at the disposal of competent persons, would produce an abundant return to Government, and bring these districts into such a state of fertility and prosperity, as would exceed their present state, as much as that of Tanjore does its state fifty years ago? People in general, indeed, who have not witnessed it, cannot easily imagine what a Delta is capable of being brought to, or of the prodigious returns it will yield to a liberal and skilful system of management, when a well digested system of works is carried out, for controlling the floods, distributing the water, regulating the level of the beds and courses of the rivers, and draining the lands. A complete system of roads with bridges, and, if possible, internal navigation also, are of course necessary to give full effect to the improvements in the management of the water.

But those who have witnessed such operations and their results, know, that so far as the welfare of a people and the security of the existing Government depend upon wealth and plenty, there is nothing which a Government can do that will more effectually secure them, with the same amount of expenditure, than such an improvement of Delta lands. Is it not a dishonour to our Government that such important works should have been so long left in such a confessedly disordered state, as if there were neither funds nor engineering knowledge forthcoming to put them to rights, while they are absolutely necessary to the development of the vast resources of one of the most fertile tracts of country in the world, and where every well-directed effort will certainly be so abundantly rewarded?

A little consideration of this matter will enable any one to perceive that a close examination of the merits of this report is of the greatest importance, not only in respect of the point which it discusses, but also in reference to other questions of still greater national importance.

ART. III.—1. *The Government Gazette and Acts of the Legislative Council of India.*

2. *The Acts of the Legislative Council of India with a Glossary; an Analytical Abstract prefixed to each Act, and Copious Index, by William Theobald, Esq. Barrister at Law and Advocate of the Supreme Court. Calcutta, 1844.*

THE 22nd of April, 1834, was the date on which the new Charter Act ought to have come into full operation, and it was passed in the previous August to allow a sufficient interval to make the necessary arrangements for the establishment of the new Legislative Council and other things: yet the superseded system was preserved for some months beyond that period; and the first Legislative Act of the Governor-General in Council was an act to legalize retrospectively the proceedings of the extinct government. The second Act of the Governor-General in Council, passed on the same day, was a fit companion to the first; it was simply an act to correct a misnomer of the Secretaries of government in an act of parliament, and to apply the designation used to the proper persons. We do not refer to these Acts as in any degree marking the character of the Legislative Council; they will scarcely support any kind of inference respecting that body; but they are *facts*, and proper to be considered, in connection with other circumstances, in estimating the collective character of the machine of government.

The Legislation of the first seven months of the year 1835 was unimportant. The very first act, being the third of the new series, was passed on occasion of the absence of the Governor of Madras from the city, and its object was to make his individual acts or orders while away from council as valid as orders of the Governor and Council. The legality of this Act appears very questionable, on an examination of the parts of the charter act which relate to the government of those Presidencies which have a Governor and Council: and certainly no second similar act has been passed; which is remarkable; though several times since, the Governors of Madras and Bombay have left the Presidency town and seat of government, and been away from council. The act recites no circumstances; but simply and authoritatively invests the Governor with powers belonging to the Governor in Council: nor does it abridge the powers of the Council: and therefore it would appear to have established two executive governments; that is, the Governor and the Council; leaving them, we may surmise, to arrange with one another for the division and distri-

bution of their functions. Giving as we do to this remark the form and tone of an objection, what it may be asked, should in such a case have been done? We feel no difficulty in answering the question. If a *political* emergency arises which calls a Governor from Council, separate powers should be delegated to him, but only to the extent needed for the special objects of the occasion. If on the other hand the emergency is not political, but the hot steamy atmosphere of the plains disgusts, or the fine climate of the Nilgiri hills attracts him, let, we should say, his Honor be exonerated from the cares of government, in order to enhance his pleasure, or, if out of health, to hasten his convalescence. While in the case of all other public officers and servants absence from duty is permitted only on leave, and under strict regulations, our Governors and Governor-Generals are permitted to quit the helm at discretion; and to leave the Council, and the machine of government scarcely in possession of its faculties and functions. There is another alternative which we have not mentioned; that of the Governor being accompanied by the members of Council.

Next, in the early part of 1835, closely following one another, are two Acts which deserve to be mentioned as types of a class, rather than for their intrinsic importance. ~~Among~~ the territories of British India, are several districts called non-regulation provinces, from being governed, not as the rest of the country, through officers in subordination, the judiciary to the Sudder Dewany Adalat, the revenue to the Revenue Board &c., according to the general regulations of the Presidency, but by officers acting under the immediate orders of the Governor General or local government. The two Acts alluded to, applied to the Tenasserim Provinces, and the Kassya Hills and territory of Cachar, and place those countries or districts under the regular system of government. Acts of this kind supply the place of orders of the Governor-General under the former system; this is a change rather in form than substance; it is doing through the Legislative what was before done through the executive department; the orders by which these objects were accomplished were published as the Acts are now, and the public are no more informed than formerly of the motives and grounds of the proceeding.

For two years after the Charter Act was passed, and upwards of sixteen months after it ought to have been in full operation, it produced none of the expected fruits of legislation. The local journals of the times were full of complaints of the inertness of the government, and chiefly on account

of it a numerous party declined to join in the public congratulation and homage to Sir Charles Metcalfe on his removal in 1834 to Agra after having been acting Governor-General. But Sir Charles was not to blame: the fault was in the Court which was disaffected to the new system. The Court was indisposed to endow the local legislature with that modified independence which certainly was designed by parliament. And it was the influence of this spirit which kept back legislation.

In July 1835, was passed the first Act which indicates in any sure degree the vitality of the new legislative arrangements. The previous Acts would have been passed either as orders or Regulations, if there had been no change of system. A body about to make laws for the first time, proceeding intelligently, would at the beginning provide for the promulgation, proof, and identification of them, and thus save Courts of justice from the embarrassments, which the judges have experienced in England, where legislation had gone on for centuries without any provision of this kind, and consequently the judges had themselves to decide in respect of what Acts of parliament they would require proof, and in respect of what dispense with proof. The Act alluded to,—Act X. of 1835,—was passed to make *production* of the Government Gazette proof of any Act contained in it, purporting to be an Act of the Governor-General in Council. In some respects this provision is very distinguishable from the law relating to the proof of Acts of parliament. Of the latter, if *general*, the Courts in England are bound to take judicial notice, irrespective of the fact of any promulgation; by the Act in question on the contrary, the Courts are not bound to take judicial notice of an Act of the Legislative Council, except on its *production*; such, at least, is the *law*, though we should by no means think any Court right in requiring as a formal preliminary, the production of any known Act of Council. The Indian Act also does not distinguish between public or general Acts and private Acts, but makes production of the Gazette equally sufficient proof of any kind of Act of Council.

The first Act really worthy of note immediately follows the one just mentioned; and is, the celebrated Act for establishing the liberty of the press* in India on certain conditions. But even this Act was determined on long before, and its merit on general grounds of policy, and its faults of detail, cannot with historic justice be solely imputed to the Governor-General in Council for the time being. This Act repeals all

* Act No. XI. of 1835.

the existing regulations relating to printing; but still neither establishes an absolutely free press, nor puts it merely under those restrictions which were imposed on the English press during the worst part of the 3rd George's reign. A brief analysis of this Act may be acceptable. The first section repeals four previous specified Regulations, being, in fact, all the law relating to the press, and which put printers and publishers and literature at the mercy of a jealous Government. Section 2. provides that no printed periodical containing news, or comments on news, shall be published within the territories of the East India Company, except in conformity with the rules specified; viz. that the printer *and* the publisher of every such periodical shall appear before the magistrate and make in duplicate a specified declaration. The declaration is, that the person making it is printer or publisher, and it states the place of printing. As often as the place of printing or publishing is changed, a new declaration must be made, and also as often as the printer or publisher leaves the territories of the East India Company. Section 3, subjects to a fine not exceeding five thousand rupees (£500 stg.) *and* to imprisonment for not exceeding *two years*, any person printing or publishing, or causing to be printed or published, any periodical without conforming to the specified rules. Section 4, provides for the authentication and deposit of the declaration. Section 5, makes an *office copy* of the declaration *prima facie* evidence that the person named in it was the printer and publisher. Section 6, allows persons who have ceased to be printers and publishers to make a similar declaration of the fact, and thereupon the first declaration is to cease to be evidence. Section 7, requires *every book and paper* to have printed on it the name of the printer and publisher and the place of printing and publication; and subjects persons printing or publishing who do not conform with this rule, to the punishment already mentioned. Section 8, provides that no person shall keep in his possession any press for the printing of books or papers who shall not have made the following declaration;—"I, A. B. declare that I have a press for printing at——;" and whoever shall keep in his possession any such press shall be subject to the punishment already mentioned. Section 9, lastly, makes any person who shall knowingly affirm an untruth in any declaration under this Act, liable to the same punishment.

Thus it appears that this Charter of the Press substitutes a system of registration for the licensing system. It establishes in the form of a declaration, a register of printers and

publishers; a register of periodicals, including the religious kind as well as the political: a register of printing offices and of printing presses; and superadds the necessity of printing on all kinds of books and papers, the printer's name and place of printing. For what purpose all these regulations, if not to facilitate the surveillance which government to that time had been in the habit of exercising. They were not and are not necessary, for the administration of the law of libel by Courts of Justice. With all deference for many persons who have contrarily expressed themselves, we must pronounce this a very jealous piece of legislation. It bespeaks suspicion and distrust of *unlicensed* printing: it clings to the means and appliances of despotism; and we are confirmed in this view of it, when, from the precautions we turn to consider the *punishments*. Five thousand rupees! five hundred pounds sterling! and two years imprisonment! We cannot repeat the amount without a feeling of indignation: this, indeed, is the maximum; and an unlimited minimum is, indeed, left to judicial discretion; but who are the judges, and in whom is vested this discretion over the lives and fortunes of those who are among the best guardians of public and private right, and the great promoters of knowledge and civilization? So high is the maximum that the imposition of half, or a quarter of the fine might well, in many places, be ~~run to the~~ victim; and as for the imprisonment, in an Indian jail, it would be in effect a sentence of death to an European.

The only other general Act of considerable importance passed in 1835 was an Act for establishing a gold and silver coinage of uniform standard and denomination, for all the Presidencies. To commend such an Act would be superfluous; to account for its postponement until 1835, might be useful, but would be invidious. The silver coins established by this Act* are, the Company's rupee, a half rupee, a quarter rupee, and a double rupee. These coins are the only legal tender throughout British India. The weight of the rupee is 180 grains troy, and the standard as follows: viz. 11-12 or 165 grains of pure silver, and 1-12th or 15 grains of alloy. The rupee at *par* of exchange is reckoned as equal to two shillings. The gold coins are, a gold mohur, or fifteen rupee piece of the weight of 180 grains troy, and of the following standard, viz. 11-12 or 165 grains of pure gold, and 1-12th or 15 grains of alloy; a five rupee piece, a ten rupee piece, and a thirty rupee piece or double gold mohur. Gold is not a legal tender, and there

* Act XVII. of 1835.

is no gold in circulation. The Act gives as an equivalent denomination to gold mohur, "fifteen rupee piece;" but why so low a value in rupees is fixed, we cannot imagine. In the local price currents gold mohurs are usually quoted at a premium of 14 per cent and upwards; and on an average of years they have been at a premium of 8 per cent relatively to the market price of bullion. We can conceive cases in which the undervaluation would operate unjustly on individuals; *e. g.* if to make up an amount of land revenue, the Zemindar or farmer is obliged to take accommodation in hoarded gold mohurs, or to pay away his own treasured ones; the Collector will take them only at fifteen rupees each; yet pay them at that rate he must; or he forfeits his estate for non-payment of the revenue.

The only gold coined at the Government Mint is from bullion taken to it by private persons, the charge to whom is one per cent for coining. In the coinage Act just described, gold and silver coins were required to bear on the obverse the head and name of the reigning Sovereign: but upon her Majesty's accession an act was passed to suspend that provision, because, as we learn from a note of Mr. Theobald's, "it was timidly and erroneously supposed that the head of a female Sovereign would offend some of the prejudices of the natives of India:" and it was further provided that until the Governor-General in Council should by an order in Council declare the provision alluded to again in force, the gold and silver coins should bear on their obverse the head of the deceased Sovereign, William the Fourth: a strange numismatic anomaly.

An Act, probably intended to be general, but in terms confined to the mint in *Bengal*, was passed this year for the establishment of a copper coinage; and in 1844 was re-enacted without the restriction to Bengal, and applied to all the mints in the territories of the East India Company. The copper coins established by these Acts* are the *pice*, the *double pice*, and the *pie*, being respectively the 64th, 32nd, and 192nd part of the Company's rupee, and composed respectively of 200, 100 and thirty three 1-12th troy grains of copper. The Act says, the coins just specified *only*, shall be issued: but in fact there are in circulation, notwithstanding this enactment, anna or 4 pice, two anna or 8 pice, and half anna copper pieces, issued, we believe, from the Calcutta Mint; and anna pieces, copper or silver, or both, are certainly required for the public convenience, as well as to correspond with accounts,—which are kept in rupees, annas and pie. The pice and the pie are equal to

about the fourth and the twelfth of three half pence; and consequently, the pie is equal to about half a farthing: and thus it appears that in India the smallest coin is of no lower value than the lowest coins in England; and therefore relatively to the rate of the wages of labour in India and the price of the chief articles of subsistence of the Indian population, the Indian poor are very inadequately provided with coins. A lower coin than a pie is certainly practicable.

An Act was passed this year (1835) for Bengal, removing the prohibition to wear badges. The wearing of a badge was formerly a privilege of *authority*. In the days of forced labour and forced supplies, a badge served to distinguish those by whom these established oppressions might lawfully be exercised. The prohibition, we may surmise, was enacted, to prevent the assumption of a badge by persons who, having no right to it, abused under cover of it the authority which it symbolized. The people of Bengal at least, we are happy to believe, have ceased to be liable to any serious extent to be imposed upon by badges; and in fact forced labour and forced supplies being no longer allowed, the prohibition is properly abolished. The apparent connection of this Act with an improvement in the condition of the people and the habits of the public authorities, induces us to give this notice of it.

In this year also was passed for Bengal, an Act to alter the law relating to breaches of engagements of ryots with indigo planters. The ryot receiving an advance of money, for cultivation, and then not keeping his engagement, was by a former law guilty of a misdemeanour: this elder law, is by the Act, before us, simply repealed. Probably the Legislature thought the offence one fit only for a civil remedy for the party injured. And a few months later, another Act was passed, expressly giving what on general principles must be supposed to have existed before, a civil remedy, and making any person who, knowing of the advance, induced the ryot to desert his duty, liable to compensate the injured planter. Legislation such as this may safely be pronounced illusory. A right to damages through the medium of a civil court, perhaps forty miles off, and against a man who lives in a hut which cost originally but a few shillings to build, and not worth a pice to sell, and all whose other possessions are worth but a few shillings more, is a mere nominal right, and the planter would be better without it. Besides, the very first charge for Stamps on the law proceedings on the part of the planter, would probably exceed the value of the whole of the ryot's property. The Indigo planter would need no special law.

if the general administration of justice were made as cheap and accessible as under the circumstances of the country it might be. The Law Commissioners have reported on the defects of the system; but the authorities find it less inconvenient to make illusory laws for particular classes, than to reform their system. If there is to be a special law for the indigo planter, it should be on this principle; viz, that a man who has sold his labor and been paid for it, shall be compelled to give it; but this would be to make a slave of every debtor until his debt is satisfied.

There are several other Acts of the year 1835; but they are merely of an executive character. Generally they are for purposes which had under the old system been authorized by executive orders, not Acts of the Legislature; as, for instance, the Acts already mentioned, making Assam, Arracan and Tenasserim, and the Kassya Hills, regulation provinces; or again, for example, an Act transferring claims theretofore entertained by a special Commissioner, to the regular Courts of Justice; or again, for example, an Act authorising the Governors of Bengal and Agra to transfer from any Commissioner to the Sessions Judge, &c., the duties connected with criminal justice. So again an Act, empowering the Collector instead of the civil judge, to make sales for arrears of rent, &c. or revenue: another Act, empowering the Governor of Bengal to assign to officers not in the covenanted branch, or civil service, the duty of superintending the Salt Chokies: another Act, empowering him to appoint any military officer a magistrate, &c. There are other acts of the same nature, or which might be classed with these; but for illustration, the above are sufficient.

We pass now to 1836. This year is distinguished by several acts of an enlightened and liberal character. By the Charter Act the exclusions established by the commercial jealousy of the East India Company were broken down, and British subjects acquired the liberty of freely settling in India. The Acts which we have just characterized as liberal are for the most part merely consequential on this new policy. Their origin in truth is parliamentary. The first Act of the kind was passed to abolish the disqualification by reason of place of birth, or by reason of descent, for holding certain inferior judicial offices under the Company: and the persons admitted to office under this act were made by it amenable to the same inferior class of tribunals. This year also the exemptions by reason of place of birth, and by reason of descent, from the jurisdiction of certain specified *Civil*

Courts, were generally abolished. And by subsequent Acts the same exemptions have been abolished as it respects the remaining *Civil* and Revenue Courts of the East India Company. The collective operation of these and two or three similar Acts passed subsequently, is, to open *inferior* judicial appointments to British subjects generally; and to bring British subjects, as it respects their civil liabilities, under the jurisdiction of the Mofussil Courts, i. e. Courts of the East India Company generally. To the present day British subjects are not amenable to the Criminal Courts of the East India Company; nor, until the judicial system of India, civil and criminal, is re-organized, would it generally be deemed expedient to make them so. We may here remark that though *inferior* judicial appointments are opened to all classes, the superior ones, under the names of magistrates and judges, are in the *proprietary gift*, impropriations, of the Court of Directors.

The abolition of the inland transit duties of *Bengal* was effected this year; and is by far the most important measure, in its commercial, and probably in its social effects generally, hitherto passed by the Council of India. This Act again is parliamentary in its origin; and was limited to a Province by the policy of the Court of Directors. A short experience having removed all doubt, and justified the anticipations of the utility of this measure, it was followed by the repeal, in 1838, of the *Bombay*, and in 1844, of the Madras transit duties. Thus it appears, that Madras was allowed to suffer under the system of inland transit duties ten years after they were abolished in Bengal. The Acts repealing the transit duties contained the new Customs Duties,—(since altered)—which are the same for all the Presidencies. They discriminate between goods imported and exported on British and on foreign bottoms. The latter mostly are subjected to *double* duties. The single duty being originally moderate, the differential scale was, comparatively, innocent. But since the duties have been raised, in some instances doubled, the difference has destroyed a great part of the foreign trade without transferring it to British shipping. Another thing is observable. By the Bengal Act, vessels owned by natives of Arabia and coming from the Ports thereof, and the vessels of any country or Port of Asia not subject to the Dominion of the King of Great Britain, are declared to be *foreign* vessels; and consequently their goods are subject to double duties. In the Bombay and Madras Acts, are several special regulations of an equally unsound and illiberal character. Thus, all goods passing by land

or by sea from Bombay into any *foreign European* settlement on the Bombay line of coast, are liable to double duties. And consequently goods which had been previously imported into Bombay, and charged with the import duties, would in effect pay treble duty. This injury is levelled at our Portuguese and French neighbours. As it respects states similarly situate, if such there be, the Governor in Council may, by notice in the Gazette, declare their territory to be *foreign* territory, and goods passing into or out of such territory to be liable either to the higher or the lower scale of duties. Moreover, we at last come to this crowning regulation; that the trade by land and by sea with the neighbouring states, and if by sea, whether carried on in craft owned by *British* subjects or by foreigners, is subject to double duties,—except (for this is implied) the Governor in Council, declares it liable only to single duties. Thus, it is contemplated, that the differential scale which was originally intended to protect the interests of British *Ships*, against foreign *Ships*, may be applied to an inland trade which is carried on not with ships, but by bullocks. Such regulations cannot be justified on the ground of the protective principle: therefore they may be presumed to have other objects. What these objects may be, we are not prepared to answer: but we may remark our suspicion, that they are connected with the salt and opium monopolies: unquestionably they diminish trade: they create the smuggler: their enforcement requires an expensive body of revenue officers; and if properly estimated and our view be correct, they would form a very heavy item to set off as part of the cost and sacrifice made of public and imperial interests for the preservation of the revenue derived from these splendid monopolies.

An Act was passed this year for establishing Public Warehouses and Warehousing Ports, and may be noticed as another step, in carrying out the policy of the Charter Act, and therefore parliamentary in its origin, though registered in India. By it the local governments are empowered to declare any port within their own Presidencies a warehousing port, and to permit goods to be warehoused under bond for the payment of duties. It is obvious, no such privilege was needed where the East India Company were the sole traders; and equally clear that such privilege would not have been conceded, or have been conceded reluctantly, had the Company in any degree retained the character of traders; so long as a rag of monopoly remained, and down to the year 1836, the government withheld from the free merchants, what had been established in every commercial state in Europe, the common convenience of Bonded Warehouses.

The only other general Act passed this year relates to the trial and punishment of the offence called Thuggee,—a subject which has several times engaged the attention of the legislature.

Among the minor Acts of this year, some few affecting particular Presidencies, deserve to be mentioned. One of this class, is an Act to empower the Governor in Council of Bombay, to apply certain “fees” which were established for the support of a light house in the gulph of Cambay, to “other purposes;” not defining what other purposes; and therefore leaving these fees to the unlimited discretion of the local government; which is thus, if we may be allowed to put an extreme case, authorized to pay the scavengers of Bombay out of them.

It deserves to be recorded as a fact,—and as such we leave it for our readers to reflect upon—that an Act was passed this year,—which has since been repealed,—to alter and increase the import duties at Bombay, thus making them *different* from the duties at the other Presidencies: and abolishing the drawback, except on exports on British bottoms: the increase appears to be $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on articles previously liable to duty, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ on articles previously exempted from duty.

We come now to the year 1837. In further pursuance of the objects of the Charter Act, an Act was passed to enable “any subject of H. M.” to acquire and hold land in the territories of the East India Company.” This, in effect, removes a barrier, which ought never to have existed, but it does nothing more, and deserves the smallest praise of a liberal measure. We do not undervalue this Act, but desire to place it in a true point of view for critical appreciation of the merits of the Legislature. The increase of British inhabitants we regard as essential for developing the resources of the country; but the classes most wanted are not agriculturists or land-settlers, but mechanics of different grades, engineers, surveyors, artizans, mineralogists, chemists and other classes versed in the manufacturing processes and sciences of Europe. These most valuable people will still find on their arrival in India, a barrier to one vast field of employment in the established method of filling up the services. It was no further back than in our June Number,* we had occasion to notice an order prohibiting the employment in the inferior departments of the public works, of any persons not belonging to the covenanted service. The existing forms of India House patronage will be found to present a great obstacle to the progress of British Art in India. We do not say that India is a country in which the British, or any other European people, could colonize extensively. The climate is

not suited to them: and the land is not free; it is held by natives under legal and recognized titles, and they have held it for centuries; yet what the British have done in all other parts of the globe while they have been excluded by their own government from India, is matter for serious reflection, and may afford an useful hint for the future. The lesson inculcated is, we apprehend, to abolish every monopoly. An intelligent Polish traveller has remarked, that to know this wonderful people, as he styles the British, you should see them in new countries, in circumstances of difficulty, where they are free to use their own energies, untrammelled by the Church, the aristocracy and other privileges. For the contrast we should say come to India, and see how little progress of a truly national character has been made in a century by an oligarchy. Compare the state of the arts as practiced or induced by the British wherever they have been free, with the state of the public works in India, under a Government which has commanded millions of revenue, packed every service, generally done all public works on its own account, and not let in the contractor, and not employed the free settler.

Two other Acts relating to land were passed this year, one in favor of Parsis, the other of the population of the Straits Settlements generally; to relieve them from the English law of real property. To the humane or intelligent reader it cannot but appear very hard towards any of the Oriental races included in the vast circle of British Dominion, to subject them to so merely municipal and feudal a distinction as that which the English law makes between real and personal property, and to the consequences of that distinction; but it is not the less true, that such is the case; English law is the *lex loci* of India: embracing consequently in its grasp, not only the British and the mixed races, but Greeks, Armenians, Oriental Jews, and other diversities of man wholly foreign to the European, except Hindus and Mussulmans, whose own laws of inheritance are preserved to them. One of these Acts declares immoveable property belonging to Parsis, when situate within the limits of the jurisdiction of the Courts established by H. M.'s Charter (that is the Queen's Courts) to be of the nature of Chattels real and not freehold, for the purpose of transmission on the death and intestacy of the person beneficially interested therein, or by the will of such person. The other Act makes precisely the same provision as it respects the descent or transmission of real property, but it is not limited to a particular race or class of persons, but extends to all persons and property in the Straits Settlements. It is obvious therefore; here are two Acts, founded

on one and the same principle, yet presenting great differences and contrasts when developed in practical detail. The Straits Act embraces English, Dutch, Portuguese, and all the oriental population; Armenians, Greeks, Jews, Chinese, native Malays, without exception. We have many of those classes in Calcutta and Bengal, to whom our law of real property is utterly unsuited: yet the other Act applies only to Parsis, and but partially to them, that is, only to such property of Parsis as is situate in the Presidency-towns: the real property of Parsis beyond those limits is not within its operation. Nor is this state of the law a merely imaginary evil: it is not long since the eldest son of an Oriental Jew succeeded in setting aside his father's will on technical grounds of English law, and then took the real estate as eldest son in virtue of the English Supreme Court Law of primogeniture.

In 1836, Lord Auckland arrived in India, as Governor-General. In 1837, an act was passed to authorize his lordship to exercise all the powers of Governor-General in Council,* except the power of making Laws or Regulations, upon his quitting Council for the purpose of proceeding to the North Western Provinces. It is a fact, quite proper to be recorded and reflected upon, that our Governors-General since the Charter Act, without exception, have never remained with Council more than one cold season after their arrival; (some not, one); and that their absences summed up, exceed the time they have been with the Council. Acts similar to the above are passed to make them independent of Council. It is obvious this fact acquires a new importance from the Legislative powers given to the Governor-General in Council. In 1842, Lord Ellenborough arrived as Governor-General: within a month afterward, a similar Act to the one just mentioned, was passed in consequence of his Lordship's intended absence from Council. Again in 1843, his Lordship having in the meantime returned to Calcutta, another Act was passed to enable him again to leave Council. Sir Henry Hardinge arrived in the middle of 1844, as Governor-General: in September 1845, a similar Act was passed to enable his Lordship to govern without a Council. During a portion of the period of Lord Hardinge's absence, the Council has not had the competent number of Councillors for the exercise of the Legislative function. In every instance the G. G.'s place is supplied by an entirely different kind of person. The Governor-General is usually the only English politician or statesman in Council: the other Councillors generally (with the exception

* Act XXVI. of 1837.

of one of them) are Senior Civil servants, often eminent and able, and always possessed of large and varied Indian experience: but they are a class who, with all their high merits, official and personal, and aptitude for Mofussil details, have been all their lives part and parcel of the Company's, we should say, an oligarchical system: standing still all their lives while the world has been going on; and the predominance which superior numbers gives them, especially in the absence of the Governor-General, is not favorable, as we deem, to the progress which India is now become capable of making.

An Act was passed this year to enable the Governor-General of India in Council, to admit the Ships of foreign states in Asia or Africa on the same terms as to customs duties as British Ships are admitted into the territories of such States. In other words the Act authorizes the Governor-General in Council to enter into reciprocity treaties with the barbarous maritime states of Asia and Africa.

The entire number of acts passed in 1837, was 38: the rest are generally Acts of minor application, either as it respects their territorial scope or the subject matter of them. One of these deserves to be particularly mentioned, as of very great importance in relation to the administration of justice; we allude to the Act, in effect, for discontinuing in Bengal the use of the Persian language in judicial and revenue proceedings. The Act impowers the Governor-General in Council, by an order in Council, to dispense either generally or within such local limits as might to him seem meet, any Bengal Regulation which enjoins the use of the Persian language in judicial and revenue proceedings, and to prescribe the language and character to be used in legal proceedings. The Persian language is a foreign language in India, and generally unknown to the people, though the Persian character is familiar to them. The intention of the Legislature was, to substitute for it, the vernacular language: and this was left to be accomplished by orders in Council, in consequence of practical difficulties arising from the amlah, or officers of the Courts, in many instances being insufficiently acquainted with the language of the people. The Act applies only to Bengal; from which it may be inferred that this great measure has not found favor with the other local governments, and that its merits are not sufficiently appreciated to induce the Court of Directors or government of India to force it upon them.

The minor Acts of 1837 not noticed above are as follows:—An Act for Calcutta, to enable one justice of the peace to issue certain distress warrants. An Act for Bombay, authori-

zing tolls on carriages and animals to be levied at the Bhoze Ghat. An Act for Bengal, authorising the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut to direct the transfer of suits from one Zillah Court to another. An Act for Bengal, now repealed, relating to the emigration of the natives of India. An Act for Bengal, relating to the payment of the revenue in Cuttack. An Act empowering the Queen's Courts to set convicts in certain cases at liberty on their own recognizance. An Act forming certain districts into a separate jurisdiction. An Act for the settlement of land titles in the Straits settlements. An Act for Bombay repealing certain regulations: subject not mentioned. An Act for Calcutta, for enforcing a previous Act to prevent the use of combustible materials in roofs of houses. An Act for Bombay, making certain Courts-martial legal. An Act for Bengal, authorizing the appropriation of the police tax to the cleansing and repairing of towns. An Act for Bengal, regulating the imposition of customs duties and making other regulations: (We cannot pass this Act without commending the liberality of the customs-administration.) The Post Office Act. An Act relating to the trial of Thuggi. An Act abolishing the disqualification for being a witness in Courts of Justice by reason of conviction of any offence. An Act to empower the local governments to dispense with oaths of office and substitute a solemn declaration and affirmation. An Act for Madras, relating to the trial of offences against the revenue. An Act for Madras, to empower the Governor in Council to invest Principal Sudder Ameens (a class of native judges) with certain powers. An Act for Bengal and the N. W. Provinces, to authorize the appointment of a superintendent of police. An Act for Bengal, enlarging the jurisdiction of native judges and making other administrative arrangements. An Act for Bombay, relating to the salt-duties and salt-manufacture. An Act for Bengal, opening a Stamp Office place to the uncovenanted service. An Act for Madras, investing certain officers with new police powers. Another Emigration Act, since repealed. Another Act for Madras, relating to the distribution of police powers; and an Act for Madras, relating to the trial of persons for criminal offences. An Act for Madras, repealing previous regulations relating to the translation of decrees, and furnishing copies of decrees to parties and making new regulations on the subject. An Act for Madras, vesting a criminal jurisdiction over certain offences, in certain officers. An Act for Bombay, transferring trials for political offences to the ordinary criminal tribunals; but requiring a report of the proceedings to be made to the Governor in Council. An Act for Bengal opening

a particular kind of employment to the uncovenanted service; if we mistake not, the employments contemplated by this Act, belong to the inferior department of Public Works, and consequently the recent order of the Court prohibiting the employment of uncovenanted persons is illegal.

The first Act in 1838 is the Bombay Customs Act already mentioned, repealing the inland transit duties and establishing new sea customs. Generally the duties are the same in the three Presidencies, but on cotton wool the Bombay tariff makes a minute difference, which deserves to be noted. We give the duties below.* Any duty at all, and especially a double duty on our own exports, when carried in foreign bottoms,—that is in junks from China, ships belonging to the States of Asia or Africa, or to European States, is a wise measure to diminish the production of an article, the abundance of which is so much desired by the Lancashire manufacturers. The cotton trade scarcely survives the policy; nor will it be revived by government farms, nor by the mutual courtesies at present being exchanged between certain parties in Manchester and Leadhall Street. Might we venture to counsel the representatives of the cotton manufacturing interest, it would be to demand in strong northern tones a reform of the revenue system of Western India, and a repeal of this most impolitic duty.

The Bombay Customs Act is immediately followed by three Acts of an unimportant character: then follows the Bengal Bonded Ware-house Association Act, the first Act of Incorporation granted by the Legislative Council of India. The capital of the company was 10,00,000 Rupees or £100,000 stg. divided into 2000 shares: the capital, or a great portion of it, was employed in the erection of a very spacious and handsome pile of buildings facing the river, and in appearance highly creditable to the taste and architect of the association. This is the only private accommodation for bonding under the Public Ware-housing Act already mentioned; and from its really small extent compared with the vast commerce of the place,

* *Extract from Schedule B. to Act 1, 1838.*

	<i>On British Bottoms.</i>	<i>On Foreign Bottoms.</i>
Cotton Wool exported to Europe, the United States of America, or any British possession in America.....	Free.	9 annas (1s. 1½d.) per maund, &c.
Ditto ditto exported to places other than the above.....	9 annas per md. &c.	1 rupee 2 annas per maund, &c.

we should infer, what we also believe to be the fact, that the Bonded Ware-houses of the government, like the other departments of the customs-system, are managed in a liberal manner as it respects the convenience and interests of the merchants. We observe nothing peculiar in the constitution of this company, except that at any time after March 1860, it may be dissolved by the Governor-General in Council, by an order in Council.

In the Legislation for the minor Presidencies a spirit of meddling and interference, the principle of keeping every thing right by regulations of government appears to us remarkably prevalent. Thus, we have an act,* here for the branding and marking and registering of "vessels belonging to any of her Majesty's subjects residing within the Presidency of Bombay, and employed on the coasts of the territories subject to Bombay, or in trading coastwise, as also fishing vessels and harbour craft belonging to any of the same H. M.'s subjects." Being branded, marked and registered, they must also be certificated. Then comes the practical working of the system; in few words it may be described as putting the whole shipping of the Coast and Port, including the largest and smallest vessels, under a jealous system of search, and subjecting it to confiscations and penalties for no real good, as we consider, to the state, and to the great inconvenience of commerce. Probably it would be found upon enquiry that these regulations were originally necessary to protect the trading monopoly of the East India Company, and are retained for no assignable uses, but to protect the opium and salt monopolies, and to prevent foreign coasting craft evading the double or discriminating duties.

The Act book of this year affords gratifying proof of the expansion of the local commerce, in an Act to enable the Bank of Bengal to increase its capital. The Bank having in 1836 increased its capital to seventy lakhs of rupees (£700,000), this year obtained an Act to allow a further increase by subscription to such amount as should be sanctioned by the Governor-General of India in Council.† The increase permitted was to the amount of one million one hundred and twenty five thousand pounds sterling; at which the capital of the Bank remains at present. It appears therefore that in three years the Bank nearly doubled its capital by subscription. We doubt not that if a subscription list should be again opened, the Capital might in a very short time be again doubled; the very high profits made by the institution prove that there

* Act XIX. of 1838.

† Act XXIV. of 1838.

is ample employment for a much larger banking capital. Sixteen lakhs and a half, or £165,000 sterling of the capital of the Bank belongs to government. In 1834, the Bank surrendered its old Charter and was reconstituted under an Act of the Legislative Council. From this Act we will describe the principal regulations by which this Institution is governed. No other proprietor besides the government is allowed to hold more than forty shares (unless devolving on him by marriage or succession) being one lakh and sixteen thousand, or £16,000 sterling. The Bank shares are represented by Certificates which are transferrable by indorsement; the indorsee must be registered at the Bank to perfect his title. The business of the Bank is managed by nine Directors, of whom three are appointed and are removable by the Governor-General in Council: the remaining six are elected by the proprietors; two of these go out annually, and are not re-eligible until the next year's election. The Directors appointed by government are usually three Civil Servants in the Treasury Department; at present, the Treasurer, under-Treasurer and Accountant-General. The qualification for an elected Director is three shares of Rs. 4000 each. The proprietors are allowed to vote by proxy; and as a great majority of them are not resident in Calcutta, but have mercantile agents there, it follows in fact, as might be supposed, that the elected Directors are generally members of three or four agency houses. The Directors form a Board, and to insure the requisite attendance, a weekly rotation is established. All accounts and all instruments whereby the Bank is intended to be bound, except cash notes, must be signed by three Directors, and the common seal can be affixed only in the presence of three, who must sign in token of that presence. The expenses for establishment are limited to Rs. 60,000, but may be increased by a General Meeting of the Proprietors, which is a matter of course, we presume, as the salaries of the two chief officers amount to nearly three fourths of this sum. The Bank is prohibited from engaging in any other than the following kinds of business; 1. The discounting of negotiable securities. 2. The keeping of Cash accounts. 3. Buying and selling of Bills of Exchange (payable in India;) 4. The lending of money on short loans. 5. The buying and selling of bullion. 6. The receiving of deposits. 7. The issuing and circulating of cash notes and Bank post bills. 8. The selling of property or securities deposited in the Bank as securities for loans and not redeemed, or of property or securities recovered by the Bank in satisfaction of debts and claims. And the Directors are

further placed under the following restrictions : (1) To discount no negotiable security and make no loan unless the amount of cash in possession of the Bank and immediately available shall be equal to at least one fourth of all the claims against the Bank outstanding for the time being and payable on demand. (2) Not to discount any negotiable securities having more than three months to run ; nor (3) to lend any money for more than 3 months, nor (4) to make any loan or advance on any Bank share or Certificate of shares ; nor (5) on mortgage, or on the security of any land, houses or immovable property ; nor (6) on any negotiable security of any individual partnership firm, which shall not carry on it the several responsibilities of at least two persons or firms unconnected with each other in general partnership ; nor (7) be in advance to any individual partnership or firm, either by way of discount, loan or in any other manner (saving by loans on the deposit of government securities or goods not perishable as in the act mentioned) beyond the amount of three lakhs of rupees. But from these restrictions are excepted, loans on deposit of public securities to the full amount of the loan, or on deposit of goods not of a perishable nature. We may remark that, in these two last exceptions are contained the pith of the Act as it respects the interests of government : they really place, as probably was intended, all the resources of the Bank at the command of government, if it needs them : on public securities, that is, on promissory notes of the government, the Directors may advance without limit, and on goods not of a perishable nature, which would include perhaps salt in the government godowns, opium in store, and the goods in the arsenal of Fort William.

To pursue our description. The Bank is restricted from being in advance directly to government more than $7\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs,—the amount of Bank Stock originally held by government : and no person is to be allowed to overdraw his account. The Bank of Bengal is a Bank of issue. It may issue notes of not less than ten rupees each (£1) payable on demand, or at a date not exceeding 60 days' sight, and to an amount in the whole not exceeding two crores of rupees or millions sterling. The Bank may not make any note, bill, or other instrument, containing any promise undertaking or order for the payment of money, elsewhere than within the limits of India.

The Bank of Bengal is, we believe, one of the very few joint stock institutions, in India, which has been managed successfully from the commencement. Its success is therefore popularly ascribed to the preponderating influence which its constitution

gives to the local Government in the direction of its affairs. But the success is rather to be ascribed to the very strict principles and rules imposed by its constitution, and consequently the great care taken by the Directors to break through the rules only in safe transactions. Many of these are proper banking principles, acted upon as such in all the joint-stock banks in England. Others are arbitrary, and if defensible, only so on local grounds, such as that in Calcutta it is not safe to allow Directors any discretion. For example, it can scarcely be justified on any principle of banking, to fix at the same amount, for all seasons of the year and for all circumstances, without reference to the varying amount of business or the actual state of commerce and of the money market, for times of peace and times of war, the proportion of cash to be held by the bank. Such a rule may be necessary for India; but it is not banking on general and received banking principles. Nor is it, as it appears to us either, sound or expedient, to prescribe the screw when necessary exclusively to be applied to discounts and loans, that is, to the operations of the merchants; when the necessity for the screw may have arisen from operations in favor of Government, e. g. from purchasing of bullion with bank notes and selling it on credit to Government.

A comparison on a few points, between the Bank of Bombay and Bank of Bengal, both constituted generally alike, will further shew the arbitrary character of some of the above restrictions and regulations. The Bank of Bombay, with a capital of only 50 lakhs, or less than half that of the sister institution, is under the same limit, viz. 3 lakhs, as it respects its private discounts or advances: the extent allowed as to its advances to Government is the same, viz. 7 lakhs, and the same the extent allowed as to the amount of notes it may put in circulation. The same remarks apply to the Bank of Madras; its capital is only 30 lakhs: $7\frac{1}{2}$ the amount of its advances to Government; 3 lakhs the limit of its discounts to individual firms, and 1 crore of rupees or one million sterling the amount of notes it may put in circulation.

The number of Acts passed this year was 32: the minor ones, not hitherto noticed, may summarily be described as follows. An Act for the N. W. Provinces putting the manufacture of salt under regulation. An Act for Madras, relating to the power of the joint criminal judge of Cochin. An Act for Bombay, empowering the Sudder Dewani Adalut to commit for perjury. An Act for Bombay, empowering the Governor to issue a Commission to examine witnesses in certain cases. An Act for Bengal, giving new powers to Zillah judges. An Act for Bombay, subjecting palanquins, &c. to the Bhore Ghat

tolls. An Act for Bombay, empowering magistrates to award out of fines, compensation to injured parties. An Act for the N. W. Provinces, putting Kemaon under the ordinary judicial and revenue system. An Act for Bengal and the N. W. Provinces, providing for the remuneration of Amíns for effecting the partition of estates. An Act for Madras, giving certain native judges the same powers as Zillah judges in relation to hidden treasure. An Act to empower the Governor-General of India in Council to enlarge the powers of certain native judges. An Act for Madras, to limit the quantity of Gunjah and Bhang which any person may have in his possession without a license. An Act for Bombay, to repeal parts of a certain regulation,—subject not mentioned. An Act for Bombay, to transfer the jurisdiction over suits respecting lands and tenures, from the Revenue Courts to the Civil Courts, &c. An Act for Madras, giving a summary appeal in certain cases to Sudder Amíns from Múnsiffs, &c. An Act for Bombay, prescribing the form of security to be taken from unconvenanted officers, and regulating the liability of their sureties. A Post Office Act. An Act empowering the Governor-General in Council to direct the coinage of even annas or sixteenth parts of the Company's rupee. An Act for Bengal, giving in certain cases a summary appeal from Múnsiffs to Zillah and city judges. An Act for Madras, removing the exemption of certain land grants from sequestration. An Act for Madras, empowering the Governor in Council to make orders for trial of prisoners in certain cases. An Act for Bengal, providing for the trial of suits over which the Sudder Amín has jurisdiction, when the Amlah or Vakils of his Court are interested parties. An Act making perjury, on conviction at Sessions of Oyer and Terminer or jail delivery, punishable with transportation. An Act for Bengal, for the prevention and punishment of contraband trade in salt. An Act for Bengal, providing for the establishment of officers for the registry of deeds and making new regulations. An Act for amending the Criminal Law, in cases within the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. An Act for Bengal, giving one justice the powers exercised before only by two, in certain cases. The English Wills Act, on the adoption of which we shall offer a few remarks presently.

We will here pause to remark that the Acts for the years 1834, 1835, 1836, 1837, 1838, which we have just passed in review, and up to Act 20 of 1839 inclusive, have no title: most of the subsequent Acts are entitled in the same general manner as Acts of Parliament. None of the Acts, to the present time, have any marginal abstract of the contents of the different sec-

tions: in which respect they differ from the previous presidency regulations as well as from Acts of Parliament. A general Index is published at the end of each year, but a defective work of the kind.

The legislation of the year 1839 is chiefly remarkable for the number of English statutes adopted for India. The first in order of this class is, the Prisoner's Counsel Act, entitled,—(and it is the first Indian Act to which any title is given)—“An Act for enabling persons charged with offences to make their defence more effectually.” The Dower Act, also,—entitled “An Act for the amendment of the Law relating to Dower,” was adopted. Also, the Inheritance Act, entitled “An Act for the amendment of the Law of Inheritance.” One of the provisions of the great modern Law Amendment Act,—that relating to interest, was also adopted, and is entitled “An Act concerning the allowance of interest in certain cases.” As it respects English statutes, the Government is understood to be entirely guided in the adoption of them, by the Supreme Court Judges; and hence we find them adopted, servilely, we must be permitted to say, to the very letter. For instance, the Indian Act copies the very stringent provisions of the English Wills Act, respecting the attestation and execution of Wills; though in England, it was some centuries after the right to make a will was established, before any such regulations were deemed expedient, and that expediency if expedient they became, which we venture to doubt, arose from the numerous recent Will forgeries and Wills made under suspicious circumstances by aged persons and others of doubtful competency. To characterize the policy of this Act in few words, as it respects the attestation and execution of wills, we should say it is much the same, as if because mad-men increased and the physicians were not successful in the application of the usual remedies, all sane men should be put in bonds and fetters. Few persons would be likely to understand the attestation clause of the Wills Act without the assistance of an attorney, still fewer to apply it or act upon it correctly. In England, however, the existence of technical requirements is known, and testators can get an attorney, night or day, in all seasons and all weathers, in all places too, an attorney can be had as easily as a Doctor: but the case is very different in India; and besides in India, the circumstances have not developed themselves, which rendered these forms expedient or necessary; nor, when the character of the Anglo-Indian population is considered, is it likely that the same grounds of expediency should ever occur in India. These were special reasons, equally beneath and above the considera-

tion of copyists, why the English form of attestation should not have been imposed on India.

This year presents few remarkable Acts. The Madras Port Duties Act is one which demands a few observations. It is an Act to consolidate the old port dues and establish one Duty in lieu of them. It is in terms An Act of *commutation*; and as the trouble is less of paying one sum, on one account, to one department, than several sums, on several accounts, to several departments, the Act in this point of view has our praise, but for nothing else, and we are rather disposed to regard it as a measure of red tape policy; in reality, to keep up charges which otherwise must have been abolished. The charges commuted are anchorage duty, light-house duty, regular boat-hire and report catamaran-hire. An anchorage-duty, explained with reference to the actual circumstances in which a ship is placed when it arrives off Madras, can only mean a tax paid by a ship for the privilege of letting down her anchor: it is, and probably always was, a naked tax, unconnected with any equivalent advantage or service which might form a consideration for it: part and parcel, in short, of a system, one object of which was to drive away free traders, or make them bear the weight of local jobbers. The light-house duty may indeed be said to have been paid for an equivalent or consideration, and therefore might still be fairly imposed, if considerations of general policy justified the imposition of dues of this kind. But what are the regular boat-hire and report catamaran-hire? Captains of ships of whom we have asked, are unable to answer the question; they belong to ages gone by, and in the present day, except as consolidated taxes, they are unknown: ships we are told pay their own boat-hire at Madras, and as for the Report Catamaran, if there be such a boat at Madras, its charge belongs to the custom-house establishment.

The Act under discussion is important in another point of view: it has a differential scale; one charge for foreign European and American ships, and a different one for all other ships. On the favored class the commuted duty is three annas (4½d. English) *per* ton on the tonnage of the ship, but not calculated beyond 700 tons: on foreign European and American ships, it is three annas and 4 pie (5d.) *per* ton, calculated up to the full tonnage. According to the above rates, passenger ships touching at Madras would generally have to pay £13 stg. besides agency charges. For this sum, no service is commonly rendered from the shore, but the firing of a signal gun. Arrived at Madras, a ship lies in an open roadstead, for be it observed, the "port of Madras" is a mere legal entity or fiction;

there is neither river, creek, bay nor bight, nor pier, nor jetty, nor any thing else artificial, but the light house to distinguish it.

Besides providing for the Port of Madras, the Act also provides for a commutation of duties at any subordinate port of Madras: but instead of establishing the commutation, the Act merely empowers the Governor-General in Council to direct it to take place, and in that event, the commutation is to be, one anna ($1\frac{1}{2}$ d.) per ton on the favored class of shipping, and one anna and four pie (2d.) per ton on foreign, making the difference as between 6 and 9, or 50 per cent. against the foreign, while at the chief port the difference is only as 18 to 21, or under 18 per cent.

Among the General Acts of this year, was one of a class already mentioned, abolishing the exemption by reason of place of birth or of descent,—in other words, the exemption enjoyed by H. M. subjects of European origin, from the jurisdiction of the Revenue Courts. Another Act abolishes the institution fee on appeals to H. M. in Council, and the Stamp duties paid on papers used on such appeals. It may be conjectured that these most unjust and oppressive imposts were withdrawn, as obnoxious to the Privy Council; or as opposed to the verdict of the public and of parliament against taxes on law proceedings, but on appeals in India, to every court of every grade, the stamp duties are still retained: in number, amount, and oppressive variety, they exceed all bounds of comparison with the abolished stamp duties in England. We regard the stamp duties on law proceedings in India as a monster grievance; and no necessities of revenue can, in our opinion, justify them: but as they are confined to the Company's Courts, and consequently press almost exclusively on natives, we cannot indulge the hope of their removal, until they attract the attention of parliament and the people of England.

The year 1839 was an important year for the Straits Settlements. No fewer than five Acts, which we will briefly describe, were passed for the government of them. One belongs to the class of criminal or penal law, and invites no further observation. Another belongs to the class of Abkarri regulations: this has arrested our attention: cursorily, we learn from it, that the funds for local public purposes in the Straits settlements are partly derived from an old monopoly or exclusive privilege, assumed by Government, of buying and selling certain articles. The monopoly, it appears, is farmed out, and the object of this Act is, to protect the farmers against contraband. Simply to make such a mischievous mode of raising a revenue notorious,

will, we may hope in the present day, induce its abolition: its obscurity might protect it, did it rest on a bye law of some petty corporation; but here it is, among the acts of the Governor-General of India in Council.

The object of the third Act to which we have adverted is, to prevent persons in the Straits' settlements from waging war, or otherwise giving hostile aid against any ally or state at peace with the *Government of the territories of the East India Company*. The remaining one, and most important of the five Acts, relates to the holding of land in the Straits settlements, and to the registration of grants of it. A brief analysis of this Act, with a few observations, may be useful to direct enquiry on a subject of very general importance. British commerce with the East, in a certain sense, may be said much to depend on the assessment and mode of collection of the land revenue. The amount, except in some parts of Bengal, where it has been settled in perpetuity, is at the discretion of the officers of Government. A general charge against this, or any other body of persons, would be futile: and specific charges cannot be made, because the information we have not, but it is contained in the archives of the different provinces and districts, and the bureaux of Government. But we can suggest an hypothesis which we think will bring conviction to the minds of most men. Suppose thousands and thousands of square miles of country, a whole continent, an eighth of the whole globe, to belong to one Sovereign: India or Russia for example: and that Sovereign to claim to be the lord of the soil: and in virtue of his lordship, to derive a revenue from the land; which he does, not by assessing districts in certain amounts, like the old land tax assessments in England, but by sending collectors every where, to make bargains for rent, as a petty landholder might do, whose estate was within the circuit of a ride any morning. Further, suppose the Collector to be a foreigner, an European, almost the only one of his nation within a district of hundreds of square miles, covered with a population, whose language, manners, and ideas are imperfectly understood by him. What, we ask, might be safely predicated of such a system. The only predication which the hypothesis would appear to involve, but is not true in fact, if applied to India, is that a Collector so circumstanced would cheat both the natives and his own Government; that they do not do in the present day, thanks to Mr. Burke's determined and successful efforts to bring the officers of government in India to a state of subordination. No one who has the smallest regard to truth would call in question the personal integrity of the great majority of the officers of Government. But still they are governed by no

system, and with only one principle to guide them, viz., that their merit in the estimation of the Government depends on the amount of their land revenue realizations. Such a rule must lead to over assessment and all sorts of methods of making money for Government: thus, in some of the cotton districts of Western India, the revenue must be paid, before the crop is allowed to be taken off the field; the crop therefore becomes sacrificed either to the money lender or to the Government: the ryot heart-broken quits his field; turns thug or dacoit, and England, Europe, the world, suffer by diminished cultivation of one article, the mere consequence of a vicious land revenue system. We will now briefly state the provisions of the Act alluded to, with a few remarks to assist criticism. Section 1, enacts that the rules prescribed in the Act shall be in force for regulating the assessment and collection of the rents payable to Government in the Straits' Settlements. This would lead us to expect in subsequent clauses an insight into the revenue system; but when we come to them we find only this, viz. that all land not exempted by competent authority, shall be assessed in such manner, at such rate, and under such conditions as the Collector acting under the instructions of the Governor of Bengal shall determine. This is what is called a *rule: lucus a non lucendo*; for it rules, governs, decides nothing, but leaves an absolute discretion in the Governor of Bengal, or in the smaller personage, the Collector, if the former gives no instructions. Sec. 3, empowers the collector to eject persons who refuse to engage for, or to remove from the land, within one month from the date on which he shall be called upon by the collector to enter into such engagement. Sec. 4, makes it the duty of all magistrates and police officers "to aid and assist the collector in the due exercise of the power of ejection conferred upon the said collector by the said foregoing section," and imposes on the resisting settler fine and imprisonment. Sec. 5, relates to the clearing and occupying of waste and forest lands for the purposes of agriculture. Persons desirous to take such land are directed to go to the collector, who is to measure and assess and grant a lease of the land, under the conditions, &c. prescribed by the Governor of Bengal. And if by reason of the density of the jungle or other obstacles, it is impracticable to do all this, the collector may permit the land to be cleared and occupied, under condition for future assessment. The collector may in these cases grant a lease for twenty years, renewable for thirty years more, but on such conditions as the Governor of Bengal may determine. Sec. 6, provides for the setting up and maintaining of land-

marks. If the settler omits to repair them, the collector may order the repairs to be done, and levy three times the cost upon the defaulter. Sec. 7. All proposals or applications for grants for a term "exceeding that specified in Section 5, for the purpose of erecting houses or durable works beyond the limits of the principal towns," are to be forwarded to the Governor of Bengal, "who will grant or reject such application, as in his judgment may seem fit." The united effect of these two Sections, the 5th and 7th, is, that the collector has no power to make a grant for a longer term than twenty years: the renewal of terms of twenty years is entirely at the discretion of the Governor of Bengal, and can be only for thirty years longer: and if, the short term of twenty years is wholly insufficient for the capitalists or settler's purpose, and he wants to build, and consequently requires a longer term, the collector has no authority at all in such a case: the application must be sent to the Governor of Bengal; who, as the act says, "will grant or reject" it; but there is a third alternative, which we regard as equally probable, viz. that it may never be considered at all, or be considered only after such a lapse of time as releases the other party from his proposal. Sec. 7, prescribes the manner in which leases shall be executed, and some formal conditions to be observed in them. It is remarkable here that the rent is to be fixed per acre, and not by the Indian measurement: and, moreover, in the Register of the lease are to be entered, besides the particulars contained in the lease, "any other conditions material to the rights of Government and of the party obtaining the lease." Sec. 9, empowers the Collector to accept a surrender of lease for the purpose of a re-granting the same property in subdivisions. Sec. 10, prescribes the rules respecting the payment of rents and the recovery of them when in arrear. Sec. 11, provides for the registration of changes of ownership. All transfers are required to be made in the English language and according to a form to be "found in the Collector's office." Sec. 12, excepts from the operation of the Act such cultivators, &c. as hold their land "by prescription, subject only to a payment to Government of one-tenth part of the produce thereof." It deserves to be remarked in this act that the Governor of Bengal, who is two thousand miles away, and the Collector, who is a Bengal civilian, are apparently the only two persons concerned in the administration of the land revenue of these rich settlements. Both have absolute power, and there is no appeal from the decision of either of them.

The remaining Acts, all of a minor character, for the year 1839 are the following. An Act for Bengal, to empower Collectors to appoint persons to sell property distrained for arrears of revenue. An Act relating to fines; providing for their enforcement, and limiting their amount when it is left undefined. An Act for Madras, defining the powers of Tahsildars. An Act for Bombay, subjecting to general regulations certain specified villages which had lapsed to Government. An Act for Bengal, for regulating the privilege of suing *in forma pauperis*. An Emigration Act, since repealed. An Act for Madras, regulating the importation and exportation of sugar and the giving of certificates of origin. An Act to modify the postage duties. An Act relating to the trial of Thuggi. An Act for Bombay, dispensing with a reference to the Sudder Foujdari Adalut in the case of certain criminal sentences. An Act for Bombay, authorizing the Governor of Bombay to prohibit the levy of huck, &c. An Act for Calcutta, limiting the jurisdiction of Justices of the Peace, in cases of larceny. An Act for authorizing sentences of imprisonments, with or without hard labour, by courts martial in certain cases. An Act to repeal an Act whereby Ganjam and Vizagapatam were put under the general regulations of Government, and, putting them under agents of the Governor of Madras. An Act for Bombay, limiting the powers of Collectors as Magistrates and Assistant Collectors as Deputy Magistrates in certain cases. An Act for Bengal, for regulating enquiries into the truth of matters implicating the conduct of public officers not removable without the sanction of Government. An Act for Calcutta, authorizing the Court of Requests to execute decrees passed by the judge of the 24-Pergunnahs. An Act for Bombay, for the regulation of building in Bombay and Calcutta. An Act relating to offences against the coin.

In the year 1840, after two or three insignificant Acts, we come to the act incorporating the Bank of Bombay. It is remarkable that the establishing of a Bank similar to the Bank of Bengal should have been deferred at the minor presidencies, so many years after the proved success of the latter. It is also remarkable that while the trade and commerce of Bombay nearly equal that of Bengal, the capital of the Bank of Bombay should be only four-ninths of that of the sister institution. The difference in the profits of the two institutions is equally remarkable: the Bank of Bombay has, we believe, never divided more than 7 per cent. per annum: its shares are at par or a very small premium, while the Bank of Bengal has

divided double that rate, and its shares are at 70 per cent. premium. We are not acquainted with the actual amount of notes of the two institutions in circulation; nor the average period for which they are out; but we recommend these subjects to the enquiry of statisticians.

The two Acts immediately following the Act incorporating the Bank of Bombay are among the most useful and creditable of those which are of Indian as contradistinguished to parliamentary origin yet passed by the Legislative Council. Act 4 of 1840, is an Act for preventing affrays concerning the possession of land, and for providing relief in cases of forcible dispossession; but it is confined to Bengal, where, indeed, the evil against which it provides may have been more rampant than in the other Presidencies, but as it exists to some extent in these, the Act, we conceive, should have been extended to them. We note this as a counterpoise to the great laudations which have been claimed and given for this piece of legislative wisdom.

The object, as expressed in the above title, is well defined and the manner of accomplishing it, obvious and simple. Section 1, as a preliminary, provides that the Act shall apply to persons of every class or description, whether British born subjects or others. Sec. 2, provides for the case of disputes "likely to induce a breach of the peace concerning any Land, Premises, Water, Fisheries, Crops," &c., and requires the magistrate of the district, upon such probability being certified to him, to call on all the parties concerned (whether Proprietors, dependent Talookdars, Farmers under Farmers, Ryots or other persons) to attend his Court in person or by agent, and to give in a written statement of their respective claims *as respects the fact of actual possession of the subject of dispute*. The magistrate thereupon has this duty, viz. without reference to the merits of the claims of any party to the *right* of possession, to proceed to enquire what party was in fact in possession when the dispute arose, and upon satisfying himself as to that fact, to record such party as entitled to retain possession until ousted by due course of law, and to forbid all disturbance of possession until such time, and if necessary to put such party in possession and maintain him in possession. By Sec. 3, if the magistrate is unable to satisfy himself as to what party was in possession when the dispute arose, he may attach the subject of dispute until the *rights* of the parties are determined by a competent court. Next the Act provides for another class of cases, viz. those of actual forcible dispossession

without authority of law. Sec. 4 provides that upon complaint of an actual forcible dispossession of any Land, Premises, Water, Fisheries Crops, &c. the magistrate of the district shall bring all the parties concerned before him, and if he finds the complaint substantiated he is to record a decision to that effect and reinstate the ousted party, but the complaint must be made within one month after the dispossession.

Another case is next provided against, viz. of a dispute respecting newly formed lands, of which no one has ever had possession. By Sec. 5 the magistrate, if satisfied of this fact, is to "award possession to the party to whom the right of possession belongs, according to law or custom, and shall maintain that party in possession until the right to possession be determined by a competent Court."

Next comes another case, that of a dispute concerning the "right of use of any land or water," the magistrate, by Sec. 6, is to enquire into the matter, and according to the result of the enquiry upon his judgment, he is to maintain the right of ~~use~~ to the public, or to the class of persons, or to the individuals, whom he may deem entitled, until the party claiming adversely shall obtain the decision of a competent Court in favor of his exclusive right of use. The language of this clause is somewhat confused and denotes a defective acquaintance with the jurisperdential distinctions between the objects of usufruct and possession: but still we apprehend it is a good practical working provision. Sec. 7, contains the penal sanction. Sec. 8, makes all "orders passed under this Act appealable in the usual manner under the regulations and laws that are or may be in force relating to appeals from the orders of Magistrates or other officers exercising the powers of Magistrates." This right of appeal, we must be permitted to say, has our unqualified condemnation, as incongruous with the objects of the act, which, generally are of the simplest kind,—to ascertain the fact of possession, to keep the possession secure against force and violence, and to restore it, if there has been a forcible dispossession. The manner of proceeding on an appeal is not adapted to this subject of investigation. The right of appeal also interferes with the utility of the Act, which depends on the fact which is submitted to the Magistrate being decided on the spot and at the instant, and on the immediate and peremptory enforcement of the Magistrate's decision. The right of appeal keeps alive the quarrel, and if violence has been used, gives for a time impunity to that violence. The consequences of this right of appeal are already beginning to deve-

lope themselves. A Magistrate knowing that his decision is not final, but is appealable, will see doubt where there ought to be none; and for no reason but that he knows what may be clear to him with the witnesses before him, must still be doubtful upon appeal, and therefore he will not decide the fact of possession; but attach the land under the third Section; and weak magistrates will find every case doubtful; and hence attachments will progressively increase, and finally the whole benefit of the Act will be what may result from the third section. This power of attachment, though a wise provision when confined within proper limits, will, in the excess of its exercise, which we anticipate as a consequence of the right of appeal, be but an exchange of a lesser for a greater evil. We have heard the appeal defended on the ground that the decision of the fact of possession often determines the right of possession: but this we deny; and the remark appears to us founded in an ignorance both of practical and scientific jurisprudence. For example, the fact that I was on such a day in possession of such a house cannot by possibility prove my right or exclude proof of an adverse right in another person; but my right may very likely rest on such simple clear notorious recent evidence, that the bare exhibition of that evidence at once removes the doubt which contradictions had raised as to the fact of possession. For example, the owner of a house complains of forcible dispossession by the tenant in possession; the tenant says, he succeeded not the owner but an intermediate tenant, and the latter comes forward and says he did not forcibly dispossess the owner, but the owner voluntarily gave up the possession. Now up to that point of the case, the question of fact may well appear a doubtful one, by reason of the hard swearing of the party in the wrong and the strong contradictions; but the intermediate tenant to corroborate his statement, adds, the owner not only voluntarily gave up the possession, but did so under a contract, a pottah, an izarah, &c. and here it is. Now this is evidence of *right* and properly receiveable; but the magistrate however he may be influenced by it, does not decide the right; for, whether he regards the pottah as genuine or as a forgery, he does not decide either, but looks at it as a fact which corroborates one of the contending statements, and cannot be reconciled with the other of them. Were ours a journal of jurisprudence we should enlarge on the subject: were it a magazine or a newspaper we could give proof, we think of the practical mischief of the appeal; but in the *Calcutta Review*, we can only record our strong opinion, and just hint the argument on which that opinion rests.

Sec. 9, authorizes the magistrate with consent to refer disputes to arbitration. Sec. 10, reserves existing rights of attachment. Sec. 11, as usual, excludes from the benefit and operation of the Act, the city of Calcutta, because it is blessed with a Supreme Court, which, however, has no similar powers or jurisdiction, but still is an established barrier to the admission of every reform and innovation which wants the sanction of technical reason. Hence, in Calcutta a fellow may go and put a padlock on our stable,—we refer to a case which has happened,—and take possession of the compound, and the Supreme Court will maintain this forcible dispossession, until the ejected party has gone through the wretched, tricky, technical, unintelligible costly remedy as it is called of an action of ejectment. There is therefore one law for the city, another for the country, and the two systems in practical operation are utterly discrepant; for, the one will not allow even him who has *right* to use violence: the other is indifferent to the fact of violence or possession, and gives an immunity for a time to the violent.

An Act so beneficial in its intent ought to have been general; it has been nearly eight years in force, and is still confined to Bengal.

The Act just described is immediately succeeded by another of the very highest merit; and not being a mere consequence of the Charter Act, the commendation which it deserves belongs, as appears to us, to the Government of India. It is entitled, an Act concerning the oaths and declarations of Hindus and Mahomedans. It has a preamble, in which is recited, that the oaths in use, namely, by swearing on the water of the Ganges and on the Koran, and according to other forms, are repugnant to the consciences or feelings of the Hindus or Mahomedans, and that they had been found obstructions to justice, and the cause of other inconveniences: and for these reasons—and many others, and better and truer ones, we should say, might be alleged,—the Act proceeds to abolish these oaths, and it substitutes for them the following affirmation:—

“I solemnly affirm in the presence of Almighty God, that what I shall state shall be the truth. the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.”

We have no objection to make to this affirmation, except that it is theistical, and therefore, in our judgment, not adapted for the worshippers of idols of wood and stone, whose conceptions cannot possibly reach the sublime idea of the presence of God, as expressed here by the Legislative Council. As little suited is it, as we apprehend, to the mass of followers of the Koran. But taking the affirmation as unexceptionable in this respect,

it would be, it appears to us, difficult to assign a good reason, why it should be confined, as it is, to the Hindus and Mahomedans of all the oriental races, and not be extended to every pagan people: to Parsis, Chinese, Burmese for instance, to whose "consciences and feelings," the oaths retained must be as repugnant as to Hindus and Mahomedans; indeed the religion of the Chinese and Burmese may be regarded as an heretical sect of Hinduism. Besides, the distinction, as far as it preserves the oriental forms of swearing is open to the capital objection, that it ascribes in principle, to some of the lowest superstitions that ever afflicted the human mind, an utility in a court of justice as a politico-religious sanction.

This Act, intended to apply only to Hindus and Mahomedans, it might have been expected would have received in relation to this its too narrow object, a large, a liberal, a remedial interpretation, which should have extended it to *all* Hindus and *all* Mahomedans and *all* Courts; and it cannot be doubted by any one accustomed to the science of interpretation, that that was the intention of the Legislative Council: than the three first clauses of the Act expressions cannot be more general, as it respects the Courts which were to use the new affirmation: but the fourth clause is as follows:—"that this Act shall not extend to any declaration made under the authority of Act No. 21 of 1837, nor to any declaration or affirmation made in any of Her Majesty's Courts of Justice:" the effect of which, we apprehend, clearly is and was intended to be, that it saves from the operation of the Act, not any kind of oaths, in any court whatever, but simply the specified declarations. Sir Lawrence Peel and his colleagues however of the Supreme Court of Calcutta have pronounced the strange construction, that this clause continues the old system of swearing in all Her Majesty's Courts, which term includes not only the Supreme Court but all Justices of the Peace, whether in the East India Company's service or not who have Her Majesty's Commission: and consequently, the oaths, the use of which such Justices both in the Police Offices in Calcutta and in the Mofussil had actually discontinued, not having the faintest suspicion that any oaths were saved in any courts whatever under the above quoted section, were restored, until the other day an Act was passed (which we shall have occasion to notice) giving a partial and but partial correction to this decision.*

* The above Act may, in relation to the question here discussed, be considered as composed of a preamble, an enacting part, and a saving clause or exception. The use of a saving clause properly is, to take out of the general words of the enacting clause

The Act abolishing the Pilgrim tax was passed this year, and in every point of view deserves unqualified approbation, though we may mention, we have heard an enlightened Hindu express an opinion that instead of abolishing the tax, it should have been applied to the education of the people, and thus superstition would have been contributing to its own decay. There is more ingenuity than soundness in this opinion: all experience proves that for the sake of revenue, Government will cherish the greatest political and social evils, if it is permitted to derive a revenue from them; and this, if there were no other reasons, would be a sufficient one for abolishing a tax founded in the superstition of the people, and for utterly breaking all connection, all sympathy of objects, between officers of the state and the Brahmans.

There are no other very remarkable Acts of 1840. The minor Acts of this year are the following. An Act for Madras, regulating the procedure on trials referred to the Court of Foujdari Adalat. An Act for regulating the execution of sentences of imprisonment passed by courts martial. An Act for Bengal, opening the offices of Deputy and Assistant Registrar of the Sudder Courts to uncovenanted servants. An Act for Madras, concerning the signing of awards by the members of Panchayats. An Act for Bombay, amending the Law concerning prisoners sentenced to labor or solitude. An Act for the

something, or some meaning, which it would otherwise include: but exceptions or saving clauses (though this is their proper use)—are often unnecessarily introduced *ex Majori Cautela*, as the lawyers call it,—to prevent the possible extension of an enactment to matters not really intended to be within its operation. The preamble, in the present instance, states the subject matter of the Act, viz., oaths as administered to Hindus and Mahometans, and describes them all as under the same category, of a grievance to these classes of persons, and consequently as a public evil. This is the whole of the preamble. Then comes the enacting clause which refers to a subsequent exception; and the enacting clause says that excepting as is hereinafter excepted, instead of any oath or declaration now authorized, &c. Hindoos and Mahometans shall make the affirmation following. Plainly, this affirmation would have been of universal application, in judicial proceedings but for the exception: what then is the exception or saving clause? It is simply this:—that the Act shall not extend (1) “to any declaration made under the authority of Act No. 21 of 1837;” “nor” (2) “to any declaration or affirmation made in any of H. M.’s Courts of Justice.” What can be more plain than that this exception applies not to oaths, but to affirmations and declarations. Affirmations and declarations already in use are preserved; the affirmation given by the Act is to be in substitution of oaths in judicial proceedings, but not in substitution of any existing affirmations or declarations, or not of those mentioned in the saving clause. We add this note to our text under the following impression; that while on the one hand the decisions of the Supreme Court are not to be treated as cabbala above or beneath criticism; on the other hand, they are not lightly to be impugned, without some exhibition of reason. We impugn the decision alluded to, and we regard the exercise of the right of free discussion on all the subjects of intellectual comprehension as of the first importance to mankind. We protest against the cloud and mystery in which the lawyers have shrouded a branch of study which can be made as intelligible as the science of morals.

Straits' settlements, respecting buildings. An Act for Bombay, extending certain regulations to the Agents of Foreign Sovereigns. An Act concerning the management of Convicts transported to places within the factories of the East India Company. An Act for Madras, amending a regulation respecting penalties for breaches of the Salt Laws. An Act for Bombay, respecting Licenses for sale of Liquors. An Act respecting procedure on appeals *in forma pauperis*. An Act for Bengal, respecting auction purchasers of permanently settled estates: (repealed). Another repealed Act for Bengal. An Act for the punishment of vagrants in the three Presidency Towns. An Act for the execution of Mofussil process within the Presidency Towns. An Act for amending the law with respect to rates for municipal purposes in Calcutta. An Act for Bengal, respecting the Abkari revenue. And besides these, several Acts of Parliament were adopted. An Act for the amendment of the Law concerning the negotiation of Bills of Exchange. An Act for amending the Law administered in the Supreme Courts with reference to arbitrations, damages, and interested witnesses. An Act for the amendment of the law regarding factors. An Act for rendering a written memorandum necessary in certain cases.

Having now passed in review but five of the thirteen years which have elapsed since the Charter Act, it is obvious that the remaining Acts of the present decade would require more space than one number of the REVIEW can afford to this subject. We shall therefore here conclude for the present; not, we may add, in the manner we had designed and still intend, when we shall have laid the entire legislation of the new era and system before our readers. Many general inferences have already occurred to us: others will be suggested by Acts yet to be reviewed; other questions of law and government will have to be mooted; and therefore for the present we must take leave, for a short time, of this subject, which we commend in the interval to the reflection of our readers.

- ART. IV.—1. *Commentary on the Hindu System of Medicine*, by T. A. Wise, M.D. 8vo. Calcutta, 1845.
2. *An Essay on the Antiquity of Hindu Medicine*, by J. Forbes Royle, M. D. F. R. and L. S. &c. &c. 8vo. London, 1837.
3. *Tracts, Historical and Statistical on India*, by Benjamin Heyne, M. D., F. L. S. &c. &c. 4to. London, 1814.
4. *A view of the History, Literature, and Mythology of the Hindus, including a Minute description of their Manners and Customs, and translations from their principal works*, by William Ward, of Serampore. 8vo. London, 1822.
5. *Materia Indica; or some account of those articles which are employed by the Hindus, and other eastern nations, in their Medicine, Arts, and Agriculture, &c.*, by Whitelaw Ainslie, M. D. M. R. A. S. 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1826.
6. *Asiatic Researches; or Transactions of the Society instituted in Bengal, for enquiring into the History, the Antiquities, the Arts and Sciences and Literature of Asia*. 18 vols. 4to. Calcutta. The articles relating to Hindu Medicine.
7. *Transactions of the Medical and Physical Society of Calcutta*. 8 vols. 8vo. Calcutta, Ditto.
8. *The History of India*, by the Hon'ble Mountstuart Elphinstone, 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1841. Vol. 1, Chapter IV. On Hindu Medicine.
9. *The History of British India*, by James Mill, Esq., edited with notes and continuation by H. H. Wilson, Esq., M. A., F. R. S. 8vo. London. Book II, Cap. 10, Vol. 2d.
10. *Essai d'une Histoire Pragmatique de la Médecine*, par Kurt Sprengel, traduit sur la deuxième édition par C. F. Geiger. 2 vols. 8vo. Paris 1809. Section III. Vol. 1, Médecine Indienne.
11. *The History of Medicine, Surgery, and Anatomy, from the creation of the world to the commencement of the 19th Century*, by W. Hamilton, M. B. 2 vols. 12mo. London, 1831. Cap. 1. vol. 1. *History of Medicine from the time of Adam to the birth of Hippocrates.*

THERE are few, if any, countries in which the public generally take so great an interest in purely professional matters, as that manifested by European sojourners in India. The reason of this is obvious. The community generally is an educated one, and many of its members from the vicissitudes incidental to an Indian life, whether in its civil, military, or planting

capacities, are so often exposed to the influence of disease, to accidents from flood and field, and to various mishaps and mischances, far removed from medical aid and attendance, as to render a little knowledge of medicine and surgery not only a valuable but a tolerably general acquisition. Few Sportsmen and Indigo Planters are without their medical reminiscences, sometimes of a ludicrous, but far more frequently of a sad and melancholy character; and the time is not far removed when the military and medical charge of small detachments devolved upon the gallant Subaltern in command, aided by a compounder picked up for the nonce, and as ignorant of the rudiments as was the renowned Japhet himself, when first placed under the charge of the sagacious Cophagus, and in the companionship of the facetious Timothy.

The first contact with disease in a tropical form is well calculated to startle the novice. Its deadly grasp and giant strides—the ruddy health of the morning followed by the pallor and collapse of the evening—the rapid death of the victim of cholera, fever, and the other plagues and pestilences of the jungle, and the marsh, enforce an attention not easily called into existence in the more favored regions of the fair earth.

An acute observer has remarked, that “every one desires to live as long as he can. Every one values health ‘above all gold and treasure.’ Every one knows that as far as his own individual good is concerned, protracted life and a frame of body sound and strong, free from the thousand pains which flesh is heir to, are unspeakably more important than all other [earthly] objects, because life and health must be secured before any possible result of any possible circumstance can be of consequence to him.

Possessed then of this knowledge, and knowing the class of readers we are about to address, as well as being anxious that all departments of literature and science which appertain to the gorgeous East, should find a fitting place in the *Calcutta Review*, need we apologize for introducing to their notice and consideration the subject of “Hindu Medicine.”

The first question that demands attention in an examination of Hindu Medicine is its claim to a high degree of antiquity, for upon this must rest its chief recommendations to pre-eminence over other systems which have obtained celebrity, and led to the present advanced state of the art and science of medicine in modern Europe.

It would be difficult, if not impossible to decide with certainty the exact age in which the various Hindu medical

treatises were produced, and with every respect for the profound attainments and acute reasoning of the eminent oriental scholars, who have at various times attempted to unravel this tangled thread of mystery, we cannot regard the conclusions at which they have arrived in any other light than that of probable conjecture.

Dr. Wise has treated this portion of his subject with much candour and acumen in the introductory remarks prefixed to his Commentary, and appears carefully to have consulted all accessible authorities regarding it.

It is now generally admitted that the three first Yugs or ages of Hindu Chronology are purely fanciful and fabulous, and that the present degenerate age or Kali-yug is the only one concerning which any really trustworthy information has been, or can be afforded. The Hindus themselves pretend, that this era began 3101 B. C. or 756 before the Deluge; and from the manner in which their calculations were conducted, as well as the basis upon which they rested, the proofs of the antiquity both of the nation and of its system of Astronomy were for some time supposed to be complete and perfect. It was adopted by the celebrated Bailly in his elegant history of Astronomy, accepted by the scientific circles of Paris at that time, and advocated in England by Playfair, Robertson, and other eminent authorities; but subsequent investigation has demonstrated, "that the series of Astronomical phenomena which Bailly regarded as affording decisive evidence of the extreme antiquity of the Hindu nation, in reality established the very reverse, for they have been shown not to have been taken from actual observation, but framed from calculating *backwards* on tables constructed during a period consistent with authentic history, and to contain, in consequence, several errors which the more accurate researches of later times have proved, are inconsistent with what must have occurred." *

Bentley has shown, in his paper on the "Hindu systems of Astronomy, and their connections with History in ancient and modern times,†" that there is no reason for believing the Kali-yug to have commenced at an earlier period than 1004 B. C. or rather more than two centuries and a half subsequent to the occurrence of the Argonautic expedition, and the conjectured existence of Æsculapius. This would render the existence of Hindu records, if we suppose them to have been produced during the present age, more recent by six centuries and a half, than

* Alison.

† Asiatic Researches, vol. viii.

the first mention of Medicine and its followers in the Mosaic writings.

Without, however, adopting the views of Bentley* as strictly correct, notwithstanding their general truthfulness having been endorsed by Laplace and Delambre, or coinciding to the full extent in his remark that no dependence is to be placed on Hindu opinions, "since when thoroughly sifted and examined, they are principally founded in vanity, ignorance, and credulity,"—there can be no valid reason advanced or solid proof adduced, to shew that the medicine of the Hindus is more ancient than that of the Egyptians and Hebrews—although it appears subsequently to have attained more of the dignity of a science, and to have been cultivated with a greater degree of assiduity and success.

* "The name of Mr Bentley will descend with great distinction to posterity for his intelligent criticism on the antiquity of the Brahmanical books and their astronomical computations. It was a bold undertaking to be the first to break the spell of credulity which was lulling Europe into such an unphilosophical lethargy, but he will soon find himself rewarded by his success. We are satisfied that the venerated books of the Brahmins need only to be translated, in order to enable every man who can read, to discover their imposture; but till these translations appear, the researches of Mr Bentley and those of our Sanskrit students, who follow his foot-steps, will be wanted to undeceive such as have been hitherto deluded. Lieutenant Wilford, who is familiar with the Puranas, and has personally experienced the frauds of the modern Brahmins, has so far advanced in the progress to true criticism and common sense, as to tell us that with regard to history the Hindus really have nothing but romances. He says their works, whether historical or geographical, are most extravagant compositions, in which little regard indeed is paid to truth. In their treatises on geography they seem to view the globe through a prism, as if adorned with the liveliest colours, mountains are of solid gold, bright like ten thousand suns, and others are of precious gems. Some of silver borrow the mild and dewy beams of the moon. There are rivers and seas of liquid amber, clarified butter, milk, curds, and intoxicating liquors. Geographical truth is sacrificed to a symmetrical arrangement of countries, mountains, lakes, and rivers, with which they are highly delighted. There are two geographical systems among the Hindus. The first and most ancient is according to the Puranas, in which the earth is considered as a convex surface gradually sloping towards the borders and surrounded by the ocean. The second and modern system is that adopted by astronomers, and certainly the worst of the two. The Puranes, considering the earth as a flat surface or nearly so, their knowledge does not extend much beyond the old continent or the superior hemisphere; but astronomers being acquainted with the globular shape of the earth, and of course with an inferior hemisphere, were under the necessity of borrowing largely from the superior part, in order to fill up the inferior one. Thus their astronomical knowledge, instead of being of service to geography, has augmented the confusion, distorted and dislocated every part, every country, in the old continent."

"Even Mr H. Colebrooke, who still looks at these books with an eye of favour, in his last Essay confesses, that the mythology of the orthodox Hindus, their present chronology adapted to astronomical periods, their legendary tales, their mystical allegories, are abundantly extravagant."—*Quarterly Review*, Vol. 1, p. p. 60-67.

"We do not believe that even the Vedas are nearly so old as the poems of Homer, and we are satisfied that some of the Puranas are very modern."—*Ibid*, p. 67.

Dr. Maskeleyne adds his testimony to the general correctness of Bentley's views, in the following terms:

"I think Bentley right: he has proved by his calculations that there was no real observation made at the beginning of the Kali-yuga. Bailly was a pleasing historical writer, but he had more imagination than judgment; and I know he was condemned by his friends, La Lande and La Place, as a superficial astronomer, and a very indifferent calculator. These two gentlemen entertained the same opinion with myself with respect to the antiquity of Hindu astronomy, and I think that Mr. Bentley has made out satisfactorily the real antiquity of the *Surya Siddhanta*!"

To the Hindus must undoubtedly be assigned the merit of having been the first to practise dissection of the human body, as we shall have occasion to show hereafter, and to have possessed a complete series of treatises upon the different branches of medicine.

It is difficult to imagine how so learned and laborious a scholar as Sir Wm. Jones could have fallen into so serious an error as to state, that there was no evidence to prove the existence in any language of Asia of any original treatise on medicine considered as science. The ignorance of the Brahmans concerning the Medical Shastras could scarcely have been so great as to render them unacquainted with their existence, although they might not have been conversant with their contents. However much the Mahommedan conquerors may have neglected and despised the medical science of the Hindus, such was not the case with the hereditary physicians of Hindustan, and although *they* may have been unwilling to part with, or make known the contents of their long transmitted and highly prized manuscripts, they would scarcely have denied or concealed the fact of their existence from their own countrymen.

The mistake of Mill is still greater, and cannot be excused, since a little more diligent examination of what was then known, would have dispelled the delusion under which he laboured. Without admitting their exaggerated pretensions to antiquity, or recognizing the absurdities of their fabulous chronology, he ought to have been better acquainted with the state in which the civilization, sciences, and institutions of the Hindus were found by Alexander in his Indian campaigns, as related by Arrian and Plutarch, and with the numerous well authenticated facts scattered through various modern writers, who had partially investigated the subject and published their remarks and observations prior to the appearance of the *History of India*.

Elphinstone mentions Charaka and Susruta as the earliest medical writers extant, but does not attempt to establish the date of either of them, further than specifying upon the authority of Royle, the commentary written upon the latter in Kashmir in the twelfth or thirteenth century—probably not the first that was called into existence by the text in question. In the preliminary observations prefixed to the second volume of Ainslie's *Materia Indica*, are collected together various arguments derived from different sources concerning the antiquity and nature of the scientific knowledge generally of the Hindus, and particularly of their medicine, but that writer has not succeeded in throwing any light upon the question of their exact age, and indeed acknowledges his inability to do so, while he

inclines to the belief of their being as old as, and not borrowed from, the sciences of the Egyptians. "The Hindu medical treatises, we are told were all written many hundred years ago, but at what exact period it is next to impossible to ascertain, as dates are very rarely affixed to the manuscripts, and whatever questions are put touching particular eras to those Brahmans who might be supposed best able to reply to them, they are unvariably answered in an unsatisfactory manner" * —a result experienced by most others who have pursued the same path of enquiry, with the attempted aid of such inefficient and ignorant guides as the great majority of the present race of Pandits.

By far the most elaborate and successful attempt to establish the antiquity of Hindu Medicine is that of Professor Royle, whose able and argumentative treatise has become the standard of reference of all systematic writers upon the subject. The learned and diligent author of the Botany of the Himalayas appears, during the period of his exile and servitude, to have devoted much of his time to the collection and investigation of various articles of the indigenous *Materia Medica* found in the bazars of India, and this led him to study and trace their history and properties with such aid as can be obtained in this country alone. Although the author is not a Sanskrit scholar, he certainly appears to us to have established by a train of ingenious and occasionally complete evidence, that the medicine of the Hindus was older than that of the Arabs and of the Greeks, that it was *probably original*, and not borrowed from any other nation; and that it contained much that was interesting and deserving of further research and enquiry.

The following extract from Royle's Essay will give our readers a fair idea of the nature and force of the reasoning brought to bear upon this difficult question :—

"Hindu works on Medicine having been proved to have existed prior to the Arabs, little doubt can be entertained, I conceive, respecting their originality; as we know of no source from which they could have been borrowed, except from the Greeks, and there is little probability of the Hindus having had access to any original or translated works at so early a period, as must have been the case from their containing no traces of the Galenical doctrines so conspicuous in the writings of the Arabs. Some coincidences would appear rather to be that of observers of the same fact, than of borrowers from the same books. The description of some diseases, which seem to have been first known in India, as well as the internal administration of metals, they could not have borrowed from the Greeks. That there must have been independent observers in India, at a very early age of the world, we have proofs in the commerce of their manufactures and of their medicines. Many of the latter may be found described in the works of the Greeks, but we see no trace of European medicines in those of the

* Ainslie Op. cit.

Hindus; and though knowledge may travel from north to south, tropical products can in our hemisphere only travel from south to north. Their employment, therefore, in the latter, proves their previous investigation by a people resident in the countries of their growth. On such grounds, therefore, I conceive, we may infer the antiquity of Hindu medicine; and while unable to get any positive dates for their works, we may yet, by circumstantial evidence, obtain an approximation which will, I think, prove its independent origin. We may, however, conceive it to be the remains of a still more ancient system, of which we have no records, but of the existence of which there can be no doubt, as Herodotus relates, that in his time, in Egypt, there were distinct physicians for different diseases, which were classed according to their seat in the human body; and from Diodorus Siculus we learn, that every physician was obliged to follow a written code. Hence it is more than probable that there was early in Egypt a distinct system of medicine, and we have notices also in the works of the ancients of its being a subject much attended to by the Persian magi. Notwithstanding that the Greeks travelled to the East and to Egypt in quest of knowledge, it has been said, that Egyptian medicine consisted chiefly in incantation; but this explanation is as likely to have been owing to the ignorance of the narrators as of the physicians; for even in our own day we seldom see even well-informed writers able to explain or to describe correctly facts of a scientific nature. In the same manner, those who were unable to decypher their hieroglyphics, pronounced all the knowledge of the Egyptian priesthood to consist in magic.

The only direct testimony we have with respect to the date of the works of Charaka and of Susruta, is that of Professor Wilson, who states that from their being mentioned in the Puranas, the ninth or tenth century is the most modern limit of our conjecture; while the style of the authors, as well as their having become the heroes of fable, indicate a long anterior date. The Arabs must have become acquainted with the translations in the eighth, or early in the ninth century, as Harun-al-Rashid and Al-Mamoon succeeded respectively in the years 786 and 813 to the Caliphate, when it stretched to the Indus: the latter survived only twenty years. Geber is supposed to have lived in the seventh or eighth century, and we have shown the probability of his having had access to the chemical knowledge of the Hindus. But for their merits to have been sufficiently established for their works to be translated at the same time with those of the principal Greek authors, these Hindu physicians must certainly have lived and written long before; to allow their fame to extend into foreign countries, in an age when the communication of literature must have been at least as slow as it now is in the East.*

In addition to proving the priority of the Hindus to the Greeks and Arabs in the matters above mentioned, the Professor has traced in an extended though cursory chain of arguments, the commerce, science, arts, literature, and civilization of the Brahmans from the earliest period of their own authentic records, as well as from the testimony afforded by the literary remains of other nations, and by the application of this combined mass of evidence, has satisfactorily established the fact he intended to prove. In the validity, however, of some of his arguments we are not inclined to coincide, nor we do we think that he has

* Royle's Essay, pp. 62. 3. 4.

always been happy in tracing the identity between Greek and Arabic terms. There is no more fruitful source of error than the ambiguity of nomenclature in ages and among nations which had no fixed standards of comparison, and whose complete ignorance of the essential characters of plants and even of mineral bodies, renders it difficult, if not impossible, to identify the substance described and spoken of. In the writings of so comparatively recent an author as Dioscorides, whose works have been illustrated and annotated by "swarms of commentators," out of seven hundred plants contained in his *Materia Medica*, not more than four hundred have been correctly ascertained; nor have Theophrastus,—the Father of Botany,—Pliny, and even Celsus fared much better. To enter into any detailed analysis of such minor points of objection, or indeed further to prolong our remarks upon this preliminary portion of our enquiry into the Hindu system of medicine, would be out of place in the necessarily narrow limits to which we must confine our article, were we even possessed of the leisure and eastern lore requisite for the prosecution of such a task. We cannot, however, quit a topic of which probably many of our readers are already heartily tired, without a passing reference to the paper of Horace Hayman Wilson, published in the *Oriental Magazine* for 1823, and quoted by Royle in the essay above referred to. Unlike most of the other writers upon this subject, Professor Wilson is universally acknowledged to be one of the most profound and accomplished Sanskrit scholars in existence, and his evidence, delivered with the modesty and caution of one well acquainted with the nature and extent of the materials at his command, is entitled to the highest consideration. We can only venture upon the following extracts from his paper:—

* " There is reason to conclude, from the imperfect opportunities of investigation we possess, that in medicine, as in astronomy and metaphysics, the Hindus once kept pace with the most enlightened nations of the world; and that they attained as thorough a proficiency in medicine and surgery, as any people, whose acquisitions are recorded, and as indeed was practicable, before anatomy was made known to us, by the discoveries of modern inquirers.

* * * * *

The *Ayur Veda*, as the medical writings of highest antiquity and authority are collectively called, is considered to be a portion of the fourth or *Atharva Veda*, and is consequently the work of BRAHMA—by him it was communicated to DASHA, the *Prajapati*, and by him, the two ASWINS, or sons of SURYA, the Sun, were instructed in it, and they then became the medical attendants of the gods—a genealogy, that cannot fail recalling to us the two sons of *Æsculapius*, and their descent from *Apollo*. Now what were the duties of the Aswins, according to Hindu authorities?—the gods, enjoying eternal youth and health, stood in no need of physicians, and consequently these held no such sinecure station. The wars between the

gods and demons, however, and the conflicts amongst the gods themselves, in which wounds might be suffered, although death was not inflicted, required chirurgical aid—and it was this, accordingly, which the two ASWINS rendered. They performed many extraordinary cures, as might have been expected, from their superhuman character.

The meaning of these legendary absurdities is clear enough, and is conformable to the tenor of all history. Man, in the semi-barbarous state, if not more subject to external injuries, than internal disease, was at least more likely to seek remedies for the former, which were obvious to his senses, than to imagine the means of relieving the latter, whose nature he could so little comprehend.

Surgical, therefore, preceded medicinal skill; as Celsus has asserted, when commenting on Homer's account of Podalirius and Machaon, who were not consulted, he says, during the plague in the Grecian Camp, although regularly employed, to extract darts and heal wounds. The same position is maintained, as we shall hereafter see, by the Hindu writers, in plain, as well as in legendary language.

According to some authorities, the ASWINS instructed INDRA, and INDRA was the preceptor of DHANWANTARI; but others make ATREYA, BHARADWAJA, and CHARAKA, prior to the latter. CHARAKA's work, which goes by his name, is extant—DHANWANTARI is also styled KASIRAJA, prince of *Kasi* or Benares. His disciple was SUSRUTA, the son of VISWAMITRA, and consequently a contemporary of RAMA: his work also exists, and is our chief guide at present. It is unquestionably of some antiquity, but it is not easy to form any conjecture of its real date, except that it cannot have the prodigious age, which Hindu fable assigns it—it is sufficient to know, that it is perhaps the oldest work on the subject, excepting that of CHARAKA, which the Hindus possess. One commentary on the text, made by UBHATTA, a Cashmerian, is probably as old as the twelfth or thirteenth century, and his comment, it is believed, was preceded by others. The work is divided into six portions—the *Sutra St'hana*, or CHIRURGICAL DEFINITIONS; the *Nidana St'hana*, or section on SYMPTOMS, or DIAGNOSIS; *Suria St'hana* ANATOMY; *Chikitsa St'hana*, the internal application of Medicines; *Kulpa St'hana*, ANTIDOTES; *Uttara St'hana*, or a supplementary section on various local diseases or affections of the eye, ear, &c. In all these divisions however, surgery, and not general medicine, is the object of the *Susruta*.

The *Ayur Veda*, which originally consisted of one hundred sections, of a thousand stanzas each, was adapted to the limited faculties and life of man, by its distribution into eight subdivisions, the enumeration of which conveys to us an accurate idea of the objects of the *Arts medendi* amongst the Hindus. The divisions are thus enumerated—1. *Salya*; 2. *Sulakya*; 3. *Kaya Chikitsa*; 4. *Bhutavidya*; 5. *Kaumarabhritya*; 6. *Agada*; 7. *Rasayana*; and 8. *Bajjikanana*. They are explained as follows:

Salya is the art of extracting extraneous substances, whether of grass, wood, earth, metal, bone, &c. violently or accidentally introduced into the human body; with the treatment of the inflammation and suppuration thereby induced; and by analogy, the cure of all phlegmonoid tumours and abscesses. The word *Salya* means a dart or arrow, and points clearly to the origin of this branch of Hindu science. In like manner the *ἰατρὸς*, or physician of the Greeks, was derived according to *Sexsus Empiricus* from *ἰαλός*, an arrow or dart.

2. *Salakya* is the treatment of external organic affections, or diseases of the eyes, ears, nose, &c. it is derived from *Salaka*, which means any thin and sharp instrument; and is either applicable in the same manner as *Salya*, to the active causes of the morbid state, or it is borrowed from the

generic name of the slender probes and needles, used in operations on the parts affected.

3. *Kaya Chikitsa* is, as the name implies, the application of the *Art Medendi* (*Chikitsa*) to the body in general (*Kaya*), and forms what we mean by the Science of Medicine—the two preceding divisions constitute the Surgery of modern schools.

4. *Bhutavidya* is the restoration of the faculties from a disorganised state, induced by Demoniack possession. This art has vanished before the diffusion of knowledge, but it formed a very important branch of medical practice, through all the schools, Greek, Arabic, or European, and descended to days very near our own, as a reference to *Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy* may prove to general readers.

5. *Kaumara bhritya* means, the care of infancy, comprehending not only the management of children from their birth, but the treatment of irregular lactic secretion, and puerperal disorders in mothers and nurses—this holds with us also the place, that its importance claims.

6. *Agada* is the administration of antidotes—a subject which, as far as it rests upon scientific principles, is blended with our medicine and surgery.

7. *Rasayana* is chemistry, or more correctly alchemy, as the chief end of the chemical combinations it describes, and which are mostly metallurgic, is the discovery of the universal medicine—the elixir, that was to render health permanent, and life perpetual.

8. The last branch, *Bajikarana*, professes to promote the increase of the human race—an illusory research, which, as well as the preceding, is not without its parallel in ancient and modern times.*

Before entering upon the detailed examination of the different departments of Hindu Medicine as developed in Wise's Commentary, it may not be uninteresting to the general reader to give a brief sketch of the Medicine of the Hebrews and of the Egyptians—so as to enable him to institute some degree of comparison between them.

The sacred writings of the Jews, and the existence of authentic historical monuments, prove that Egypt was partially civilized at a period when the rest of the then known world was in a state of complete ignorance and barbarism. The Hindus contest the palm of superior antiquity and civilization with the Egyptians, but upon uncertain and in many respects purely imaginary grounds, while few facts are now more completely established, than the high state of cultivation of the arts and sciences at a very remote period of the existence of ancient Egypt, whereas there are, on the other hand, few things more easy to disprove than the fabulous chronology of the Brahmans. No people could have been more favorably situated for the early cultivation of science than the inhabitants of the fertile banks of the Nile, and none have left more magnificent monuments of their skill, civilization, and the wonderful degree of perfection they attained, when a more than

* The *Oriental Magazine*, vol. i. p. 207—12.

Cimmerian darkness enveloped the rest of the habitable globe, so far as we now are capable of judging.

It would be out of place in any work not specially devoted to the history of Medicine, to attempt to trace its origin, or to speculate upon the nature of the various divinities to whom the ancients ascribed the virtue of healing. Upon these matters we have no more certain or trustworthy guides than fabulous traditions or crude conjectures, based upon an imperfect knowledge of the nature of man in a savage state, and of the particular wants to which he is supposed to be most liable in such a condition. It is in reality of no great consequence in the present advanced stage of the science, to ascertain whether the natural and inherent preservative instinct of man led him to distinguish alimentary from medicinal, and these from poisonous substances, or whether, as an ingenious author has attempted to prove, animals were the earliest physicians: it is sufficient for our purposes to know, that some knowledge of medicine must have been among the earliest of human arts, and most probably long before it attained the dignity of a science. There can be little doubt, also, that in the infancy of the great human family diseases must have been few and simple, and cured more by the *vis medicatrix naturæ* than by the efficacy of any drugs then known and used. This is abundantly evident and apparent in an examination of the earlier systems of medicine transmitted to us, in all of which diet and regimen, air and exercise, are constantly insisted upon as among the most efficacious means of removing disease and of restoring health. Many of the ancient medical philosophers appear to have been very much of the opinion of the modern poet, that

" The first physicians by debauch were made,
Excess begun, and sloth sustains the trade.
By chase our long-liv'd fathers earn'd their food;
Toil strung the nerves, and purify'd the blood. '
But we their sons, a pamper'd race of men,
Are dwindled down to threescore years and ten.
Better to hunt in fields for health unbought,
Than fee the doctor for a nauseous draught.
The wise for cure on exercise depend:
God never made his work for man to mend."

Among the early Egyptians, as among many more modern nations, the practice of medicine was originally usurped by the Priesthood, who built their temples in healthy positions, and excited the imaginations of their patients by a variety of ceremonies and practices, compounds of magic and imposture, not altogether unknown in the more systematic and learned empiricism of recent times as exhibited in the wonders of Cagliostro, and the manipulations of sundry pretenders of the present day.

The credit of all cures was assumed for the particular deities presiding over each temple, and the cause of all failures was adroitly ascribed to the anger of some offended divinity, whose wrath was not to be appeased by mortal means: they consequently branded the unfortunate incurables as criminals under punishment for unpardonable sins! Something not far removed from this will be found in the medicine of the Hindus, and is recorded in the earliest writings of the Greek Poets. The classical reader will doubtless remember, that when at the siege of Troy the plague reigned and raged in the Grecian camp, Homer describes its progress, but is silent upon the human efforts made to arrest it and obviate its fatality. In fact his advice is, to let

——— "Some prophet or some sacred sage,
Explore the cause of great Apollo's rage;
Or learn the wasteful vengeance to remove,
By mystic dreams; for dreams descend from Jove.
If broken vows this heavy curse have laid,
Let altars smoke, and hecatombs be paid.
So heav'n aton'd, shall dying Greece restore,
And Phœbus dart his burning shafts no more."

The medical priesthood of Egypt consisted of an exclusive caste of considerable dignity, inasmuch as the rulers of the land were also then selected from the priestly faculty. They were haughty, reserved, austere, and never relaxed the fixed and melancholy appearance of their countenances in the presence of their patients. Their food consisted exclusively of vegetables and the sacrificial meats—the flesh of all other animals being carefully rejected as unwholesome, and as the cause of the forms of leprosy, ophthalmia, and other formidable diseases, which appear, even at that early period, to have been common in the land of the Pharaohs. Whether the drink of these aboriginal sons of Æsculapius was wine or water, has been a subject of much discussion: the balance of evidence is in favour of their having been worshippers of the rosy God.

Herodotus maintains that in his time Egypt was a species of medical paradise, and that every disease had its own special practitioner—a subdivision of duty that must have been marvelously inconvenient for those who laboured under complicated disorders.

The practice of the early physicians would seem to have been simple, the disease being in general left to the curative powers of nature, with the occasional exhibition of some evacuant remedy,—a literal verification of the modern definition of physic as 'the art of amusing the patient, while nature cures the disease.'

The surgical skill of the Egyptians has been called in ques-

tion in consequence of their having been unable to cure a simple sprain, or to reduce the dislocated ankle of Darius, the son of Hystaspes.

The soothsayers prognosticated the changes and terminations of diseases, the cure of which was generally undertaken by the ordinary priests, and *they* could not treat any acute affection before the fourth day of its manifestation, except upon their personal responsibility.

The two principal departments of medicine in which the claim of early distinction and proficiency has been made for the Egyptians, are Anatomy and Chemistry. Their knowledge of the former was entirely confined to the art of embalming in the various forms in which it was practised, and entitles them to no such credit. In this respect we shall find them infinitely inferior to the Hindus, and their writings contain the grossest anatomical blunders, even more absurd than the Chinese drawings of human dissections, in which the outline is filled up with the internal structures of various animals. Their chemical skill and knowledge were undoubtedly in a much more advanced state, for they have left metallurgic and other results which are still enigmas for the most eminent of our modern chemical philosophers, and are far in advance of anything of the kind ever found in Hindustan.

They practised periodical evacuations; treated rheumatism by friction with crocodile's fat; employed fumigation; were acquainted with the uses of balsam, spices and myrrh; and appear also to have used alum, plasters, and various ointments, in the latter of which white lead and verdigris were occasionally ingredients. The last mentioned fact has been called in question, and is supposed to be true only of the Egyptians at a much later period.

The early medicine of the Hebrews, appears from the incidental remarks contained in the Bible, to have attained a considerable degree of perfection. Their remedial agents were chiefly of a hygienic nature, and consisted of circumcision, strict attention to diet, separation, frequent ablution, and the combustion of infected garments. Every Christian reader must be well acquainted with the minute directions and descriptions contained in the book of Leviticus; the cure of Naaman's leprosy; the odoriferous confections and ointments mentioned in the 30th chapter of Exodus, as compounded "after the art of the apothecary;" the employment of music as a cure for melancholy; the use of antimony as a face paint; and the mention in various places of the Fig, the Olive, Saffron, Myrrh, Bdellium, Galbanum, Cumin, Coriander,

Balm of Gilead, Frankincense, Cassia, Cinnamon, the Pomegranate, Dill, and it is conjectured Colocynth and Castor Oil.

In medicine and natural history the great lawgiver Moses not only surpassed his Egyptian masters, but possessed the secret of reducing gold to powder, as related in the 32nd chapter of Exodus—"And he took the calf which they had made, and burnt it in the fire, and ground it to powder, and strawed it upon the water, and made the children of Israel drink of it." He also sweetened the bitter waters of Marah, and has left a most accurate account of the various forms of leprosy.

The wisdom of Solomon has since become a proverb.

"And God gave Solomon wisdom and understanding exceeding much, and largeness of heart even as the sand that is on the sea shore."

"And Solomon's wisdom exceeded the wisdom of all the children of the East country, and all the wisdom of Egypt."

"For he was wiser than all men," * * * * * and his fame was in all nations round about."

"And he spake three thousand proverbs: and his songs were a thousand and five."

"And he spake of trees, from the cedar tree that is in Lebanon, even unto the hyssop that springeth out of the wall: he spake also of beasts, and of fowl, and of creeping things, and of fishes."*

Hartwell Horne,† who appears to have consulted and collated almost every existing authority upon the subject, in his section "*On the diseases mentioned in the Scriptures*," has the following passage upon the origin of medicine among the Hebrews, and the nature and duties of their physicians.

"The Jews ascribed the *origin* of the healing art to God himself (Ecclus. xxxviii. 1, 2,) and the Egyptians attributed their invention of it to their God Thaut or Hermes, or to Osiris or Isis.

Antiently at Babylon, the sick, when they were first attacked by a disease, were left in the streets, for the purpose of learning from those who might pass them, what practices or what medicines had been of assistance to them, when afflicted with similar diseases. The Egyptians carried their sick into the temple of Serapis; the Greeks carried theirs into those of Æsculapius. In the temples of both these deities there were preserved written receipts of the means by which various cures had been effected. With the aid of these

* I. Kings, Chap. iv.

A modern writer, however, commenting on this fact, has the following remarks:—"Gold is so ductile that it is very difficult to grind it to powder, and it is still more difficult to dissolve it in water. Here is an exploit which the greatest chemists of the present day could not do more than perform—a sufficient proof of the scientific skill of Moses, and consequently of the Egyptians, from whom he drew his knowledge. But there seems no reason for believing that Moses possessed any chemical knowledge whatever. He broke the calf in pieces, and reduced it to as small fragments as he could; these he threw into water, and made the Israelites drink of that liquid. We are sure that the gold was not dissolved in the water, because gold, in a state of solution, is one of the most virulent of poisons, and could not, therefore, have been administered to the Israelites with impunity."—*Ed. Review*, Vol. L. p. 257.

† Horne's Introduction to the critical study and knowledge of the Holy Scriptures. Vol. iii. chapter ix. § 1. p. 501 to 11.

recorded remedies, the art of healing assumed in the progress of time the aspect of a science. It assumed such a form first in Egypt, and at a much more recent period in Greece; but it was not long before those of the former were surpassed in excellence by the physicians of the latter country. That the Egyptians, however, had no little skill in medicine, may be gathered from what is said in the Pentateuch respecting the marks of leprosy. That some of the medicinal prescriptions should fail of bringing the expected relief is by no means strange, since Pliny himself mentions some which are far from producing the effects he ascribes to them.* Physicians are first mentioned in Gen. i. 2. Exod. xxi. 19. Job xiii. 4. Some acquaintance with surgical operations is implied in the rite of circumcision† (Gen. xvii. 11-14.) There is ample evidence that the Israelites had some acquaintance with the internal structure of the human system, although it does not appear that dissections of the human body, for medical purposes, were made till as late as the time of Ptolemy.‡ That physicians sometimes undertook to exercise their skill, in removing diseases of an internal nature is evident from the circumstance of David's playing upon the harp to cure the melancholy of Saul. (1 Sam. xvi. 16.) The art of healing was committed among the Hebrews as well as among the Egyptians, to the priests; who, indeed, were obliged, by a law of the state, to take cognizance of leprosy. (Lev. xiii. 1-14, 57. Deut. xxiv. 8, 9.) Reference is made to physicians who were not priests, and to instances of sickness, disease, healing, &c." in various parts of the scriptures."

The diseases mentioned in the sacred writings § are cancers, consumption, dropsy, fevers, epilepsy, lunacy, leprosy in its

* This is by no means confined to Pliny and the ancients—our modern systems of *Materia Medica* abound and are overloaded with remedies to which supposititious virtues are ascribed, and contain many which are inert and useless, or on the other hand positively mischievous. Few circumstances have operated so prejudicially upon the advance of the therapeutical department of medicine, as the ignorance, carelessness, and we fear, occasionally the culpable and wilful mis-representations which characterize a large proportion of the observations published on the actions and uses of medicinal agents.

† This, however, can only be admitted as evidence of the lowest possible degree of surgical skill. Circumcision and Nymphotomy, an analogous operation, still continues to be practised among the Copts, Egyptians, Arabs, Ethiopians and other eastern nations. They are performed by the most ignorant and lowest order of practitioners, demanding a very moderate amount of knowledge and skill. Buffon, in alluding to the latter operation says—"d'après Niebuhr, cette opération se fait vers l'âge de dix ans, sans cérémonie religieuse, et en y attachant si peu d'importance qu'on ne la fait pratiquer que lorsque les femmes qui font ce métier passent accidentellement dans la rue." (Hist. Nat. Tom. iv.) They are on a level in fact with the corn cutters and bone setters of modern Europe.

‡ ANATOMY does not appear to have been cultivated by the Hebrews, among whom the contact with a dead body rendered an individual unclean, even with purification for seven days, as related in the 19th chapter of Numbers from the 11th verse, and also alluded to in the book of Leviticus.

Their knowledge of PHYSIOLOGY was exceedingly restricted. They regarded the bones as important organs, and as the seat of severe diseases, and considered the umbilical region and epigastrium as exercising a great degree of influence over the health of the individual. But on these and other ordinary matters connected with the natural sciences and arts, the Jews were left very much to their own resources. It never was the design of true *Revelation* to supersede the exercise of the human faculties in any department of knowledge to the cultivation of which these may be fully competent. On the contrary, its general intent has been to brace, invigorate and expand all the powers and susceptibilities of the soul, and to encourage, under due regulation, the application of these to every pursuit calculated to enlarge the boundaries of useful knowledge or confer fresh benefits on the family of man.

§ Horne, loc. cit.

various forms, as contagious or non-contagious—described with a degree of minuteness and accuracy to which it is scarcely possible for a modern observer to make a single addition from external examination alone, as may daily be seen in the streets of this city—elephantiasis with a species of which the patriarch Job is conjectured to have been afflicted; the disease of the Philistines, variously supposed to have been either dysentery, or hæmorrhoids; the disease of Saul, melancholia; the disease of Jehoram, King of Israel, dysentery, with ulceration and discharge of portions of intestine; the disease with which Hezekiah was afflicted, said to have been either a pleurisy, or the plague, elephantiasis, or a quinsey, but conjectured by most to have been fever terminating in abscess; and the hypochondriasis of Nebuchadnezzar.

We do not refer to the diseases, remedies, and other medical matters mentioned in the New Testament, as they are of much more recent date, and can scarcely be taken to have any connection with the *antiquity* of Hebrew Medicine.

Much of the learning of the ancient Israelites was probably derived from the Egyptians, in the frequent intercourse that took place in the time of Abraham and his descendants, as well as during the four centuries of bondage of the successors of Jacob. There is no doubt, however, that much more was peculiar to themselves, and like their faith and customs, handed down from the remotest periods.

The claims of the Chinese will not bear investigation, either as to the extent or antiquity of their knowledge of medicine, when compared with the Hebrews, the Egyptians, or the Hindus.

There can be equally little, or possibly even less, doubt concerning the more modern claims of the Arabs, who have not only been proved to have had access to and quoted from the Charaka and Susruta,—but to have been well acquainted with the writings of the Greek Fathers of Medicine. In fact the doctrines of Hippocrates and Galen were early taught in their schools, and no credit can be assigned to them of having been among the *earliest* cultivators of any of the arts and sciences. They belong altogether to a much more recent era, and were in the first instance chiefly indebted for their knowledge to the Hindus and Greeks.

Although the Greeks cannot pretend to the *antiquity* in knowledge of the Hindus, the Egyptians, or the Hebrews—“it is neither in Egypt, nor in India, nor in Palestine, nor in Rome, that the first germs of the *systematic* study of science are to be found, but in Greece alone.”

To the Hindus and to the Egyptians the modern world.

owes nothing of its advance in science and civilization, but to Greece, the cradle of learning and liberty, the debt of gratitude in every department of literature and art is immense and universally acknowledged. Among them none have derived more positive benefit, or been more firmly impressed with the sterling stamp of wisdom than Medicine and the branches of human knowledge collaterally or immediately connected with it. With the single exception of Chemistry, in which the credit of a high degree of cultivation and success, subsequently reflected in the brilliant researches and discoveries of our own time, belongs undoubtedly to the Arabs, every other branch of European Medicine may be traced to a Grecian origin; and in many of them, the doctrines and practices of the old fathers of physic are still quoted with deference, and acknowledged with respect. The dogmatism of Hippocrates and his successors; the professed empiricism which reigned in the schools from the time of Serapion to the commencement of the Christian Æra; the methodism which partially commenced with Themison and continued until the reign of Marcus Aurelius, when it was firmly established by Galen, the physician and peripatetic; and the peripatetic dogmatism that prevailed from his time to the period when that strange compound of mountebank, quack, and philosopher Paracelsus, the cotemporary of Charles the V., appeared upon the stage, all had their influence upon the succeeding revolutions of medicine,—embracing the chemical dogmatism that ceased with the discovery of the circulation, by the immortal Harvey, in the reign of Charles I; the mechanical dogmatism that obtained possession of the schools to the period of Boerhave in the commencement of the 18th century, and then merged into the general dogmatism with its infinite varieties and off-shoots, including the learned empiricisms of Homœopathy, Hydropathy, and others of still more doubtful character, that still continue to occupy the learned, attract the vulgar, delude the ignorant, and mystify the multitude. All this, however, is foreign to our present purpose, and we must retrace our steps from the light of Greece to the obscurity of Hindustan.

To enable our readers to estimate correctly the value and extent of the addition contributed to the history of medicine by *Wise's Commentary*, a brief and rapid review of our previous knowledge of the subject, may not be deemed altogether uninteresting or out of place.

To the full and candid work of the learned LeClerc, we have not access at present,—but if our memory be not faulty, it contains little, if any, positive information upon the medicine of

the Hindus, except possibly a few incidental allusions borrowed from the writings of the Arabian physicians, who were not very profoundly acquainted with the matter themselves.

The history of medicine from the time of Galen to the commencement of the 16th century, by Friend, is equally silent.

Of Black's history of medicine and surgery published in 1782, it is sufficient to repeat the opinion entertained by a cotemporary writer, that it was—"prolix in ancient history, meagre in the middle ages, superficial in later times, and in the most modern completely uninformed."

The first of the works with which we have any acquaintance, that alludes directly to the Hindus as among the earliest of the successful cultivators of the healing art, is the 'infinitely important and valuable' *Essai d'une histoire pragmatique de la Medecine*, by Kurt Sprengel—a work to which we have been much indebted in the passing remarks upon Egyptian and Hebrew medicine.

His chapter upon Indian Medicine is chiefly compiled from the Greek writers and the statements of modern travellers and authorities, but from having had no access to the original Sanskrit historians, of the existence even of most of which he appears to have been unacquainted, his information is necessarily meagre, and in some respects not very correct.

Bostock, although a diligent reader and evidently acquainted with the writings of nearly every author of repute and trust connected with the origin and progress of physis, has not even mentioned the Hindus in his *History of Medicine*, evidently regarding the little information then extant as too scanty and fabulous to deserve notice.

Dr. Wm. Hamilton is somewhat more explicit on the subject, and sums up his opinions in the following paragraph, which contains, indeed, the whole of the space devoted to the Hindus in his "*History of Medicine, Surgery, and Anatomy*, from the creation of the world to the commencement of the nineteenth Century."

"Notwithstanding the progress which recent researches, no less than ancient traditions inform us, was made by the inhabitants of Hindustan, at the most remote periods, in other branches of knowledge, and in the abstruse science of Astronomy more especially; their proficiency in the art of healing does not appear, from any evidence which either ancient history or modern discovery affords, to have equalled that of nations, in other respects far less enlightened. Their chief dependence, in the cure of disease, consisted, as Strabo informs us, in a rigid attention to diet, and the external application of cataplasms, and other topical remedies. Medicine appears to have been practised chiefly, if not wholly, by persons who were termed *Sapavaus* or Samaneans, who exercised their calling by the special permission, and under the immediate superintendence, of the magistrates.

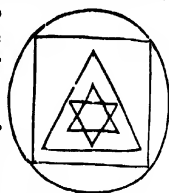
But their practice was encumbered with many difficulties, and the spirit of useful inquiry repressed by sanguinary, mistaken, and injudicious laws. The disclosure of a substance injurious to health, unaccompanied by its corresponding antidote, was punished with the penalty of death; and the door of improvement closed at the hazard of a halter against him who should dare to enter imprudently. The most valuable remedies were proscribed, from the apprehension of mischief arising from their injudicious application: and the courageous practitioner, who had ventured to employ some of those active preparations which are in every day use among modern physicians, would have endangered his neck, had he been unable to point out the remedy for their noxious effects, when wielded by the hands of malice, of ignorance, or of presumption. The mere existence of such a law sufficiently marks the low ebb of medical knowledge among the people who framed it: since it presupposes the fact, unconfirmed by any experience, of every poison having its appropriate and specific antidote, as every disease was believed, down almost to the present day, to possess its specific and peculiar remedy."

The eminent and excellent Missionary, William Ward, of Serampore, in his view of the 'History, Literature, and Mythology of the Hindus,' a work containing much valuable information, has devoted a section to the medical Shastras. He appears to coincide, with a little qualification, in the opinion of Sir Wm. Jones that Eastern "physic is a mere empirical history of diseases and remedies," and gives a brief abstract of some of the Hindu notions concerning fever, dysentery, and other internal diseases, with an enumeration of the medical shastras still extant. The amount of information accumulated by him is scanty, imperfect, and not obtained from the most ancient or purest sources. The question of its probable antiquity is left untouched, and the impression produced by the perusal of the chapter, is certainly unfavorable to the science, information and method really possessed by the Hindu Physicians of a remote date.

In the "Tracts, Historical and Statistical on India," published in a handsome, illustrated 4to volume in 1814, by Dr. Heyne, of the Madras medical department, are portions of a translation of some Hindu works on medicine. The author sets out by stating, that "it is common in India to hear the native physicians represented by some Europeans as a set of ignorant cheats, and extolled by others as miracles of knowledge and wisdom. The fact, however, is, that the great body of medical men in India consists of illiterate pretenders to knowledge, few being entitled to be considered as possessors of real knowledge. Most of them are quacks, possessors and vendors of nostrums. The medical works of the Hindus are neither to be regarded as miraculous productions of wisdom, nor as depositories of nonsense. Their practical principles, as far as I can judge, are very similar to our own, even their theories may be reconciled

with ours, if we make allowance for their ignorance of anatomy, and the imperfections of their physiological speculations."

He furnishes a long and interesting list of medicinal plants most in use, with their Sanskrit, Telinga, and Linnean names, to which are appended a few directions for keeping, gathering, compounding, and administering them. Some of these injunctions are simple and sensible, others ridiculous and childish. The middle of every medicine room was furnished with a sacred spot, consecrated by a mystical sign so very masonic in its form, that we are tempted to transfer it to our pages for the benefit of those among our readers, who may delight in researches upon symbols and signs, and have a firm belief in the antiquity and eastern origin of the mysteries of the masonic brotherhood.



This is followed by an abstract of an Indian treatise on medicine, containing—advice to physicians; a curious chapter on the pulse—Chinese in its childishness and prolixity, with an occasional glimmer of sense and correctness;—remarks on the diagnosis of the three principal diseases produced by *Wadum*, *Pittum*, and *Chestum*, or wind, bile, and slime, with a detail of the numerous diseases that result from these causes—a catalogue of nonsense and a medley of maladies strangely incongruous in their nature and relations. This is succeeded by remarks on the general causes of diseases; a section on diet; one on fever; another upon an unknown disorder termed *Sanny*, which seems to be a jumbling together of many of the worst symptoms of several diseases. The subject of prognosis meets with a due degree of attention, and a general summary of the whole concludes with the following curt and pithy sentences:—

"Thus have I finished the translation of this most extraordinary treatise, and I dare say my readers are by this time as fatigued as I am myself. It may be considered as a summary of all the medical knowledge of the Hindus. We see their absolute ignorance of anatomy, and every thing connected with the functions of the human body; that their system is entirely chimerical and connected with their religious opinions: and the long fests to which they subject their patients are probably by far the most efficacious of their remedies. I had originally added long notes upon this little treatise, exhibiting the various opinions of other medical writers upon the subject discussed in the text, but upon farther reflection I have been induced to withdraw them, conceiving that the treatise itself exhibited a banquet of absurdity sufficient to satisfy the most voracious guests; while different views of the same ridiculous opinions could not serve to add to the information of the most inquisitive reader."

Dr. Whitelaw Ainslie, in his excellent and detailed work on the *Materia Medica* of India,—to which we shall probably

have occasion to refer again, when remarking upon the section of Dr. Wise's commentary devoted to this department—has, in his preliminary observations, recorded a few remarks upon the subject of the probable antiquity of the medicine of the Hindus, and of its present claims to consideration, more especially as known and practised in Southern India. He has also published a list of Hindu and Mahomedan works on various departments of physic. He does not profess, however, to be learned in Eastern lore, and has evidently obtained the greater part of his information at second hand, from 'Tamul and Telingu practitioners, who were most probably themselves unacquainted with the original Sanskrit works,' of which, according to Heyne, the translations into the dialects of Southern India, are full of errors from the translators having been frequently unequal to their task.

The transactions of the Asiatic Society of Bengal are comparatively poor in the matter of contributions to our knowledge of Hindu Medicine, containing in eighteen parts or volumes scarcely as many separate papers on the subject, and of these not one that can lay claim to any degree of learning or research. In the first, a paper by *Goverdhan Caul*, on the Literature of the Hindus, their medical writings are dismissed in about a dozen lines of very general remarks.

The second is the well known passage from the last anniversary dissertation of the eminent and learned President of the Society, delivered in February, 1794, which as embodying the views of that gifted and discriminating scholar, we have no hesitation in quoting for the information of those who have not access to the Asiatic Researches—the early volumes of which are gradually becoming rare and scarce—or who may not be in possession of Lord Teignmouth's edition of the works of Sir Wm. Jones:—

"I have no evidence that in any language of Asia, there exists one original treatise on medicine, considered as science; physic, indeed, appears in these regions to have been from time immemorial, as we see it practised at this day by Hindus and Muselmans, a mere empirical history of diseases and remedies; useful, I admit, in a high degree, and worthy of attentive examination, but wholly foreign to the subject before us. Though the Arabs, however, have chiefly followed the Greeks in this branch of knowledge, and have themselves been implicitly followed by other Mohanmedan writers, yet (not to mention the Chinese, of whose medical works I can at present say nothing with confidence) we still have access to a number of Sanscrit books on the old Indian practice of physic, from which, if the Hindus had a theoretical system, we might easily collect it. The *Ayurvêda*, supposed to be the work of a celestial physician, is almost entirely lost, unfortunately, perhaps, for the curious European, but happily for the patient Hindu; since a revealed science precludes improvement from experience, to which that of medicine ought, above all others, to be left

perpetually open: but I have myself met with curious fragments of that primeval work; and, in the *Vēda* itself, I found with astonishment an entire *Upnishad* on the internal parts of the human body; with an enumeration of nerves, veins, and arteries; a description of the heart, spleen, and liver; and various disquisitions on the formation and growth of the fœtus. From the laws, indeed, of MANU, which have lately appeared in our own language, we may perceive that the ancient Hindus were fond of reasoning, in their way, on the mysteries of animal generation, and on the comparative influence of the sexes in the production of perfect offspring; and we may collect from the authorities adduced in the learned Essay on *Egypt* and the *Nile*, that their physiological disputes led to violent schisms in religion, and even to bloody wars. On the whole, we cannot expect to acquire many valuable truths from an examination of eastern books on the science of medicine; but examine them we must, if we wish to complete the history of universal philosophy, and to supply the scholars of Europe with authentic materials for an account of the opinions anciently formed on this head by the philosophers of Asia. To know, indeed, with certainty, that so much and no more can be known on any branch of science, would in itself be very important and useful knowledge, if it had no other effect than to check the boundless curiosity of mankind, and to fix them in the straight path of attainable science, especially of such as relates to their duties, and may conduce to their happiness."

The remaining papers are mere monographs upon various topics of interest connected with the practice of medicine in this country, and afford no information respecting its indigenous history, antiquity, doctrines, or authorities.

The "Transactions of the Calcutta Medical and Physical Society," a rich repository of valuable practical facts and opinions respecting the topography, diseases—endemic and epidemic—and some of the indigenous remedies of India, together with details of the most appropriate means of managing various tropical maladies, are singularly and unaccountably deficient in the investigation of the medical literature of the Hindus.

With the exception of two or three contributions of no great importance from the pen of Professor Wilson, the only reference to the subject that a cursory examination has enabled us to fall in with, is the following extract from the preface to the 1st volume of the Transactions, published in 1825;—

"The history of medicine is of more interest than utility. Disease may be alleviated or subdued without a knowledge of those stages, by which the skill that has been successfully exerted, is brought within the reach of its possessor. Neither can it be expected, that the imperfect science of the *Baidis* or *Hakims* of India, shall offer any instructive lessons to their better educated brethren of Europe: still, to liberal and cultivated minds, the progress and condition of science in all ages, and in all climates, must be objects of interest; and they will gladly welcome the light that may be thrown upon the past or present existence of Oriental medicine, by information gathered from authentic sources, or derived from actual observation.

The history of Mahomedan medicine, comprising the most flourishing periods of the schools of Bagdad and Cordova, has already been fully elucidated, but it stops with the decline of the power of the Caliphs: a long subsequent period is, therefore, enveloped in obscurity in this branch of enquiry: and the medical history of the Hindus is hitherto an utter blank. In these respects, therefore, there is ample scope for investigation, novel at least, and interesting, and perhaps not wholly uninteresting, which may be prosecuted with every advantage in the country in which we at present sojourn.*

This is a matter much to be regretted when we consider the number of able and eminent Oriental scholars of which the Medical Department could boast, prior to the comparatively recent existence in its ranks of probably one of the most profound and learned of them all, Horace Hayman Wilson, who, with a solitary exception, has contributed more to our knowledge of Hindu Medicine than any other authority prior to the appearance of the commentary now under review.

The paper of the late lamented pains-taking traveller and antiquary Csoma de Koros published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1835, exhibits a brief abstract of certain portions of one of the Hindu medical shastras which appears to have been translated into the Tibetan tongue: it is an interesting fragment, but gives no detailed or connected view of the subject.

The most minute and intrinsically valuable of all the various sketches with which we are acquainted, is undoubtedly the "Essay upon the antiquity of Hindu medicine," already noticed, of Dr. Royle, who now occupies an important practical chair at the King's College of London, and has recently produced a systematic treatise upon the department of medicine which he is employed to teach. It is chiefly valuable on account of the careful industry and logical acumen with which the various steps of the difficult enquiry are successively conducted, and of probably all the then known authorities having been consulted and collated.

The chapter on Hindu Medicine in Elphinstone's History of India is brief and chiefly taken from the essay of Royle, the work of Ward, and a paper by Mr. Coates in the Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, which we have been unable to consult. The following extract embodies the whole of the information which he has afforded upon the subject:—

"Their acquaintance with medicines seems to have been very extensive. We are not surprised at their knowledge of simples, in which they gave early lessons to Europe, and more recently taught us the benefit of smoking datura in asthma, and the use of cowitch against worms: their chemical skill is a fact more striking and more unexpected.

* Medical and Physical Transactions, Vol. 1. p. iv. Preface.

They knew how to prepare sulphuric and nitric acid, and muriatic acid; the oxide of copper, iron, lead (of which they had both the red oxide and litharge), tin, and zinc; the sulphuret of iron, copper, mercury, antimony, and arsenic; the sulphate of copper, zinc, and iron; and carbonates of lead and iron. Their modes of preparing those substances, seem, in some instances, if not in all, to have been peculiar to themselves.

Their use of these medicines seems to have been very bold. They were the first nation who employed minerals internally, and they not only gave mercury in that manner, but arsenic and arsenious acid, which were remedies in intermittents. They have long used cinnabar for fumigations, by which they produce a speedy and safe salivation.

Their surgery is as remarkable as their medicine, especially when we recollect their ignorance of anatomy. They cut for the stone, couched for the cataract, and extracted the fetus from the womb, and in their early works enumerate no less than 127 sorts of surgical instruments. But their instruments were probably always rude. At present they are so much so, that, though very successful in cataract, their operations for the stone are often fatal.

They have long practised inoculation; but still many lives were lost from small pox, until the introduction of vaccination.

The Hindu physicians are attentive to the pulse and to the state of the skin, of the tongue, eyes, &c., and to the nature of the evacuations; and they are said to form correct prognostics from the observation of the symptoms. But their practice is all empirical, their theory only tending to mislead them. Nor are they always judicious in their treatment: in fevers, for instance, they shut up the patient in a room artificially heated, and deprive him, not only of food, but drink.

They call in astrology and magic to the aid of their medicine, applying their remedies at appropriate situations of the planets, and often accompanying them with mystical verses and charms.

Many of these defects probably belonged to the art in its best days, but the science has no doubt declined; chemists can conduct their preparations successfully without having the least knowledge of the principles by which the desired changes are effected; physicians follow the practice of their instructors without inquiry; and surgery is so far neglected, that bleeding is left to the barber, bone-setting to the herdsman, and every man is ready to administer a blister, which is done with the juice of the euphorbium, and still oftener with the actual canterbury.*

We shall now proceed to examine and analyse briefly the commentary which forms the text of our remarks, and endeavour to investigate the claims that it affords from internal evidence, of the nature and extent of the practical and theoretical knowledge possessed by the Brahmanical sect of medical philosophers.

Dr. Wise's work is divided into five books; the first treating of the History of Medicine; the second being devoted to the subject of Anatomy and Physiology; the third containing the department of Therapeutics; the fourth that of the Practice of Physic; and the last that of Midwifery, and the diseases of women and children. This is a convenient and simple arrangement

* Elphinstone's, India, vol. 1, p. 279-81.

of the subject, and embodies in a condensed form a vast mass of matter, of which we can only hope in the space allotted to us, to present our readers with a brief review of the most prominent and salient points of interest.

The first chapter contains, as might be expected, the Hindu notions of the origin and history of medicine, and belongs so exclusively to the regions of fable and fiction as to be deserving of little notice and less credit. Most nations in the early stages of their existence, have attributed all remarkable and incomprehensible occurrences to the influence of the deities worshipped in the forms of their various superstitions and idolatries, so that diseases and a multitude of natural phenomena have been ascribed by them to supernatural agency.* The Hindu Mythology out-herods all others in absurdity and extravagance, and in this particular is in no way inferior to the legends and traditions of the most uncivilized of savages. The four immortal Vedas are stated to have been produced in the first or golden age "during which mankind remained prosperous, virtuous, happy, and free from disease." Disease, misery, the shortening of life, and their attendant woes, appeared in the Treta Yuga, or second age† when "a third of mankind were reprobate." In the third age, half of the human race were depraved; and the climax of corruption characterises the present or Kali Yuga. Brahma, from sheer benevolence and compassion for a fallen race, produced the Upavédas, of which the Ayur-véda, already noticed, is regarded as the sacred medical record of the Hindus, besides being of the highest antiquity and authority. The Shastras ascribe the production of this veda to Shiva. A fragment only of the lac of slokas of which it originally consisted, has survived the

* "Morbos vero ad iram deorum immortalium relatos, et, ab iisdem opem posci solitam."—*Celsus*.

† How unfavorably does the Hindu mystery and prolixity contrast with the simple, clear, and forcible exposition of the same subject contained in Horne's work:

"The diseases to which the human frame is subject would naturally lead one to try to alleviate or remove them: hence sprang the ART OF MEDICINE. In the early ages of the world, indeed, there could not be much occasion for an art which is now so necessary to the health and happiness of mankind. The simplicity of their manners, the plainness of their diet, their temperance in meat and drink, and their active life, (being generally occupied in the field and in rural affairs,) would naturally tend to strengthen the body, and to afford a greater share of health than what we now enjoy. So long as our first parents continued in that state of righteousness in which they were created, there was a tree emphatically termed the tree of life, the fruit of which was divinely appointed for the preservation of health; but, after the fall, being expelled from Eden, and, consequently, banished for ever from that tree, they became liable to various diseases, which, doubtless, they would endeavour to remove, or to mitigate in various ways. From the longevity of the Patriarchs, it is evident that diseases were not very frequent in the early ages of the world, and they seem to have enjoyed a sufficiently vigorous old age, except that the eyes became dim and the sight feeble."—*Horne, Op. Cit. Vol. iii. p. 502.*

ravages of time. The medical shastras appear to have been very numerous, and of them the works of Charaka and Susruta are held in the highest repute : for a brief summary of their contents, we must refer the curious to the commentary.

The second chapter is devoted to the discussion of the rank of practitioners and duties of teachers. It commences with the fabulous birth of the first of the Vaidya or medical caste, from whom the hereditary physicians of the present time are descended, and declares that "Brahmans learn the medical shastras for their advantage; Khetriyas for the benefit of their health, and Vaidyas for their subsistence." Other castes may study medicine, "when they are learned, honest, and men of good descent."

The old race of professors appear to have been peripatetic practitioners, who wandered from place to place in search of knowledge, general and professional, attended by their train of pupils, lectured in the open air, and taught by means of prelections which were carefully noted by their scholars.

The present generation of Vaidyas take a few house pupils whom they educate either with or without reward, the gratuitous being the most honorable course of instruction, "procuring renown in this world, and the highest benefits in a future state:" in some instances, however, they are pensioners of the wealthy.

The qualifications of a good teacher are such as might find a place in the most unexceptionable code of modern medical ethics:—

"A good teacher is like rain falling upon the germinating seed, and should possess the following qualifications:—A perfect knowledge of the Shastras, joined to extensive practical knowledge and skill. He should be kind and humble to every one; he should have no defects of body, and should always be ready to expose the good rather than the bad qualities of others; he should be clean and neat in his person, and possess and exhibit to his pupils all kinds of medicines and instruments. He should always be increasing his knowledge of books, and should neither be angry at the improprieties of others, nor fatigued by their importunities. He should be kind and considerate to his pupils and be able to explain the most complicated statements, in the simplest and most perspicuous language. Such a person as this, who instructs a pupil, when of good parentage, is like the seasonable cloud and rain upon the corn field, which quickly matures its valuable produce."*

Bad teachers are denounced, and the class of physicians generally are painted in very favourable colors, as being often more learned and less proud than the Brahmans, as well as usually poets, grammarians, rhetoricians, and moralists, and esteemed as the most virtuous and amiable of the Hindus.

* Wise, Op. Cit. p. 12

Although not occupying the same elevated position as the medical hierarchy of Egypt and Israel, the Hindu physician held a respectable and useful office, and was generally esteemed in proportion to his individual deserts. The Hindus appear in fact to have been fully aware, that "an enlightened physician and a skilful surgeon, are in the daily habit of administering to their fellow-men more real and unquestionable good, than is communicated, or communicable by any other class of human beings."

With some few exceptions, however, the modern race of Vaidyas do not appear to be so learned, or so much looked up to as their predecessors were, and we doubt much whether the Hindus of our own time are of opinion, that

"A wise physician skill'd our wounds to heal,
Is more than armies to the public weal."

The estimation in which the professors of medicine were held by the ancient Greeks is well known to every classical student, from the divine honors paid to *Æsculapius* and the history of his sons *Podalirius* and *Machaon*, down to the celebrated saying of *Cicero*, "*Neque enim ullâ aliâ re homines propius ad deos accedunt, quam salutem hominibus dando.*"

The duties and character of pupils are laid down with a considerable degree of minuteness, and not a little attention to the superstitious observances which disfigure the Hindu systems of education. He is to commence his studies on a lucky day, not to cut his beard or nails during the prosecution of his professional acquirements, not to read the medical shastras "on unlucky days, or when the sun is obscured by clouds; on the first two days of a new moon; when it thunders; at unseasonable times; at the morning dawn or the evening twilight. He must not study on holidays, on the day on which he meets a corpse, on which the governor of the province is sick, when fighting occurs, or when war approaches." "When at his lesson care must be taken not to allow any one to pass between the pupil and teacher, as it will interrupt the supposed passage of good qualities from the latter to the former." "If the student seek for long life, he should eat with his face to the east; if for exalted fame, to the south; if for prosperity, to the west; if for truth and its reward, to the north."—(*Manu*, p. 28, cap. 2, 52.)

As a set-off against these absurdities, he is strictly enjoined the practice of industry, perseverance, sobriety, chastity, humility, and most of the other qualities that tend to produce a good scholar and a learned man.

The chapter upon the duties of the physician, of his attendants, and of the patient, exhibits a ludicrous admixture of truth and error, light and darkness, sobriety and extravagance, sound practical wisdom and empty puerilities. The person, character, acquirements, and observances of the practitioner are minutely detailed, and occasionally with a remarkable degree of truth and acuteness, as in the following description of an ignorant physician:—

“ Without such a knowledge of books he will be confused like a soldier afraid in the time of action, will be a great sinner, and should be capitally punished by the Rajah. On the other hand, a want of practical knowledge will impede his advancement, and his senses will be bewildered when called on to treat acute diseases. Such a physician will not be esteemed by the great, as he cannot practice with success when only instructed in half his duty. Such a person is the murderer of his species, and the medicines prescribed by him may be compared to poison or lightning—such ignorance prevents all the good effects of remedies. As the two wheels of a chariot or the two wings of a bird, assist in their progress, so will the knowledge of the shastras and of practice lead the physician to proceed with safety and success in the treatment of the diseased, but should the physician want either of these essential qualifications, his progress will be impeded, as one wing or one wheel will impede the progress of the bird or the chariot.

Such persons flatter the patient's friends, are diligent, take reduced fees, are hesitating and doubtful in performing difficult operations, and pretend that their bad success is caused by the bad attendants, &c.

Still some patients will be saved under the care of such a physician, as a worm in destroying the sacred shastras will sometimes leave in its depredations, the wise representations of some of the sacred letters. A bad physician may cure one patient, by which he endeavours to establish his fame, without considering the thousands he has killed; such a person is like a boat in a storm without a pilot, or a blind man in the performance of any work, and is to be looked upon as the angel of death.”

A quaint old writer has somewhere denominated medicine a “ meditation upon death,” and a more recent authority has defined it to be “ the art of amusing the patient, while nature cures the disease.” The Hindus knew better, and declared that in skilful hands “ medicine becomes like the water of immortality (*Amrita*).” Their characteristics of a good physician embody almost every human and divine perfection, “ such as,” says the Commentator, “ is rarely to be found even in heaven.” Among other professional distinctions he should “ carry an umbrella and stick in his hand,” rather a remote and respectable origin for the gold-headed cane, so well known in Europe during the last century. The indications which are supposed to qualify for success and eminence, are, “ an agreeable voice, a small tongue, eyes and nose straight, with thin lips, short teeth which do not expose the gums, and thick hair which retains its vigour.” This may

be contrasted with the more modern qualities considered necessary for a complete surgeon, "the eye of an eagle, the heart of a lion, and the hand of a lady."

Among the observances enjoined are many of the most childish and absurd nature, with an enumeration of good and bad omens of which not a few are embodied in the popular superstitions of the middle ages, and still continue current among the ignorant and credulous of our own times. The subject of fees is not forgotten, and as usual the Brahmans derive the chief benefit of the physician's gratuitous labours. There is much more concerning these matters contained in the Commentary which will repay the trouble of perusal, and quite enough to prove that the medical ethics of the Hindus, in spite of their numerous conceits and crudities, were by no means of a low and contemptible order, and occasionally exhibit evidences of sound reasoning and practical good sense quite as applicable to the practice of the profession at the present day, as they were at the time of their production.

The second book plunges 'in medias res,' and introduces us to the Anatomy and Physiology of the Hindus. They regarded the body as a species of Microcosm with divisions corresponding to those of the globe, possessing its mountains, its frigid, temperate, and torrid regions, with its oceans and fluids under astral influence, all composed of the five elements which form the body corporate of our planet, viz. earth, water, air, fire, and ether. Each of these communicates its special influence to the structure in which it preponderates, and after digestion, by an inherent property, joins its fellow in the frame.—Skin, vessels, bone, hair, and flesh are conjectured to be chiefly compounded of earth; the excretions, some of the secreted matters, blood, and phlegm, of water; hunger, thirst, and insensibility are attributed to fire; movement, conscience, termination of a work, and retaining happiness fall to the lot of air; while desire, revenge, stupidity, fear, and shame emanate from ether, all connected with an active or warm, and a passive or cold principle, which are increased and strengthened by the rays of the sun and moon. To all living bodies thus compounded, the element producing life or action is superadded.

This sol-lunar and elemental theory, the offspring of fancy and imagination, is not a whit inferior in absurdity to the doctrines taught and maintained by the most profound and eminent of the philosophers of ancient Greece, nor was any substantial advance made in the matter, until chemistry had

descended from its golden dreams* to the level of common sense, and by increasing the number of true elements, diminished the amount of error pervading all the older theories concerning the composition of both inorganic and organic bodies—the latter department of the interesting and wonderful science which has nearly revolutionized the face of nature and exercised the most extraordinary influence upon the arts, sciences, and civilization of the universe, being still comparatively in its infancy.

The subjects of generation and the growth of the body which are not only unsuited for discussion in our pages, but are of the same fanciful and incomprehensible character as the wildest flights of imagination of the alchemists or the most unmeaning mysteries of their peculiar jargon, are next detailed, and those who are curious in the matter, will find abundant means for its gratification in the pages of the commentary, and in the learned work of Professor Webb, entitled "*Pathologia Indica*," to which we hope hereafter to have a more fitting opportunity of referring, in connection with the origin and progress of the Medical College of Bengal, of which Institution that gentleman is by no means the least distinguished ornament.

The physiology of the Hindus is of an extremely imperfect character, as might have been expected, and consists chiefly of crude speculation and absurd hypotheses, of which the following account of the important process of digestion is an adequate and striking example.

"Six varieties of the digested part of food or chyle are known. When the food is astringent, sour, moist, &c. the chyle will become of the same nature. When digestion is accomplished, the respective elements unite with those which had entered into the formation of the body; the earth unites with the earth, the water with water, &c., and they, acting on the inherent qualities of each of the five elements, mix and increase those in the body; smell is the property of earth, with that of the body; taste with water, touch with air, and noise with ether (*ākāśa*). The juice thus separated from its impurities is called chyle (*rasa*) which nourishes, strengthens, and gives color to the body."

Some imagine twenty-four hours, others six days, and a third set a month to be necessary for the complete performance of the function of assimilation!

The strength or vital principle (*oja* or *tej*) is supposed to be situated in the centre of the chest, and to be the result of "a mixture of the pure fluid, in the same manner as a bee sucks the juice from different flowers, and produces honey."

* Chemistry was defined by Suidas, who lived in the tenth century and published a Lexicon, to be "the art of making gold and silver."

The stomach again is compared to "a cooking pot containing water and food, which is boiled by the heat of the bile beneath it."

Under the head of structural anatomy, it appears that the body consists of humours, and essential parts with their appendages. The humours are air (vāyu), bile (pitta), and phlegm (kafa), the three pillars or supports of the system. "As the moon sheds moisture, and abstracts the sun's rays, which dry up and bestow energy upon the earth, and the air moves from place to place, so phlegm bestows moisture, bile withdraws it by its heat, and air wafts it about in the microcosm or animal body," say the Hindu physicians, to which the learned Commentator appends the following note:—

"This ingenious theory which has been so frequently renewed, and was for so many ages universally believed, seems to have been derived from the Hindus; from whom it was adopted by the Egyptian and Grecian priesthood. It is defective, however, in excluding the blood which, notwithstanding has been stated as one of the fundamental parts of the body."

We are not altogether prepared to coincide in this view, and incline rather to the opinion expressed by Sir Wm. Jones in regard to the identity between the divisions of the zodiac in the Astronomy of India and of Greece, viz: that both received it from an older nation, 'from whom the Greeks and the Hindus, as their similarity in language and religion fully evinces, had a common descent.'

The humours are described in detail, and with an occasional gleam of sense in the general gloom pervading the theories regarding them. Among other points of interest, it is said, that "the pure part of digested food is of a milky color, and is conveyed to the heart by means of the domonic vessels, where it is mixed with the blood. Charaka calls these vessels the chyle carrying vessels (rasyani)." Are we to believe from this that the Hindu Physiologists were acquainted with the existence of the lacteals, as well as of the thoracic duct? The existence of the latter may possibly have been known to them, but we doubt much whether any satisfactory evidence concerning their knowledge of the former can be adduced. Has Charaka given any account of the vessels such as would at once enable us to determine the point? Upon this, and many similar topics, Dr. Wise's commentary does not furnish us with the exact kind of information that would have been most satisfactory and desirable—viz: detailed translations of the passages relating to them contained in the works from which the abstracts of their opinions have been derived. Should the commentary ever come to a second edition, and we regard it as far too valuable a contribution to the history of medicine

to disappear from the list of permanent authorities upon the subject, we trust that the author will supply this important desideratum, either in the form of notes, or incorporated in the text in such manner as to be easily distinguished from it.

The essential parts or the supporters of the body consist of "the hard and soft parts, and fluids," seven in number, comprising "chyle, blood, flesh, fat, bone, marrow, and semen"—all of which attracted the attention of Hindu physiologists, and were described by them with a considerable degree of ingenuity. Some of their qualities were as correctly ascertained as could have, under any circumstances, been accomplished without the aid of modern science and means of investigation; while, as usual, the fanciful and speculative predominated over the sober and rational in the theories concerning their production and uses.

The Sanskrit authors enumerated 300 as the number of bones belonging to the body, which Dr. Wise seems to regard as the true number according to modern anatomists—and among them we are surprised to find him place the cartilages of the larynx and trachea, of the external ear, and of the ribs, &c. Surely there must be some error in this, for we are not aware of the existence of any modern anatomical authority by whom bones and cartilages are regarded as identical structures, and classed accordingly. That the one may pass into the other, and that bones are originally of a cartilaginous structure in which osseous matter is subsequently deposited is well known, but unless the trachea and costal cartilages become ossified from age or disease, they can scarcely be considered as belonging to the osseous system properly so called.

The excretions are regarded as the impurities of the seven essential parts, and their nature was by no means correctly known or understood. Among them, for example, is placed the milk, which is certainly not an effete matter, nor is the blood, which according to Manu, was ranked among the twelve impurities of the frame.

Joints were divided into the movable and immovable, and among them were classed the teeth, sockets of the teeth, and the "connection of vessels with the heart and organ of thirst, eighteen in number," showing that with some truth, much error and invention were mixed. They counted eight varieties comprising in all 210 joints.

The ligaments, with which the nerves are confounded, consisted of four varieties, and were no less than 900 in number, concerning which, beyond a bare enumeration, the commentary supplies us with no information.

The muscles are supposed to serve the purpose of covering, strengthening, and retaining in their places vessels, tendons, bones, and joints, and mount up to five hundred in the male, and five hundred and twenty in the female. Concerning the action of muscles nothing is said, and we suppose, therefore, that nothing was known.

The Hindu notions concerning the vascular system were of the most fantastic nature, and evidently more the result of fancy than of actual observation. They considered the umbilicus as the origin of all the vessels, and the principal seat of life (*prāṇ*): the vessels themselves were regarded as conduits of blood, bile, air, and phlegm, and consisted of forty principal trunks, ten for each, subdivided into 175 branches, making in all 700 branches. With the exception of a few correct ideas concerning the blood, their knowledge was of the most superficial and incorrect nature. The arteries were regarded as air vessels, doubtless from being found empty after death, although we do not find the fact mentioned.

The sections concerning the canals, cellular tissue, fasciæ, receptacles, and orifices of the body, contain little that is striking or valuable, yet they serve to evince the care and diligence with which the study of Anatomy must have been pursued.

The skin was divided into seven layers which were likened to the pellicle formed on the surface of milk when boiled, and were evidently produced by the manner of dissecting macerated bodies with brushes made of reeds or bamboo bark.

The subject of dissection is one of so much interest in the history of medicine, and of such vital importance in its proper pursuit and practice, that we are tempted to quote the whole of the short section regarding it:—

"All the Rishis are said to have recommended the dissection of the human body, as proper and necessary. Manu, the great legislator, and the one most respected by the Hindu sages, says (85) "one who has touched a corpse, is made pure by bathing;" and again (77) "should a Brahman touch a fresh human bone he is purified by bathing; and if it be dry by stroking a Cow, or by looking at the sun, having sprinkled his mouth duly with water."

Charaka, one of the Munis and Physicians, says that a practitioner should know all the parts of the body, both external and internal, and their relative positions with regard to each other. Without such knowledge he can not be a proper practitioner.

Susruta, a Rishi of the highest rank, says that a Jogi (a holy man) should dissect, in order that he may know the different parts of the human body; and a surgeon and physician should not only know the external appearances, but internal structure of the body; in order to possess an intimate knowledge of the diseases to which it is liable, and to perform surgical operations so as to avoid the vital parts. It is by combining a knowledge of books with practical dissection, that the practitioner will alone attain an intimate knowledge of the subject of his profession.

The body which is to be examined by dissection should be that of a person who had neither been destroyed by poison, nor had died of a long disease, as the structure of the body will be altered by the deleterious substance taken, or destroyed by the ravages of disease. In like manner the person should not have been very old, and all the members should be in a perfect state.

When a proper body for the purpose has been selected, the dejections are to be removed, the body washed, and placed in a frame work of wood, properly secured, by means of grass, hemp, or the like. The body is then to be placed in still water, in a situation in which it will not be destroyed by birds, fishes, or animals. It is to remain for seven days in the water, when it will have become putrid. It is then to be removed to a convenient situation, and with a brush, made of reeds, hair, or bamboo bark, the body is to be rubbed so as, by degrees, to exhibit, the skin, flesh, &c., which are each in their turn to be observed before being removed. In this manner the different corporeal parts of the body already enumerated will be exhibited; but the life of the body is too ethereal to be distinguished by this process, and its properties must therefore be learned with the assistance of the explanations of holy medical practitioners, and prayers offered up to God, by which, conjoined with the exercise of the reasoning and understanding faculties, conviction will be certain." *

We have already seen that the mere touch of a corpse was prohibited among the Jews as a pollution, and that the Egyptian knowledge of anatomy was principally confined to the low and wretched outcasts employed to embalm and disembowel the bodies of the dead, who were so much the type of every thing that was low, polluted, and degraded among the Egyptians, that no corpse of a royal or beautiful female was ever handed over to the embalmers until unequivocal indications of decay and decomposition had been exhibited. Among the earlier Greeks the study of anatomy was neglected by the Asclepiades, and the laws of Athens were so strict respecting the prompt burial of all bodies, that it was considered a sacred duty, and its neglect punished with such severity that six officers of rank were condemned to death, notwithstanding their having gained a brilliant victory, for not having taken sufficient pains to recover the bodies of the slain warriors which had fallen into the sea.† During the siege of Troy hostilities were intermitted at Priam's request to permit of the burning of the dead, and after each action the first duty of the victors was to bury the bodies of such of their foes as were left dead upon the field. The fear of the fate of the victors of Arginusa, prevented Chabrias from following up his victory near Naxos, until he had provided for the sepulture of the slain.‡ The anatomical knowledge of Empedocles, Alcmeon, Democritus, and Hippocrates was exclusively

* Wise, *Op. Cit.* pp. 68-69.

† Xenophon, *Hist. Græc.* lib. 1.

‡ Diodor, lib. xv. c. 85.

derived from the dissection of animals, and so also would that of Aristotle appear to have been, since although in his works he often institutes comparisons between the structure of the bodies of animals and of man, the most diligent and learned enquirers are unable to adduce substantial proof of his having practised human anatomy. The two immediate successors of Ptolemy Soter were the first to permit and encourage by their own example, the dissection of the human body, as Celsus relates in his preface, and Herophilus and Erasistratus were the two first and most celebrated of the Greek anatomists; they flourished in the third century preceding the Christian Era. It is well known that the prejudices of the vulgar in Europe to the pursuit of anatomy have extended even to our own times: in the middle ages so rare were the opportunities afforded of dissection, that in the 14th century Mundinus, Professor at Bologna, astonished the world by the public dissection of two human bodies; and in the 17th century, Cortesius, Professor of anatomy at the same place, and subsequently of medicine at Messina, 'had long began a treatise on practical anatomy which he had an earnest desire to finish, but so great was the difficulty of prosecuting the study even in Italy, that in twenty-four years he could only twice procure an opportunity of dissecting a human body, and even then with difficulty and in a hurry.' The melancholy history of the eminent anatomist Vesalius is well known, but what will our readers say to the following exhibition of a barbarism worthy of the worst days of the dark ages, which occurred in Edinburgh, the 'Modern Athens', on Sunday, the 29th of June, 1823:—

"A coach containing an empty coffin and two men was observed proceeding along the south bridge. The people suspecting that it was to convey a body taken from some church-yard, seized the coach. It was with difficulty that the police protected the men from the assaults of the populace, the coach they had no power to preserve. The horses were taken from it, and together with the coffin, after having been trundled a mile and a half through the streets of the city, it was deliberately projected over the steep side of the Mound, and smashed into a thousand pieces. The people following it to the bottom, kindled a fire with its fragments, and surrounded it like the savages in Robinson Crusoe, till it was entirely consumed. In this case there was no foundation for their suspicions. The coffin was intended to have conveyed to his house in Edinburgh, the body of a physician who that morning had died in a cottage in the neighbourhood *

In the winter session of 1822-3, a body was discovered on its way to the lecture-room of an anatomist in Glasgow, and in spite of the exertions of the police, aided by those of the military, this gentlemen's pra

* *Westminster Review*, vol. 2, p. 86.

misos and their contents, which were valuable, were entirely destroyed by the mob. For some time after this achievement, it was necessary to station a military guard at the house of all the medical professors in that city;”*

Lizars, an eminent professor of anatomy in Edinburgh, who published a few years since a well-known system of anatomical plates, says in the preface to the second part :—

“In place of living in a civilized and enlightened period, we appear as if we had been thrown back some centuries into the dark ages of ignorance, bigotry, and superstition. Prejudices, worthy only of the multitude, have been conjured up and appealed to, in order to call forth popular indignation against those whose business it is to exhibit demonstratively the structure of the human body, and the functions of its different organs. The public journals, from a vicious propensity to pander to the vulgar appetite for excitement, have raked up and industriously circulated stories of the exhumation of dead bodies, tending to exasperate and influence the passions of the mob; and persons, who by their own showing, are friendly to the interests of science, have, in the excess of their zeal that bodies should remain undisturbed in their progress to decomposition, laboured to destroy in this country, that art, whose province it is to free living bodies from the consequences inseparable from accident and disease.”

It is true that these prejudices were directed more towards the revolting practice of exhumation and its attendant horrors, than against the mere dissection of the human body, yet it brought public odium upon anatomy and its professors, to an extent which nearly extinguished its scientific prosecution in Great Britain. Nor were the prejudice and violence confined to Scotland. We ourselves, not sixteen years since, have seen the door of a large London Hospital besieged by a mob of violent and demented Irishmen, who threatened to hang the house surgeon on the nearest lamp-post, for having made a post mortem examination of the body of a deceased bricklayer who died from the effects of a fall from a lofty scaffolding; and there is no doubt they would have executed their threats, had they succeeded in obtaining possession of his person.

Knowing all this then, we find it impossible to award too high a degree of praise to the sound and philosophical views entertained by the old race of Hindu philosophers respecting the ‘uses of the dead to the living,’ and we think it scarcely possible to withhold from them the immortal credit of being the first scientific and successful cultivators of the most important and most essential of all the departments of medical knowledge.

The description of the vital parts of the body and the consequences of their being wounded, ‘afford,’ as Dr. Wise properly remarks, ‘a convincing proof of the great practical

* *Westminster Review*, p. 84.

experience of the Hindu writers'—a knowledge and experience only to be acquired by frequent and careful dissection. 'In Susruta the dangerous parts are all named and described, and the necessity of avoiding them in operations pointed out. The consequences of wounds near the great toe in causing tetanus; in the palm of the hand, in producing such a degree of hæmorrhage as will require amputation of the arm; of the effects of wounds of the testicle and groin, and of fractured bones of the head and breast, which are to be raised or removed &c. are all stated in this practical work.'*

The vital parts of the body are by them supposed to be one hundred and seven in number.

Life, according to the Hindus, consists in the 'combination of the soul, the mind, the five senses, and the three qualities of goodness, passion, and inertness'† which however incorrect, is a more just and rational view of the subject than the Pythagorean doctrine or those of Heraclitus, Plato, and the Stoics, with all of whom heat or fire in some form or other was supposed to be the origin and chief constituent of the vital principle.

The *Soul* which plays an important part both in the cosmogony and the metaphysics of the Hindus, is represented to be 'a shadow or emanation from God the Eternal, who is without beginning or end; is invisible, immortal, and is only known by reflection:—when it bedews the five elements it produces the living body, and becomes by its actions evident. It is liable to decrease, and is influenced by medicine. There is no difference between the human soul and the soul of the world; this being only the exterior and condescending manifestation of God, while the human soul is its reflection into itself, and its elevation above itself is the Divine soul.'‡

The Soul is supposed to be the animating principle of the body, to communicate knowledge, judgment, and happiness; to preside over sleeping and waking; always to be pure in itself, but not to act usefully without the mind 'and the female energy (*prakriti*.)' It is equally the source of the knowledge and ignorance, happiness and misery, goodness and wickedness, and other spiritual qualities of the individual. It is represented by some of their medical writers to exist also in 'beasts, animals, and demigods according to its conduct in former states of existence'—and when it has bedewed the body with its twenty-four qualities, it performs all the functions of the body generally, as well as of the organs of special sense.

United with the mind, in addition to being the motive agent in the production of the mental and moral qualities, it produces

* Wise, Op. Cit. p. 69.

† Ibid, p. 74.

‡ Ibid, p. 75.

inspiration and expiration, the opening and closing of the eyelids, &c.

The *mind* (*mana*) according to most of the authorities is 'a quality or power of the soul by which a person reasons and thinks'—is incomprehensible, and known only through the operation of the senses; is chiefly seated in the head between the eyebrows, but by some conjectured to be lodged in the heart, and 'resembles the light of a lamp by which the person hears, sees, tastes, and knows.' 'Some Pandits says that the soul and the mind are the same essence; as there can be no soul without mind, nor mind without the soul.'

The five elements are represented as forming the five organs of sense, the five objects of sense, and the five perceptive judgments, over which the mind presides, and through which its operations become manifest. Too much or too little exercise injures, while a moderate amount of use maintains them in health.

The Commentator concludes this section with the observation that 'from these remarks it appears that the soul, the emanation from the deity, united with the mind and senses, performs all the vital actions of the body,' and that 'the body, mind, and soul are considered, therefore, as the three great pillars which support the system.'

We much regret that in addition to his own condensed abstract, Dr. Wise should not have given us more copious specimens of the exact mode and style of reasoning adopted in the Hindu Medical Shastras upon this interesting and difficult subject of enquiry. Their opinions, so far as we are able to judge from the scanty evidence before us, although tinged with some of the peculiarities inseparable from eastern philosophy and speculation, are upon the whole more sound and elevated than those of most of even the highest order of Grecian Metaphysicians, and far superior to the doctrines of any other cotemporaneous nations with which we are acquainted. To enable our readers to form a comparative estimate, we have subjoined in a note a very brief abstract of the views of some of the most eminent physicians and philosophers of ancient Greece concerning the soul and life.*

* The assertion that the soul consists of two parts, the one intellectual *φρόνεις* and the other non-intellectual, *θυμος* and that the former is seated in the brain, and the latter in the heart, is attributed to ΠΥΘΑΓΟΡΑΣ.—According to the same authority, the senses are, so to speak, drops of the intellectual soul, which is seated in the brain and immortal.

EMPEDOCLÉS at a later period thought that every thing in nature is animated, or full of divinities; in consequence of which human souls are not only identical with Gods, but likewise with the souls of animals, because they are all emanations from the great soul of the world.

The chapter on Temperaments is a curious specimen of the intimate and inseparable conjunction of sense and nonsense,

ANAXAGORAS not only maintained that the soul was of an igneous or ethereal nature, but according to Aristotle, was the first who regarded it as immortal. He likewise professed the opinion of all nature being animated, and of the human soul, as well as the soul of animals and of plants being nothing more than emanations from the general soul of the world: he also considered that the hands were the most characteristic distinction between man and animals, and contained the principle of the superior intelligence of the former.

DEMOCRITUS regarded the soul as the motive power, and supposed it to be of a spherical form, of an igneous and ethereal nature, and indivisible; thought, motion and sensation, he, therefore, conjectured to be the result of the activity of one and the same substance.—His principle was essentially a distinct form of materialism, which he was the first to promulgate.

HERACLITUS, whose system exercised a marked influence over subsequent medical theories in Greece, regarded all bodies as owing their origin to the condensation and rarefaction of fire; by the condensation of fire, according to him, air was produced, by the condensation of air, water, and by the condensation of water, earth. According to these notions, the most subtle principles always entered first into the formation of bodies; the soul, therefore, as the first cause of all motion, was attributed to the evaporation of fire. The human soul, being still regarded as an emanation from the soul of the world, was intellectual in proportion to its participation in its igneous nature.

Without attempting to enter into an analysis of the Platonic system of Psychology, it may be mentioned that PLATO taught the doctrine of the creation of sublunary beings after the model of Divine Natures, and also the creation of a class of spirits or sub-divinities, to whom was assigned the task of creating all natural objects. These spirits revolving round the world like the sun, the moon, and the stars, were occupied, among other duties, in creating animals, with the bodies or souls of which they incorporated themselves, and which in consequence, partook more or less of their own nature; it was thus that every human soul had a divine, intelligent constituent part, and a corporeal constituent part, destitute of intelligence. From its participation in the celestial nature, the soul prior to its creation was placed in the upper regions of light and truth, in the happy abode of spirits, where it participated in the divine nature of the creator; it was afterwards joined to the body of an animal, which served as a prison until its deliverance by death occurred.

The divine spirit first constituted our bodies in accordance with the wise intentions of the supreme intelligence, with extremely minute and slender figures, resembling the triangular form of flame, to which, after the addition of the special matter mixing the body and soul together, God adds the soul, placing it chiefly in the brain, of which the form is spherical, &c. Life consists of fire and spirit, the former of which is maintained by the heat of the blood. The soul from its divine nature is the most noble part of man, and the head, from being the seat of the intelligent soul, is the most noble part of the body. The soul destitute of intelligence, which is the cause of anger, love, hope, &c., was placed in the chest, and in order that the intelligent soul might not be disturbed or incommoded by the passions, the neck, which is long and bony, was interposed between them.

By the expression *soul* ψυχή, the followers of HIPPOCRATES, like HERACLITUS, concur in the idea of a subtle matter, ethereal or igneous, produced by the admixture of the elements, but chiefly by the union of fire and water. The humid part of the fire and the dry part of the water by their union constitute the intelligence of the soul. It is upon the igneous element that the soul, the mind, extension, growth, motion, decrease, change, sleeping, and waking depend. This is the reason of the intelligent principle being located in the left ventricle of the heart, whence it rules over the rest of the soul.

The STOICS also lodged the soul in the heart, and assigned the most absurd and contradictory reasons for its being so placed: they imagined it to be nothing more than a vapour or exhalation from all bodies, that the igneous nature of the soul was refreshed and restored by respiration, and by contact with atmospheric air; and that the human soul was a vapour exhaled from the blood.

ARISTOTLE believed the soul to be simple, to be the form of matter, and the principle of primary movement in natural bodies, to be susceptible of vivification and animation, and to contain the principle of the vital functions. Although he maintained the immaterial nature of the soul, he was unable entirely to divest himself of the

reason and absurdity which pervade the opinions of the Hindus upon most speculative subjects. The predominance of one or more of the humours with the mental and moral qualities of the individual, stamped the type of the temperament, and in the more delicate shades of character and constitution frequently observed, the dispositions of Gods, sages, demons, birds, beasts, fishes and even trees,* were called in to assist in the coloring and completion of the picture. There were seven temperaments acknowledged, "one produced by an excess of air, another of bile, and a third of phlegm; a fourth, fifth and sixth from an excess of two of these humours; and a seventh temperament is produced by an excess of three humours, air, bile, and phlegm."

"1. When air is in excess, the person is not inclined to sleep, or to become warm. His disposition is bad and he becomes a thief; is proud and has no honour; is always singing and dancing; his hands and feet split, his hair and nails are dry, and he is always angry and boisterous. He speaks untruths, he is always grinding his teeth and biting his nails, he is always impatient, is not a firm friend, is changeable and forgets good actions. His body is slender and dry, he always walks fast, is always in motion, and his eyes are always rolling. He dreams that he is flying about the air, friends are few, and his riches of little value. Such persons as have an excess of air have the disposition of the goat, jackall, hare, camel, dog, vulture, crow, and ass."

We suspect that few of our readers were previously aware of the important and multifarious character assumed by an 'excess of air' in their constitutions, should it exist, or that it could produce so zoological a disposition as to range between the frisking propensities of 'odorate capricorn' and the patient endurance of that horridous emblem of wisdom, the ass.

2nd. A person with an excess of bile perpires much, and he has a bad smell. His skin is of a yellowish color, his flesh is soft: his nails, eyes,

notion, that like all bodies, it could only act through the agency of an intervening medium; this medium he mentions under the various denominations, used indiscriminately, of *fire, spirit, air or ether*. He regarded the brain as primarily cold in its nature, in consequence of which the heart, at that time supposed to be the source of the blood, was considered the seat of the soul.

PRAXAGORAS, who was the first to establish the difference between the arteries and veins, and who imagined the former from their constant emptiness after death to be air-vessels, assumed that the air contained in them was thick and vaporous, because he also partook of the general opinion of the time, that the vital power or soul was an evaporation or exhalation from the blood.

The celebrated peripatetic STRATO of Lampascus, who lived at Alexandria and was attached to the court of the Ptolemies, regarded the soul as the resultant of the operation of the senses, or the union of all sensation, the seat of which he supposed to be between the eyebrows.—KURT SPRENGEL: *Op. Cit. passim*.

* "Men having the disposition of *trees* always wish to remain in one place, are always eating, will not work"—not a very incorrect portraiture of many Bengalis, whose lazy and anti-locomotive propensities are essentially of the arborescent type.

palate, tongue, lips, and the palm of his hands and soles of his feet are of a copper colour; his fortune is bad, and his hair soon becomes gray, the upper part of his head bald, and his skin wrinkled as if by age. He eats much, and dislikes warm articles of food, is soon angry and is as soon pacified, is of moderate strength and does not live long. His memory is good, he is a good man of business, and speaks accurately and to the purpose. His appearance is fine, and in company he excels in speaking. He dreams of gold and yellow flowers, fire, lightning, and falling meteors, dislikes saluting a person, and is angry at others not doing so, is never content, &c. His disposition resembles serpents, owls, cats, monkies, tigers, and bears."

The bilious temperament is, therefore, responsible for more than most modern physiologists have attributed to it, and includes in its circle many and anomalous characters from the alchemist to the orator:—

"3rd. Phlegm in excess produces a light greenish or blue colour of the body. The person's fortune is propitious, he is pleasant to look on and handsome, likes sweet things, is grateful, constant, just, and forgiving, and is not covetous, is strong and understands with difficulty, and is an implacable enemy. His eyes are white, his hair is fine, black, and waving. He is wealthy and his voice is strong and loud. He dreams of lilies, geese, and large fine tanks. The angles of his eyes are red, his color pleasing, and his members are well formed. His regard is mild, his disposition is very good, and he is charitable. He is active, honors respectable persons, and is kind to them; and knows the sciences. He retains his friend, and health remains constant; he is careful but gives much. He is of the nature of Brahma, Indra, Shiva, and Varuna; of lions, horses, elephants, cows, and bulls, and of the bird upon which Vishnu rides,"

which the learned Commentator states to be 'something between a man and a goose', by no means an inapt image of such a novel species of Caliban, as a phlegmatic Hindu, painted by one of his own sages. Our remark need not, however, be taken in the disparaging sense attached by Europeans to the Goose, since, according to Wilkins, this much injured bird is adopted as the emblem of elegance and eloquence by the Hindu poets—and who is not acquainted with the historical celebrity of the Roman geese?

The Hindus divide the life of man into three ages, viz: 1st *childhood*, subdivided into three periods, (a) the period of suckling to the 1st year; (b) when milk and rice are the food, extending to the second year, and (c) when the food is rice, extending from the 3rd to the 15th year, when phlegm is in excess: 2nd *manhood*, extending from the 16th to the 70th year, and embracing four stages, (a) *Vridhhi* or growth from 16 to 20; (b) *Jauvana* from 20 to 30; (c) *Sampurnatā* from 30 to 40, when all is in perfection and complete development; and (d) *Hāni* from 40 to 70, when all the powers of life are gradually diminishing, and bile is in excess: 3rd *Decrepitude*, from 70 until death closes the scene, the 'age that melts in unperceived decay,' and in

which the body "resembles an old house in the rainy season with many props," when air is in excess and nervous diseases prevail:—when,

"Time hovers o'er, impatient to destroy,
And closes all the avenues of joy.
In vain their gifts the bounteous seasons pour,
The fruit autumnal and the vernal shower;
With listless eyes the dotard views the store,
He views and wonders that they please no more.
Now pall the tasteless meats and joyless wines,
And luxury with sighs her slave resigns."

until man reaches the last stage of his strange eventful history:—and then,

"In life's last scene what prodigies surprise?
Tears of the brave and follies of the wise."

The male is supposed to attain maturity at 25, and the female at 16—a just and important observation which the modern Hindus have neglected and lost sight of, to the deterioration of their race by early marriages and still earlier vices. The age of the individual had its influence upon the general nature of the treatment to which he was subjected, being so far in accordance with the views entertained by the Greek physicians, and followed to a still greater extent in the modern practice of physic.

The eight subdivisions of life observed by the Hindu sages, forcibly remind us of the 'seven ages' of Shakspeare, which although so well known and often quoted as to have become familiar as a thrice told tale, we are tempted to repeat:

"At first, the infant,
Mewling and puking in the nurse's arms;
And then, the whining school-boy, with his satchell,
And shining morning face, creeping like snail
Unwillingly to school: And then the lover;
Sighing like furnace, with a woeful ballad
Made to his mistress' eye-brow: Then a soldier;
Full of strange oaths, and bearded like the pard,
Jealous in honor, sudden and quick in quarrel,
Seeking the bubble reputation
Even in the cannon's mouth: And then, the justice:
In fair round belly, with good capon lin'd,
With eyes severe and beard of formal cut,
Full of wise saws and modern instances
And so he plays his part: The sixth age shifts
Into the lean and slipper'd pantaloon;
With spectacles on nose and pouch on side;
His youthful hose well sav'd, a world too wide
For his shrunk shank: and his big manly voice,
Turning again toward childish treble, pipes
And whistles in his sound: Last scene of all
That ends this strange eventful history,
Is second childishness, and mere oblivion,
Sans teeth, sans eyes, sans taste, sans every thing."

Human nature is the same every where, and were proof wanting of the accuracy of observation and faithfulness of

record of the Hindus, in matters wherein they are neither trammelled by superstition nor fettered by prejudice, it may be found in their correct division of the stages of life; the modern physiology of the same matter differing but little in essentials from those above detailed, by observers so far removed from and dissimilar to each other in every sense.

The chapter on Death contains many sound and just remarks, and is characterized generally by a degree of poetic truth and accuracy worthy of a higher and a purer faith than that of the followers of Manu. Death is defined to be 'the separation of the soul from the body,' and is supposed to occur in one hundred and one ways, of which one only is natural, the remainder being accidental. What can be more correct and philosophical than the following reflections concerning it:—

"Death is always near, and when it occurs, nothing but the sins and virtuous actions accompany the soul."

A mansion infested by age and sorrow, the seat of maladies, harassed with pains, haunted with the qualities of darkness, and incapable of standing long: such a mansion of the vital soul let its occupier always cheerfully quit.*

When a person leaves his corpse, like a log or a lump of clay, on the ground, his kindred retire with averted faces; but his virtue accompanies his soul; continually, therefore, let him collect virtue, for the sake of securing an inseparable companion with which he may traverse a gloom, how hard to be traversed! For, in his passage to the next world neither his father, nor his mother, nor his wife, nor his son, nor his kinsmen, will remain in his company: his virtue alone will adhere to him. Single is each man born; single he dies; single he receives the reward of his good, and single the punishment of his evil deeds.†

All are said to die alike, and the holy to be the least afraid of dissolution as being the best prepared for the change: the body after death is likened to a house without a tenant, and is burnt, that its elements may be purified to join the mass of the same elements of which the earth is composed:—

"What then dies? not the body, for it only changes its form; and certainly not the soul; why then regret the death of relations and friends if they have passed through life with propriety! Such grief is indeed natural, for it is universal, but it is the offspring of our ignorance and of our selfishness.

As the body is continually changing in its progress through life, so death is merely one of these changes. The body is frail, but the soul is incorruptible. The body is alone destroyed, not the soul; as it only changes its position, like a person who casts off his worn out garments. Cutting instruments may wound him, and air may dry him up, but the soul remains always the same. Those who are born must die, and whoever dies must be born again; and as the elements were invisible and separated

* Manu, Cap. vi. pa. 77.

† Manu, Cap. iv. ps. 239, 240, 241, 243.

before the formation of the body, in like manner they are again separated and dispersed upon its dissolution.*

* It is pleasing to compare and contrast some of these sentiments, with similar thoughts expressed in analogous terms by many of the poets and philosophers of ancient Greece and Rome. A very few familiar examples will exhibit the direct parallelism between writers and observers, who could have had no intercommunication or knowledge of each other's works:—

HINDU :

"The wise and foolish, the great in rank, the low in condition, all die in the same way."

"Death is always near."

"Those who are born must die."

"As the body is continually changing in its progress through life, so death is but one of these changes."

"There are a hundred and one ways in which a man may die."

"Death is the separation of the soul from the body."

Innumerable other passages to the same effect might readily be collected had we the library or the leisure requisite for the task.

The sublime references to Death contained in the sacred writings we have purposely refrained from referring to, for reasons which will suggest themselves to most of our readers. In majesty, beauty, and truth they are unapproachable.

Whether the doctrines of *Metempsychosis* or the transmigration of the soul, taught and illustrated by Plato and Pythagoras, was borrowed from the Egyptian Priesthood, and originated with the latter can scarcely now be determined, yet it is curious that it is contained in the oldest of the Hindu medical records.

At the moment of death the material elements of the body separate, and the vital soul, which has an invisible body resembling the forms of the body it had inhabited, and retains the organs of sense and of action. *On separating from one it joins itself to another, and according to the actions the person had performed in his former state of existence, so will be its future condition.**

"Pallida mors æquo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas

Regumque turres."

"Prima quæ vitam dedit hora carpsit; Nascentes morimur, finisque ab origine pendet."

"Nam nox nulla diem, neque noctem aurora secuta est, Quæ non audierit mistos vagitibus ægris Ploratus, mortis comites et funeris atrî."

"Crudelis ubique Luctus, ubique pavor et plurima mortis imago."

"Mors et fugacem persequitur virum; Nec parit imbellis juvene Poplitibus timidoque tergo."

"Ille licet ferro cæcus se condât et ære, Mors tamen inclusum protrahit inde caput."

"Omnia sub leges mors vocat atra suas."

"Sed rigidum jus est, et inevitabile mortis."

"Jam mihi deterior canis aspergitur ætas,

Jamque meos vultus ruga senilis atrat; Jam vigor et quasso languent in corpore vires,

Nec juveni lusus qui placuere juvant, Nec me si subito videas agnoscere possis, Etatis facta est tanta ruinae meæ. Confiteor facere hos annos.".....

"Mille modis morimur mortales, nascimur uno;

Una vita est, moriendi mille figure."

"Tum vita per auras, Concessit mæsta, ad manes corpusque reliquit."

Some of these expressions may almost be compared in beauty, simplicity, and truthfulness, to the affecting images by which the Jews were wont to characterize death, as a journey or departure; a sleep and rest when the toils of life are over; or a gathering of the deceased to his fathers, or to his people!

The third book is occupied with the therapeutical department, which is discussed under the appropriate heads of Hygeology, Materia Medica, Pharmacy, and Surgery, the practice of Physic having a book to itself, probably from its great extent and the difficulty of bringing it under the head of Therapeutics alone.

Diseases are declared to one their origin: 1stly, to sins committed in a former state of existence, to which—as among the Egyptians—the Hindu physicians knowingly assigned their incurable cases, as it placed them beyond the opprobrium of medicine, and absolved practitioners from the reflections that might have been attached to the imperfections of their art or to their own want of skill: 2ndly, to derangements of the humours, the only diseases that yielded to remedial measures; and 3rdly, to a combination of the two, which also came under the incurable category, and gave an additional means of escape to the unwary practitioner who might have, in his diagnosis, pronounced a *humoral* judgment upon an affection which would not get well in spite of his efforts, and in which, when medicine had done its best (or worst) he called in the aid of prayer, penance, and sacrifice to place it beyond the reach of his drugs and simples. The ingenuity and craft of such a system appear in some measure to have been adopted by certain manipulators of our own times, with the modern refinement of attributing failure, to a want of '*rapport*' between the magnetizer and his subject, or to the adverse influence of perverse currents of air, slight febrile disturbances, unusual noises, and similarly profound agents in the disturbance of the rebellious or intractable system.

The Hygeology, or Hygeine as it is more commonly called, of the Hindus was of a very detailed description, and descended to minutiae and trifles unthought of in the systems of other nations, but not always of minor and secondary importance in a tropical country, where the causes of disease are so numerous and active in their operation, as to demand the aid of religion to assist in saving mankind from the ravages that would be caused by neglect or inattention to them. Without a regular system of medical police the Hindus paid

great and deserved attention to the prevention of diseases, were acute observers of the changes of season and climate, and well aware of the influence of soil and vegetation in the maintenance or deterioration of health. Their meteorology was necessarily of the most rude and imperfect nature, yet much in advance of anything that has reached us from cotemporaneous nations.

The following remarks from the pen of the Commentator will be read with interest concerning the seasons and people of Bengal:—

“There are three prevailing seasons in Bengal, the hot, cold, and rainy seasons. From the end of February, and during March and a part of April may be considered as spring months, and are the most agreeable of any of the year. Towards the end of March, and during the months of April, May, and a part of June the weather is very hot; and in the northern and more inland provinces a violent hot wind blows from the west, loaded with almost imperceptible particles of sand. In this season the weather is so oppressive as to confine the inhabitants to their houses during the great heat of the day. Vegetation is destroyed, and these provinces are reduced to a burning tract of sand, while the air of the neighbouring mountains remains cool and pleasant, during these hot months.

In the Upper Provinces the rains begin in April and May; but in the plains they do not commence till the beginning of June, and continue to fall till the end of July. The rain disperses the accumulated heat, which would otherwise be insupportable. During the months of August and Sept. the rain falls less frequently and copiously, and the long day and high altitude of the sun, with an atmosphere loaded with moisture, render the weather excessively oppressive and sultry; particularly when the air is calm, which is of frequent occurrence, as the Monsoon changes at this time. The cold season commences in the month of October, when dews are heavy; the cold increases, and during the months of November, December, and January, it is often intense in Bengal and Behar. In these provinces the cold has generally a damp disagreeable feel, whereas, in the northern and western provinces, snow and ice are common on the Mountains, and the air is dry and bracing.

From such an extensive country, and variety of soil and climate, the vegetable and animal productions are of the most varied description in the different latitudes, heights, and exposures; and man himself affords great varieties in his physical and mental powers in the different situations and climates in which he resides. In the Northern Provinces of Hindustan, the men are all strong and active, and are distinguished by their courage and mental qualities; as we advance to the more sultry and moist climate of Bengal, the inhabitants become of lower stature, possess greater agility, and are capable of enduring great fatigue, have little courage or mental aptitude, but great cunning and retentiveness. They are generally of a fair olive colour, handsome in their youth, and in after life in proportion to their rank, and healthy and guarded occupation; but become of a dark olive colour and plain exterior, in proportion as they inhabit low and damp houses, live on unhealthy food, and are much exposed to labour, and to the inclemency of the weather. In general the head and face of the Hindu are small and oval, the nose and lips prominent and well formed, the eyes black, and the

eyebrows regular and full.* The females are distinguished for the gracefulness of their forms, the softness of their skins, their long and black hair, dark eyes, and delicate persons. These peculiarities are marked in youth, but rapidly fade. The fairness of the skin also differs—depending on that of the parents, and on the occupation and exposure of the individual to the sun, &c.†

The personal duties, including all operations connected with the toilet and dress, as well as the subject of dietetics generally appear to have been carefully inculcated and enjoined, in many respects in a clear and sensible manner, admirably adapted to the moral and social circumstances of the people. Habits of cleanliness and the frequent use of baths and anointing were among the religious duties of all respectable individuals, and correctly deemed essential for the preservation of health.

In the olden times neither wine nor animal food of proper quality and in moderate quantity were interdicted, which are regarded, and we think justly, as ‘one reason of the superiority of the ancient Brahmins over their more degenerate descendants, who are small in stature, and incapable of those mental and corporeal exertions which raise a people in the rank of nations.’ As among the Jews and Egyptians the flesh of certain animals of unclean habits, or which were known to have an injurious effect upon the frame were interdicted, but during the three first ages, even the flesh of the cow and of the buffaloe were ranked among the wholesome and invigorating articles of diet, and were freely partaken of, with many varieties of the finny and feathery tribes, and a goodly allowance of condiments, fruits, and vegetables. All nature has been bountiful to the inhabitants of Hindustan—man himself in these favored regions has been his own chief and greatest enemy. The whole of this part of the commentary is replete with interest to every reader, and to the European medical practitioner will suggest many valuable hints for the prevention and cure of disease, and attention to the habits suited to the climate and seasons, which our countrymen are, to their cost, too much in the habit of treating with neglect and derision.—How many of the fevers, liver complaints, and other scourges of a tropical region may be traced to the persistence in habits

* “The intelligence of the Bengalis is much more marked in the higher classes than among the lower. In the former, the brisk and intelligent boy, that receives instruction readily, is fickle and restless; and from the short period he attends school, from the enervating nature of the climate, and the vitiating influence of Hindu society, is too often transformed into the stupid and sensual man.”

† Wise, Op. Cit. pp. 91-92.

and indulgences scarcely practised with impunity even in a cold climate, and which are heavily laden with disease and destruction on this side of the equator. Were it not foreign to our present purpose, we could write a longer lecture on this topic than most of our readers would be willing to read or profit by : should opportunity offer and the very limited leisure at our disposal admit of it, we may take a future occasion of directing attention to the modification of European habits most required in India, and best adapted to enable the exile to return to his hearth and home, with health and strength to enjoy their peculiar blessings and benefits.

The MATERIA MEDICA of the Hindus is an extended and complex branch of their Medicine, embracing the collection, preparation, uses, doses, combinations, and effects of an immense variety of agents chiefly derived from the vegetable kingdom, including also a small number of inorganic and animal substances. Their pharmacy appears to have comprised most of the forms in which medicines are compounded according to modern pharmacopeias, but their processes were uncertain, variable, and in many important particulars incorrect. The proper time for gathering vegetable medicines was strictly attended to, and most pharmaceutical processes were precluded with particular forms of prayers, to drive away devils or secure divine aid to increase the efficacy of their remedies.—Polypharmacy was their great and besetting sin, and although simples were known and studied by them, they do not appear to have placed so much faith in them, as in their heterogeneous and in the majority of instances inert and nauseating mixtures and potions. They used preparations of mercury, gold, silver, zinc, antimony, iron and arsenic, with a degree of boldness that would have delighted the soul of Philippus Theophrastus Bombastus Paracelsus, and have fairly distanced the ‘*currus triumphalis antimonii*’ of Basil Valentine. As their measure of time commenced with fifteen winks of the eye, so their apothecaries’ weight began with ‘four of the particles of dust which are seen floating in the sun’s rays as it enters a dark room.’!

They were Allopathists, and therefore anti-homœopathic in their practice, since they declare that ‘medicines given in too small doses will be like throwing a little water upon a large fire that rather increases than diminishes it!’ The doses of medicines were carefully and properly regulated by the age, sex, and temperament of the patient, as well as the stage of the disease ; and their administration of remedies was guided by precise and minute rules often bordering on the childish and

ridiculous : for example, one kind was to be taken *with* each morsel of food, another sort *after* each morsel of food, and in all cases the patient was prohibited from making faces when he takes a medicine, as this is like Brahma and Shiva, and it is sinful so to act.'

The Charaka directs the exhibition of simple medicines in the form of decoction, and arranges them under forty-five distinct heads, beginning with *Jivaniya* or that form which gives longevity, and concluding with *Badanāsthāpana*, those which remove pains produced by external causes, as injuries, &c.

Susruta divides them into two classes, the evacuant, of bad humours from the body, and those which diminish the exalted action of the humours and restore them to the healthy state.

Other authors arrange them according to their supposed virtues in curing air, bile, or phlegm, or according to their action on certain organs. Dr. Wise has given a list of the chief simples so arranged, with their Sanskrit and Latin names. The actions of medicines are classed under the heads of *diaphoretics*, *emetics*, *purgatives*, *salines*, *stimulants*, *emmenagogues*, *diuretics*, *parturifacients*, *sialogogues* and *alteratives* which are pervaded with all the errors of their humoral pathology, but contain indigenous remedies that may be found worthy of examination by European practitioners, a subject which has not yet been well or properly investigated. The department of special pharmacology has not been entered upon, probably from its complication and extent, nor would it have admitted of analysis in the limits at our disposal.

The Hindus had a notion that every disease has its appropriate remedy if we could only discover it, hence probably the immense number of inert and dangerous substances introduced into their *Materia Medica*.

SURGERY, although more simple, obvious, and early in its adoption by most nations than Medicine, does not appear to have been cultivated to the same extent by the Hindus, if we are to judge from the limited space devoted to its consideration in the Commentary, and the comparatively small number of capital operations performed, when we reflect upon the zeal and industry with which the all essential pursuit of anatomy and dissection was prosecuted. Bold and delicate operations were, however, performed, such as cutting for stone, extraction of the dead fœtus, &c. 'which distinguished their ancient surgeons, and form such a remarkable contrast to the present

ignorant and timorous surgeons of Bengal.' As in modern surgery, inflammation and its varieties, with their effects and consequences comprised a great portion of the surgical practice of the Hindus, and although their erroneous humoral pathology rendered their doctrines and theories valueless, their remedial measures were sometimes of a simple, sensible, and successful nature.

The form of their surgical instruments has not been handed down in delineations, but has been supplied in a series of ingenious diagrams by Dr. Wise. Amputations and operations upon vessels are not mentioned among the eight kinds of manual means adopted. Bandages were commonly and apparently appropriately applied; venesection was resorted to as a depleting agent in fitting situations and to a judicious extent: scarification, cupping with a smooth cut horn, and leeching were known and practised; while styptics and cauteries, both potential and actual, were enjoined in many cases for arresting hæmorrhages, removing internal diseases, suppressing discharges and similar purposes. Cold and ice were used to stop bleeding. The nature and treatment of burns and scalds are briefly indicated, and the directions for performing surgical operations minutely detailed. Sacrifices were to be offered up, propitious times selected, the entrance of devils into the wound prevented by burning sweet-scented substances in the room, appropriate forms of prayer repeated, the patient and the operator to be placed in particular positions, the knife to be held in a peculiar manner, and the subsequent treatment of the patient to be carefully attended to. Wounds, their varieties and treatment, together with the restoration of damaged ears and noses, and the management of fractures and dislocations complete the surgical section of the commentary. Although it contains nothing very profound or striking, it is on the whole creditable to the dexterity, skill, and anatomical knowledge and boldness of the early Hindu Surgeons, affords evidence of careful observation, is less beset with the superstitious influences of their faith than other departments of their medicine, and is undoubtedly much in advance of the state of information upon the subject which prevailed in other countries for several centuries subsequent to the production of the older Shastras. The gross ignorance and contemptible cowardice of the present indigenous race of Hindu Surgeons stand out in strange relief to the intellectual superiority of their more gifted and manly-minded predecessors — whose mantle appears, however, to have descended upon the shoulders of some of the Sub-assistant Surgeons educated in

the Medical College of Bengal, as we shall take a future, and if possible, an early opportunity of pointing out.

The PRACTICE of PHYSIC occupies by far the largest book of the Commentary, and is treated with a degree of minuteness and care proportioned to its extent and interest.

The ÆTIOLOGY and NOSOLOGY of the Hindus, from being inseparably connected with their religious belief and dependent upon their erroneous doctrines regarding the elements, were crude, imperfect, and not founded upon any firm or philosophical basis. Prominent symptoms, acute and chronic, primitive and consecutive, external and internal, local and general, hereditary and acquired, contagious and non-contagious, derangement of one or more elements, and similar principles were the chief characteristics and foundations of their arrangements—the peculiarities of the symptoms and their combinations, influenced and modified by the structure and functions of organs, entered not into their calculations. Thirst, appetite, sleep, and death were regarded as *natural diseases* which give pain to the soul; and the 'abuse of Deities or Brahmans, the contempt of spiritual instructions, with other similarly heinous offences were boldly declared to be the existing cause of loathsome and incurable disorders.' The latter, very properly, were deemed to require for their alleviation serious and prolonged penance, mysterious performances, and liberality to those banes of Hindu society and improvement yecept the "Sacred Brahmans."

A kind of numerical method is found in some of the older writings, and three appears to be the critical number: thus *Charaka* states that there are three general causes of diseases; three sorts of medicine—one that cleanses internally, another that purifies externally, and a third, to embrace surgical means; three objects of enquiry in this world—the first, and chief being the means of preserving health, the second, the means of acquiring wealth, and the last the procuration of happiness in the next world—an expanded interpretation of the familiar phrase, 'to be healthy, wealthy, and wise, :—with three means of preserving life, 'proper food, sleep, and the proper government of the senses and passions.' Sin is the 'fons et origo' of a form of disease which 'is to be suspected, when a disease is not cured by the means pointed out by the *Shastras*'—which is to be removed by good actions, prayers, penances, &c. and for which MANU prescribes a course of Flying-Dutchman or Wandering-Jew treatment. "If a disease is incurable let the patient advance in a straight path, towards the invisible

North-eastern point, feeding on air and water, till his mortal frame totally decay, and his soul becomes linked with the Supreme Being."—(MANU, Cap. 6, § 31.)

Diagnosis among the Hindus was founded upon the common sense method of personal examination, and the nature of the disease ascertained by the appearance of the organs of sense, by the feeling, temperature, &c. of the body, and by ascertaining the age, sex, temperament, country, and history of the individual and his disorder. The senses were all employed in the task, and *hearing* was the method resorted to of 'distinguishing the state of the lungs, by the peculiar noise of the breathing'—an early adoption of auscultation as a means of diagnosis. The pulse is stated to have been little regarded by Charaka and Susruta, but to have risen subsequently into great repute in the recognition and treatment of disease. This modern knowledge exhibits every evidence of being borrowed, probably from the Chinese, and most likely was introduced more for the purpose of *intra-purdah* examinations, than from any well founded conviction of its real value.

The Hindus were partial to prognostics, and recorded correctly many minute and apparently unimportant particulars connected with various diseases. This they mixed up with more than the usual amount of superstition, placing unlimited faith in all sorts of extraordinary omens, down even to the walking of a goose and the scratching of the patient's back!

There was a good deal of what is now popularly known under the slang designation of 'artful dodging,' in these omens—the practitioners taking care to protect themselves from being disturbed at noon day or at midnight, when at their toilet or their meals, when asleep or when otherwise unwilling to be interrupted, by declaring them all to be 'unfavorable omens' as to the event of the disease they were called upon to treat.

The diseases of the humors, and fevers with their origin, varieties, progress, termination, and treatment are next referred to, and exhibit the usual amount of sense and nonsense, accuracy of description of symptoms and incorrectness of causes to which they are assigned, with many serious errors of practice in their management. Small pox and measles appear to have been known to the Hindus long before they travelled into Europe and were described by the Arabian physicians of the sixth century. There is no doubt that the former malady was also known to the Chinese; its history being among the most curious of the records of scourges that have afflicted mankind, and for which the Western was certainly indebted to the

Eastern Hemisphere, as it has been more recently for another pestilence of equally fatal and formidable character—the Asiatic Cholera.

Rheumatism, swellings, obesity, emaciation, burning sensations of the body and feet, nervous diseases, in which are included all affections of the tendinous structures, the various forms of leprosy, urticaria, epilepsy, boils, pustules, and hæmorrhages were all known to and described by the Hindu physicians.

The diseases of the mind were reckoned to be swooning, epilepsy, six varieties of insanity, and devil-madness,—the last a curious compound of fancy and absurdity.

Eleven varieties of headache, twenty diseases of the ear, thirty-one of the nose, seventy-six of the eye, sixty-five of the mouth and its appendages, and a large number of disorders of the throat, are briefly referred to in Dr. Wise's work as contained in the Hindu Medical Shastras.

Among diseases of the chest, consumption, usually supposed to be infrequent in warm climates, is stated to be both frequent and fatal, and to have had a fabulous origin, to wit, that the 'moon married seven sisters, but attaching himself to one, the others complained to their father, who punished the moon, by declaring that he should be afflicted with consumption.' !!

Many other morbid conditions of particular systems and regions of the body will be found to have been common in various parts of Hindustan, and testify the minuteness and extent of the professional knowledge of its physicians employed in their investigation and treatment: they do not, however, admit of analysis, and for the most part possess little or no interest for the general reader.

The low standard of moral principle pervading Hindu society, the facility of commission and difficulty of detection of crimes unattended with marks of personal violence, together with the unrelenting atrocity and cold-blooded calculation that accompanied the feelings of interest, enmity and revenge, rendered POISONING an early and frequent means of murder—hence the department of Toxicology, including poisons and their antidotes, attracted a large amount of attention.

Like most other branches, poisoning commenced in mystery and fable, but chiefly obtained notice because the "enemies of the Rajah, bad women, and ungrateful servants, sometimes mix poisons with food. On this account the cook should be of a good family, virtuous, faithful, and not covetous, not subject to anger, pride, or laziness. He should also be cleanly and skilful in his business." The doctor's duty began where

the cook's ended—he was to be well acquainted with the qualities of poisons, to examine the food intended for the Rajah, and if it exhibited any signs of suspicion, to give it to certain animals, the effects upon which were regarded as the tests of its innocence or injurious nature. The operation and effects of poisons must have been very imperfectly understood, and the nature of the treatment indicated was calculated to secure a fatal result in most cases of active vegetable or mineral poisons.

The animal poisons include snake bites, certain animals that have poison in their teeth and nails, such as dogs, cats, snub-nosed alligators, a kind of fish called *paka mucha*, a shell-fish (*sambuka*), and lizards: others that have noxious excretions; a kind of flea, a species of leech, and certain fishes that have poisonous bites. The treatment of snake bites was judicious, sensible, and in most respects the same as would be adopted by a prompt European practitioner. Hydrophobia and the poison of various insects were noticed, as well as a long catalogue of deleterious agents from the vegetable kingdom.

The commentary closes with a brief abstract of the Obstetric Medicine and Infantile Therapeutics of the Hindus, neither of which were in a particularly advanced state: they do not admit of analysis in the pages of a non-professional review.

We have now redeemed our promise of presenting a cursory outline of the many matters of interest connected with the medicine of the Hindus, which are contained in the work placed at the head of the list prefixed to this article:—but before concluding we have few words to say respecting the literary merits of Dr. Wise's performance.

Although fully convinced of the laborious industry and patient investigation of the learned author, we are by no means satisfied that the method of translation adopted was the best calculated to secure accuracy. We have been informed upon authority of which we cannot doubt the correctness, that the native gentlemen named in the préface turned the Sanskrit into a vernacular medium, from which it was subsequently 'done into English' by Dr. Wise, who is not, we are told a Sanskrit scholar. and therefore, himself incapable of detecting any errors of interpretation, should such have occurred, a result by no means improbable. The identification of medicines and diseases is also liable to some degree of doubt for a similar reason, as well as because we know that the majority of scientific terms in Sanskrit have no synonymes in Bengali or Hindi. It was originally our intention to have procured authentic copies of

the Sanskrit medical authorities referred to, and to have had portions translated by competent Sanskrit scholars, who kindly offered us their services upon the occasion, for the purpose of testing the general accuracy of the commentary. Various circumstances have combined to prevent the realization of our design, and we must leave the task to others, who with a larger amount of leisure, combine a greater degree of fitness to execute it with the care, attention, and accuracy requisite.

Another defect of the commentary which has struck us forcibly as somewhat diminishing its value, has been the difficulty of ascertaining in all places whether the remarks referred to the older or more recent medical writers; for we hold the modern medicine of the Hindus to be of a very low order, and are of opinion that any features of excellence it may possess, were derived from their Mahomedan conquerors, whose works embodied almost all that was valuable in the medicine of the Greeks, in addition to their own discoveries in chemistry and other departments. An occasional foot note would readily have remedied this imperfection.

The commentary also abounds in typographical errors, for which the author must have been indebted to the kind but careless or incompetent friend, who brought the pages through the press during his absence from Calcutta.

In spite of all these imperfections, which we trust will disappear in a second and enlarged edition, we hold the Commentary to be a valuable addition to the history of medicine, to contain much that ought to be known to all who study and practice the treatment of tropical diseases, and to be creditable, in every sense, to the learning and ability of its accomplished author.

ART. V.—1. *Le Bas's life of the Right Rev. Thos. Fanshawe Middleton, D. D.*

2. *Proceedings on the formation of a Diocesan Committee for the Archdeaconry of Calcutta for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1825.*

IT is our design in these pages, as has been ere now stated again and again, to admit of no restriction in our range of subjects but that which is geographical. Whatever bears directly, or not very remotely, on the interests of India, belongs to us. Instead therefore of offering an apology for introducing our present subject to the attention of our readers, we feel that if an apology is required at all, it is for having so long delayed to take notice of an institution so important in itself, and fitted to tell so directly on the most important interests of India's people, as that whose name forms the title of the present article. In briefly treating of its merits and demerits we can most conscientiously declare that we have no object whatever but, to the amount of our ability, to render it some service, and stir up those to whom is committed the high responsibility of its management, to exert themselves for encreasing its efficiency and remedying its defects. We esteem them far too highly for their work's sake, to suppose that they will for a moment imagine that any thing we may have to say of the defects in the working of the Institution is connected with the slightest feeling of hostility to the Institution itself, or to that branch of the Christian Church with which it is connected: for, in this work, we never have advocated, and never shall advocate the peculiarities of any church or denomination of Christians, but have been, and shall be, always ready to commend whatever in their several operations may be really useful and praiseworthy—pointing out at the same time any *errors of administration* which may be found to impair their efficiency. Conscious of the sincerity of our intentions, we hesitate not to declare that whatever appears in the following pages has arisen from a strong and earnest desire that the "Bishop's Mission College" may be what its pious founder designed it to be, 'a monument of gratitude to the Almighty,' and a rich treasury from which the natives of India might receive the imperishable blessings of the gospel.

The first Missionary Institution upon record is that which was established in Jericho not long after it had been rebuilt by Hiel the Bethelite. Here, the sons of the pro-

phets were trained under the immediate superintendence of a superior; here, they were initiated into the amount of religious truth which Jehovah had been pleased to reveal; and, issuing from this central spot, they were wont to itinerate through the Holy Land, and instruct the people in the sacred principles and practical applications of religion. We gather from the sacred history of the time, that both Elijah and Elisha were connected with the schools of the prophets; and there can be no reasonable doubt that, under their able and patient administration, many a Missionary was educated and sent forth, rich in his acquired spiritual lore, and powerful in his experimental acquaintance with the divine precepts, to enlighten, convince, and reform the degenerate race who then dwelt in Palestine.

Our thoughts then rest upon the golden Alexandria, the goddess-like city, which "rose out of the idle foam" of the King of Macedonia's conquests. Here was that celebrated catechetical school, where the doctrines of Christianity were inculcated by the learned Pantænus and his equally learned fellow-labourer Clement. It is indeed true, that the youths who resorted to these distinguished men were instructed by them in an eclectic philosophical system; still, despite of the mass, of human error which was engrafted upon the stock of God's pure truth, of the wisdom of this world, and the Platonism which obscured and weakened the wisdom of the heavenly world; numbers of catechists and presbyters were there prepared by holy discipline to become laborious and practical teachers; and with a single eye, an humble heart, and unswerving energy, to carry on their labors of love, with an intensity of interest and a determination of purpose, which neither prejudice nor philosophic opposition could lessen or shake. Among these students, and pre-eminent among them, was the far renowned Origen, the man, who, as Eusebius informs us, taught as he lived, and lived as he taught: "whose discourses, according to Gregory Thaumaturgus, were unspeakably winning, hallowed and passing lovely, and whose whole life was one sacrifice to his God."

At the close of the 6th and the beginning of the 7th century, Columba (*Saint*, as he is generally styled)—a personage, however, more worthy of canonization than the majority of those crazy, thoroughly dirty, and self-righteous saints which crowd the Romish Calendar,—presided over a Missionary College in the bleak and lonely island of Iona. It was his aim, one which he kept steadily in view, to educate his disciples as painstaking ministers of the gospel. To effect his design, he inculcated a diligent perusal of the sacred Scriptures, and ever taught

his disciples to confirm their doctrine by testimonies drawn from this unpolled fountain; and at the same time to manifest in their practice that sound and healthy energy which results from the vital principles of Scriptural truth. The catechists and presbyters who were trained in his establishment, were thus ready to act as Missionaries when their services were required, or where there was a prospect of success.

Such, briefly sketched, are the outlines of three distinguished Missionary institutions, and we learn from history that a high degree of success attended the working of the systems which were adopted and inculcated within the walls of two of these colleges.

We are now to enquire into some of the causes of this success, and unfold, as far as we may, the reason why these collegiate institutions were not merely great in theory, but also great in practice. And we think that one grand cause and reason of their success lay in the fact, that "too great things," were not attempted by those wise and holy men who originated and presided over these training grounds for Missionaries. With an eagle eye, from their intellectual and moral elevation, Pantænus, Clement and Columba, scanned the position and wants of the multitude around them. Their peculiar state, their habits of thought and life—their errors—their prejudices—all were carefully noted by them. And when they had delineated the moral map of the region within which they were to operate, they spread the map before their disciples, and educated them so that they might meet the necessities of the people—that the mind of the teachers might come into contact with the mind of the taught—that a sympathy might grow up between the two classes—that they might thoroughly understand each other, and thus be a proof of the correctness of the aphorism that "true usefulness does not consist in doing extraordinary things, but in doing common things from a right motive, and for a right end." In Alexandria, Pantænus and his associate had two distinct objects in view; the one, to prepare their disciples for instructing the children of the inhabitants who professed Christianity, the other to enlighten the minds and obviate the sophistical objections of those who had been educated in the different philosophical schools. They were placed in a peculiar position, and they taught their followers to grapple with the difficulties of that position. In this respect, they were eminently successful. A comparatively pure Christianity was inculcated—the great truths of revelation were dispensed through a philosophical medium, and in this way, the Christian Missionary gained as converts many who other-

wise would have repudiated with scorn the religion of the meek and lowly Jesus. We do not laud the system or the medium of instruction which these men adopted—but the *principle* upon which they acted; the *system* and *medium* were bad—but the *principle* was sound and good. They did not attempt “too great things;” they endeavored to gain the ears and hearts of their countrymen, and to make truth and sympathy do their combined work. And so with Columba;—widely different as was his sphere of labor, and the materials upon which he had to work, from that occupied by Pantænus and his associate, and the population of Alexandria. Still, he adhered to the same common-sense principle of not attempting too great things; what he did was in strict accordance with the wants and circumstances of the people among whom he resided. They were ignorant—many of them idolaters—all, semi-barbarians; and accordingly the missionaries whom he trained and sent to evangelize them, were simple-minded, honest, truth-loving, laborious men—men of personal devotedness and active zeal, who, “by manifestation of the truth should commend themselves to every man’s conscience in the sight of God.” It was upon this principle too, that Ziegenbalg, and Plutschö acted. Theories, indeed, they brought with them from Europe; but these, on account of their inadequacy to meet the necessities of the case, were, one after another, thrown to the winds, and these admirable men set themselves down to master the language, the moral and religious systems, the different shades of national character—the different masses of prejudices, as they loomed dark in the mental fore-ground, with which they were brought into contact; and thus by adopting the principle and acting it out, by identifying themselves, to a certain extent, with the people—by speaking their language—using their peculiarities of expression—by shewing an intimate acquaintance with their religious rites and ceremonies, and their religious literature, they were not long in reaping the fruits of their well directed and arduous labours—for ‘many arose and called them blessed.’

Such being the principle which was recognised and adopted with success in these distinguished Missionary Institutions, and by the holy men to whose manner of working we have thus briefly adverted, we shall now refer to the Missionary College which stands on the banks of the Ganges, and enquire whether the principle, which in times past was eminently successful in its results, is the one adopted and acted upon by the learned men who conduct the education of the students connected with the seminary. Twenty-six years having now elapsed since the

foundation stone of Bishop's College was laid by the exemplary Middleton, the first Anglican prelate of India, we think that in the lapse of time, sufficient data must have been furnished for determining whether or no, the design and hopes of this excellent man have been matured and realized. Most assuredly, bright were the visions which passed before the Bishop's mind, when he mused upon what might be the studies and glories of his projected collegiate establishment. A noble fabric, gracing the banks of the Ganges, with its imposing gothic structure—learned and religious men at the head of the seminary, a goodly company of students, native and European, being educated for the various departments of Missionary work; the worship of God solemnly conducted in the College Chapel, in accordance with the rubric and usage of the reformed church of England; the press of the institution in full operation, sending forth its translations of the Scriptures, Liturgy, and other godly books in the vernacular tongues, for distribution among the myriads in India, who were perishing for lack of knowledge; the missionary hospitably received upon his arrival in a strange country, and instructed by the resident Professors in the languages, religious systems, moral habits and prejudices of the Hindu and Mussulman population among whom his after labours should be carried on; surrounding schools crowded with the rising generation, all anxious to acquire European learning, and trained up in “the nurture and admonition of the Lord;” one student after another leaving the seminary, well prepared for propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ among theists and idolaters, and ready to spend and be spent in promoting the temporal and spiritual interests of his fellow-men; the contiguous congregation of native christians, the simple church and the village school,—all this, and far more than this, emanating from, or in connexion with, Bishop's College. These were the glowing thoughts, which, to quote the words of his biographer, were among the brightest, perhaps the very brightest, of Middleton's existence;—thoughts, which cost him many a laborious day and many a sleepless night; they were glorious visions, which oftentimes made his pulse beat high with hope, and furnished his powers with an excitement that kept them in vigorous and salutary action.”

Have these hopes and visions of the illustrious founder of the Institution been realized? Is Bishop's College, *in fact*, the noble and useful seminary it was to be in his cherished thoughts and ardent desires? We turn to the pages of Le Bas for a detailed account of the principal purposes to which Bishop's College was to be subservient; and we find that a sermon which Bishop Mid-

dleton preached in Calcutta, on Advent Sunday, the third of December 1820, furnishes us with a clear and full account of the specific-objects for which the College was to be reared. First and foremost, this Institution, in connexion with the branch of Christ's universal church which is established in England, was intended to be a powerful means of making known the manifold wisdom of God, in order that the heathen might be brought to the knowledge of the truth, and the kingdom of the Prince of Peace be commensurate with the limits of the empire:—"The Institution was also designed to be strictly collegiate, in constitution, in discipline, and in character; its objects are to be the education of christian youths, in sacred knowledge, in sound learning, in the principal languages used in the country, and in habits of piety and devotion to their calling, that they might be qualified to preach among the heathen. The attention of the learned persons connected with it, was to be directed to making accurate versions of the Scriptures, of the Liturgy and of other godly books; it was to endeavor to disseminate useful knowledge by means of schools, under teachers well educated for the purpose, and it was to aim at confirming and consolidating, so far as might be, into one system, and directing into one course of sentiment and action, the endeavors which are here made to advance the Christian cause." After giving the preceding extract, are we wrong in affirming that Bishop's College was designed to be pre-eminently and emphatically a "Missionary Institution?" The principals and professors were to be men actuated by a fervent Missionary spirit, and from their personal and experimental acquaintance with missions among the heathen, their history, nature, and the materials required for carrying them on to a successful issue, together with the difficulties connected with them; from these rich and varied stores of knowledge and experience, they were, to impart to the students under their care, an amount of *missionary instruction*, which would enable them to go forth, no novices in their profession, strong in faith, sound in doctrine—the doctrines of the *protestant creed* and formularies of the Anglican church, derived from and based upon the Holy Scriptures, as the one rule of faith and practice; humble in demeanor; zealous in spirit; energetic, yet prudent in action; to labor in the portion of God's vineyard allotted to them, and to earn the illustrious name and the high reward of Evangelizers of the heathen. Whether, then, we refer to the learned gentlemen who were to be at the head of the establishment, the system of intellectual religious education carried on within its precincts, or to the press, its translations and publications, or to the students, the

future preachers, masters, and catechists, or to the vast moral and religious influence to be exerted throughout India—it was the ardent intention—the one laudable object of the pious founder, that “Bishop’s College” should be the *central point*, the well replenished repository of enlightened and active Missionary enterprize. Bishop Middleton laid the foundation stone of the College on the 15th of December 1820, but he did not live to see the completion of the building; he died on the 8th of July, 1822, in the 54th year of his age and the 9th of his Episcopate: and it was not until January, 1824, under the Episcopate of Dr. Heber, that the complete state of the College apartments and offices, enabled Principal Mill to take up his residence within its walls. Since that period the chapel has been finished, and the whole structure now exhibits a “pure, ancient, gothic elegance” raised upon a well-chosen spot of ground which commands a prospect, unequalled, perhaps, in the world. What has been the subsequent history of the College? Principal Mill has retired to his father-land, and has been succeeded by Principal Withers. The Professors have been frequently changed: retirement, sickness and death, have caused the changes: there have been resident students, varying much in their numbers; there have been periodical ordinations of some of the students; there are schools connected with the Institution; there is a press and a printer: there are missions depending upon the College as their fountain head; and there has been an enormous outlay of money. What has been the history, what the achievements of Bishop’s College during the last twenty-six years? Let the records of the Institution,—let the press, let the missions and schools connected with it—let the Indian public supply an answer to the question. If that be true, which was stated in an early number of this Review, (and we, of course, would not throw a doubt upon its truth, or question its accuracy)—“To Christian Missionaries, it is our settled conviction that Sanskrit is an indispensable acquisition, if ever they would attain a correct and self-effected acquaintance with the original sources of Hindu philosophy and Hindu faith, or deal intelligently to any good purpose with the present race of sophists, who draw from its hidden resources all their armoury of thought, argument, and objection”—then is there one bright page in the history of Bishop’s College—that one which recounts the labors of Dr. Mill as a Sanskrit scholar. This accomplished gentleman and profound theologian, not only attained an intimate and critical acquaintance with the language, but having mastered its difficulties and drawn largely upon its hidden stores, he added

yet more to his religious and literary fame, by composing the *Christa Sangita*, "or the sacred history of our Lord Jesus Christ"—in Sanskrit verse. Following the example of Pantænus, he thus met the antagonists of Christianity on their own ground, and by using their sacred language, he endeavored to conciliate and win over learned Hindus, to the faith and love of the Gospel.

We have pictured to ourselves a sculptor who, having, selected a block of Parian marble, elaborated with his hammer and chisel the form, limbs, and features of a human being. Day after day the work grew beneath his hands; there was grace in the form; there was strength in the limbs; there was beauty in the features. The formation of his figure rapidly advanced towards perfection. He thought of the future: of the glory which this statue would gain for him; of the admiration which it would elicit from the men of his age; of the high place which it would hold among works of art. But while he thus mused, before he could give the different parts their finishing touch, death smote him, and he was called away; and then no one could do what he could have done, and so the statue remained in its unfinished beauty; for the master-mind which had conceived the idea was not there to perfect it. Such, we conceive to be the present state of Bishop's College; every part of Middleton's design has been adopted and partially acted upon. The form, the limbs, the features (if we may so express ourselves) are in existence, but while they manifest the mind of the great moral sculptor,—while, were they perfected, they give promise of a high degree of excellence and usefulness, it is quite evident that the mind which designed, (and to a certain extent worked out), the plan, is not there to mature and perfect the original project of the illustrious founder! And why is this? Simply because the learned men at the head of the institution have not contented themselves with adhering to the Bishop's plan—they have endeavored to improve upon it. Their aim has been, a University, instead of a Missionary College; they have attempted "too great things" within the walls of the institution, and have accomplished far too little without them.

In what quarter, we would ask, can we hear of, can we witness, any great and adequate effects resulting from the mass of means which the trainers and the trained of Bishop's College have it in their power to put into play? We venture to affirm that if the working of the institution had been in the hands of any other denomination of Christians—if, for instance, it had been in the hands of the Jesuits—the effects produced

within a much shorter period than twenty-six years, would have been visible and tangible; they would have been *felt*, in the influence, whether beneficial or otherwise, exerted not only within the College, not only over its immediate neighbourhood, the European and native community of Calcutta and its environs, but throughout *the whole* of Bengal. Now, if we take the measure of time above-mentioned, and mark it off on the scale of the history of the College, no contrast can be more striking than that which is presented, when we compare the gradual advance in science, the march of education, the bold stand which during late years has been made, by the superiors of another institution of much less pretension, against the threatened invasion of infidelity; when we compare these evidences, (and they have been numerous and painful,) of the movements of the general mind, with the retiring, modest inactivity of Bishop's College and its state of learned abstraction—with the single splendid exception of Dr. Mill's Sanskrit labors in the cause of Christianity. From its precincts, no voice has been heard communicating the results of scientific or theological research, no model of education has been proposed for general adoption, no banner of Divine truth has been raised to check the irruption of infidel principles and publications. There, upon the broad banks of the Ganges, year after year, with its responsibilities, its means of usefulness, its allotted work, has it stood; and the eyes of its inmates have never yet been opened to the discovery, that in the attempt to do "too great things" the power to do them has been neutralized and destroyed. As a Missionary Institution, Bishop's College has signally failed, simply because the Missionary design of its founder has not been carried out. We mourn over the failure; yet we do not sorrow as those without hope, for we feel assured, that were the resources of Bishop's College to be fully and wisely developed, were the vicious principle of attempting "to do too great things," or to use a laconic expression "of beginning at the top instead of the bottom," repudiated;—were the gentlemen in charge of the institution to act simply upon Bishop Middleton's plan, and train students as *Missionaries*, accustoming them to *Missionary work*, and send them forth from their 'Alma Mater,' qualified from their education to grapple with the Hindu and Mahommedan religious systems, we feel assured that Bishop's College would be, what we most earnestly wish it to be, one of the first Missionary Institutions in India.

As friends of Bishop's College, not the less sincere because we deign not to adopt towards it the language of fulsome and indiscriminate flattery, we would, in all humility, offer certain

suggestions for the consideration of the venerable Society, which, from its infancy up to the present time, has supported and cherished this institution, and of the worthy prelate to whom its direct supervision has been entrusted.

The principal and professors should identify themselves more than they have hitherto done with the students of the College. A cap and gown exclusiveness is not the thing. The appearance of these gentlemen in the chapel and lecture-room, at stated periods, will not go far in forming the character of the future Missionary. They should consider themselves as holding a *parental* relation to these youths; they should do all in their power to gain their confidence, to become acquainted with the measure and cast of their capacities, with the intellectual and moral materials on which they have to work, and which they are to strengthen and mature for extended usefulness. Their frequent presence in the hall would be beneficial to the students. Private conversation, kind sympathy, the correction of erroneous and exaggerated opinions, the inculcation of humbleness of mind, the opening out of the great outlines Missionary enterprise and success before them, the word of encouragement, the judicious reproof;—these would form the links of a bond of union between the master and the disciple, a bond which in most cases would maintain a salutary influence over the latter throughout his professional career.

We have often thought that one of the chief points of difference between a public and a home education lay in the fact, that in the first case, the character of the youth was formed by his juvenile associates, and in the other, by the precepts and example of his near relatives. In a public school, the boy is left very much to himself, to pick up his moral and general education in a hap-hazard sort of way. The masters too frequently fancy that they have efficiently discharged their duty when they have crammed the head of their 'alumnus' with Latin and Greek, and made him a decent critical scholar. Of the mind and heart of the boy they know little or nothing; these, in the majority of instances, are left to be influenced, and oftentimes to be vitiated, by his companions. Now, one of the peculiar features of a judicious and enlightened home education is, that the youth is trained under the eye and sweet influence of his parents. The father has the character of the boy completely in his power, he watches over his employments and even his amusements—he seizes every opportunity to lead on his child from one truth to another, till he is fitted, as far as a human being can fit him, for entering

upon new and untried scenes of life—scenes, in which he must act upon his own responsibility, and, in a great measure, be guided by the practical wisdom which he has acquired while under the paternal roof. In facility of reading, and in critical acquaintance with, the Greek and Roman classics, he may be surpassed by the public-school boy. In bold and independent bearing, the Etonian may have the pre-eminence; in a thorough knowledge of the world—its vices, its conventional phrases and opinions, and its unmitigated selfishness, the boy who has mixed with hundreds of his fellows, all being educated in a similar manner, may throw far into the shade the retiring lad who has chiefly associated with his parents, and has been trained within the narrow circle of a home. But, trace the onward course of the youths through life, educated as they have been under different systems, and widely different auspices. The one, in nine cases out of ten, becomes a polished, gentlemanly, clever, worldly, character,—a light in the forum or the senate; he lives in public; and while apparently living *for* the public, he manages to live for himself. The other, generally, (for, of course, there are many exceptions to the rule), carries with him into his allotted sphere of action the sentiments, the morals, the truths which he has acquired, and though concealed from the public eye by the humbleness of his station, he possesses a considerable influence over his fellow-men, and, in a high degree, is a benefactor to his race. To apply these cursory remarks to Bishop's College, we should say, that, of the two systems of education, in training missionaries for their future labors, the *paternal* should preponderate over the *professorial*.

While we deprecate the preponderance of the professorial element in the *manner* of the education, we advocate the introduction of a larger portion of the professional than now obtains in the *matter* of it. The course of study pursued in the College should be far more professional than it is at present. Instead of spending a large amount of valuable time in the acquisition of the dead languages—instead of the students being employed in reading a play or two of Euripides or Sophocles, their attention should be directed, as a matter of primary importance, to the two languages in which the Sacred Books are written. Whilst little will be found in the Greek and Roman classics calculated to fit the youth for his future course, in the volume of inspiration nearly all that he will require from the beginning to the end of his labors is contained. From this rich and inexhaustible mine he may draw unlimited stores of sound wisdom and knowledge. The materials for his

work stand ready for use, within its pages. And should he be at a loss for precedents and examples, here he has portrayed in bold relief, and in all the character of truth, what a devoted Missionary should *be*, what he should *say*, and what he should *do*. In the history of the Prince of Missionaries, the Apostle of the Gentiles, and even in that of the Divine Lord and Master of Missionaries—the design, the subject matter, the manner of working, the difficulties, the discouragements, the results, the recompense of Missionary enterprise, are clearly developed; so much so, that, possessing this wealth within the treasury of his mind, the trained student has amassed much that is requisite for the healing of the nations. But, in order to meet with vigor and success antagonistic systems of religion, the attention of the student should next be directed to the religious rites and books—the laws, customs and manners of the Hindu and Mahomedan population. For unless these be mastered, the Missionary will not be thoroughly furnished for his work. With the externals of monotheism and idolatry he may be partially acquainted; of their fundamental principles he can know little or nothing; and thus he will be unable to meet the enemy on their own battle field, and to turn their apparatus of war against themselves. In a high degree, then, the Missionary should be a person well skilled in the Book of truth, and well-versed in the peculiar sentiments and habits, whether religious or otherwise, of the people among whom his lot is cast. At the same time, he must be no novice in his profession; he should enter upon his allotted sphere of labor as a *practical* and a *prudent* workman. Here, then, is one use of the schools around Bishop's College; the students should be required to attend them, and to devote a certain portion of each week to learning the art of teaching under the eye and with the assistance of a Professor.

But do the Professors themselves know any thing of Missionary work? How can they? Fresh from Oxford or Cambridge, without any preliminary initiation, they commence their duties in the College. It might be attended with incalculable advantage, were the Professors allowed, upon their arrival in Bengal, to devote the first twelve months of their residence in India to a practical acquaintance with Missionary work in a Mission station. In such a case, after a searching investigation of the subject, they would be able to direct aright the studies of their disciples, imparting to them a portion of the knowledge which they themselves had acquired, and in this manner prepare the way for disseminating the Gospel among those, who, with all their boasted light, sit in darkness and in the shadow of death. If in addition to the

Missionary student being mighty in the Scriptures; well acquainted with the opinions—prejudices, systems and arguments of the Hindus and Mahomedans,—to the being a sound practical evangelist—a workman who needs not be ashamed—he possessed an elementary knowledge of medicine, chemistry, agriculture, &c. he would then be enabled by earthly things to prepare the way for heavenly things, to minister not only to the spiritual, but to the temporal wants of his fellowmen. He would not only lead them into truth, but, by his advice, his suggestions, his own example, he would alleviate and elevate their condition in life, and be the means of furnishing them with those comforts from the enjoyment of which ignorance or prejudice had precluded them.

But all will be in vain, if the Missionary does not carry with him, from the precincts of the College, the *word of knowledge*; not the *knowledge* which cherishes the perverseness of the heart—which places the means of grace in the position which the Author of grace alone should occupy, which surmounts the pure simplicity of faith with the ‘carved and fretted work’—the ‘ornamental gothic’ of voluntary humility and external services; which makes man, who should be free, and unfettered, the bondsman of unmeaning ceremonies, the slave of a dark and soul-less enthusiasm;—not the *knowledge* which virtually repudiates the word of God, and boldly declares its birth-place to be the traditions of men—but that which emanates from the sure word of prophecy, which as “a lamp to the feet, and a light to the path,” illuminates, instructs, guides, comforts, and blesses,—that which directs to the strong for strength—to the true for truth—to the free for liberty, and which subordinates the traditions of fallible man, and the means of grace, to the *Book* and the *Saviour*. An exclusive *patristic* Theology is not the one in which a Missionary should be versed; in his conflict with error, he must wield other weapons than the ‘Fathers’ and the prayer-book. A mission commenced and carried on with such materials must eventually be a failure. There can be no life in it—nothing but externals—a fair outside, but death within. A blight will rest upon the field and its produce, and continue thus, till the pure, free, untraditionized Gospel, with its mighty, its divine, energy, sweeps away the cankerous disease, and works on till the result is life, light and salvation.

On a subject of such immense practical importance we cannot do better than strengthen our own remarks by the following quotation from Bishop Wilson’s Sermon, delivered before

the University of Oxford at St. Mary's, on Tuesday, June 23, 1846 :—

"Allow me here to urge on you for an instant the claims of India. I entreat you, Christian brethren, to send out your devoted Missionaries to the benighted millions placed under your rule, and waiting for salvation at your hands. Let the first youth of the University be ambitious of being heralds of Christ. Let learning, and talent, and piety, and the vigour of your best years, be dedicated to this high service. Let the devout medical student carry his science to the aid of his perishing fellow-creatures.

But let it be the pure Gospel which they carry out. Popery and semi-popery instead of illuminating, can only mislead.

And here we fall back insensibly on the main argument of the Apostle. Nothing but the sound doctrine of the Gospel can produce the regeneration of a lost world. What can external shows do, which only seduce the senses? What can bells, and music, and incense, and picture-books and illuminated lives of saints, and crucifixes, and images of the Virgin do, but betray you into the wiles of an apostate Church?

Nor let the assumption of terms of piety, of claims to divine influence, and the ascription of conversions to the immediate power of the Holy Spirit, deceive you. The language of devotion is admirable, indeed, when based on the solid doctrine of St. Paul; but when associated with superstition, brought in by Jesuits for the sake of argument, and employed to gild the harlot cup of spiritual intoxication, it is poisonous and deadly.

Bewilder not yourselves also with subtle disputations on minute questions and pretended developments, which only lead to scepticism and infidelity, and which indeed proceed on the principle that the Scriptures are not *able to make men wise unto salvation*.

Let me entreat the younger Members of the University to employ the precious moments of their academical course, which is too short for its high purpose, in amassing sound learning, in maturing their powers of discernment and judgment, and in preparing for those weighty duties of future life, for which trifling superstitions unfit them.

Let them base every thing on the solid, manly doctrine of St. Paul; connecting with this a firm and enlightened attachment to our own Protestant Church in her Orders, her Polity, her Articles, her Liturgy, her Baptismal Offices, her Homilies, as settled at the Reformation; and not as developed, that is, corrupted, by vain tradition.

In the nature of things, master-principles of one kind or other will govern the man. The grand question is, whether our master-principles shall be those of St. Paul, as set forth in the passage before us, or those of the Divines, who follow now the vain Cretan teachers. If you attempt to build on the commandments of men, the foundation is rotten, and will not sustain any solid edifice; and *ungodliness and worldly lusts*, aggravated by a false religion, will in one form or other rule and carry off the soul.

But if our master-principles are based on a humble and lively faith in the *grace of God in salvation*, on a consideration of the love of Christ in *giving himself for us*, and on a *blessed hope* of the second coming of *our great God and Saviour*; then will the foundation sustain the building, and you will remain firm and stable amidst the agitations of an evil day. Eleven times does the Apostle in his Epistles to Timothy and Titus warn those Bishops against the danger.

I must confess I tremble for our Apostolical National Church, which has been for three centuries the bulwark and glory of the Protestant Faith.

Antichrist seems to be resuming his arrogance; and in a fallen world like ours, when errors become popular, they soon spread. Superstition has charms for the minds of unsettled young students and ministers, who have some religious sensibilities, but small experience and less judgment. It is a short way to authority and self-importance."

But to return;—as was the design of Middleton in founding Bishop's College, so will be its destiny, should the original design be developed and carried out in all its parts. The mechanism is complete; it only wants the moving power, the master mind. Truth, unmixed truth; sympathy, identity with the students, a constant, watchful supervision, a practical acquaintance with Missionary work, an ardent zeal for the conversion of the heathen, the all-powerful life of Christianity—these combined would give the requisite impulse, and render Bishop's College, "a praise and blessing in the land." When matters have reached the worst, they begin to mend; the crisis, we trust, has passed; the paralysis of twenty-six years' duration cannot last much longer—the day of better things must be at hand. We boldly avow that at present the Indian public has no confidence in Bishop's College. It is scarcely possible that they should, when the truly venerable Bishop of the diocese has recently expressed his deep regret at the present state of the College. The Bishop of Calcutta, in his address to the Society for the Propagation of the gospel, speaks with evident reluctance, what, had truth permitted, he would undoubtedly, with far more satisfaction have left unsaid:—

"You particularly refer, in your Address, to your admirable Institution of Bishop's College; and you express a hope, "that the general conduct of the Institution will ever be such as to commend it to the confidence and approval of the Bishop as visitor."

This invites, and indeed compels me, however reluctantly, to advert to it. My ardent attachment to that College from my first landing, and the opinion I formed of the high reputation and eminent learning and attainments of the late Principal, as well as my sincere love and esteem for the present, scarcely inferior to him in some respects, though with another cast of talents, are known to the Society.

But the College is still not going on so well as I could wish. It is quite true, that in one or two recent ordinations I have detected no positive doctrinal errors on the points adverted to in my Charges, and have, in some cases, been pleased with the attainments and devotedness of the candidates, as I was eager to state to the Society in my letter of November 1843. But the hope which I then warmly, perhaps too warmly, expressed, of a steady improvement in the College, does not seem to me to have been as yet realized.

What the Society may now think it right to do, I will not even presume to conjecture. My best services are still at their disposal; and if my life is spared, all will, I trust, be gradually remedied. But I confess that I am not without considerable anxiety.

One immediate effect of the state of things to which I have referred, is the diminution of confidence with the public, and the failure of the funds of the Calcutta Diocesan Society. We ought to go a long way towards supporting your Missions and Bishop's College, with the exception of the buildings and salaries. If we could relieve you from this burden, it would be of the greatest importance under your present financial embarrassments. As it is, we have done, for the last few years, little, comparatively speaking. I laboured all I could during the Visitations just closed to encourage subscriptions."

To the same effect, though more strongly expressed, is the sentiment of the Rev. Mr. Wilkinson, who has been long and favorably known as any of the most zealous Missionaries of the Church of England in India :—

"It is not necessary to detail minutely in this sketch the commencement and progress of the institution under the superintendence of the Bishops Middleton, Heber, and Turner, as the records are before the public, and, the writer would hope, familiar to all who feel any interest about the spread of the Gospel. A very important query presents itself to the mind, namely, —How far the objects proposed by the venerable bishop have been realized.

It is deeply to be lamented, that after a vast expenditure of money on buildings, principals, and professors, &c., scarcely anything of good has been accomplished. I say not this acrimoniously, but with the deepest and most heartfelt regret. I loved the institution—I watched its progress with more than common interest, and when it was proposed to have a Church Missionary seminary in Calcutta, I gave my opinion against it, fearing it might look like a rival institution; I loved Bishop's College, and I looked forward to the sending of my own sons to *graduate* there with intense pleasure.

1. But what has it done in instructing native youth, &c. in order to their becoming preachers, catechists, and schoolmasters, during a period of more than twenty years?

2. For the teaching of the elements of useful knowledge and the English language to Mussulmans and Hindus, &c.?

3. For translating the Scriptures, the Liturgy, and moral and religious tracts?

4. For the reception of English missionaries, &c.?

Scarcely *anything* has been done in either of these departments. Not a portion of the Scriptures, or of the Liturgy, has been translated by any of the College Establishment, and now, nothing is being done but what had better be left undone. Sure I am, that if sainted spirits can weep, Bishop Middleton is now weeping in heaven over the idol of his heart."

When the venerable bishop and the experienced missionary write thus, it is not at all wonderful that the public generally should place very little confidence in the education imparted in the Collage. If a parent or guardian place a youth there, he is indeed certain that he will be furnished with cap, cassock and surplice, that he will have his regular chapels, lectures and dinners in hall; he is certain that after his allotted residence, the youth will be sent forth as a catechist, to become in due time a deacon and a priest; but he is not so

certain that any proper supervision will be maintained by the authorities,—that, in fact, after College hours, the young man will not be left entirely to himself. He is not so certain that the Professor will be the father and guide—the faithful corrector and kind adviser of the youth; that when the catechist leaves his ‘Alma Mater,’ he may not leave it in a state of lamentable ignorance with regard to Missionary work; a novice lifted up with pride, regarding with contempt his fellow laborers of other denominations, and carefully avoiding all friendly co-operation with them in their work of love. He is not so certain that the young priest will not look upon his surplice as a pure, immaculate, sacrificial robe,—that he will not hold the sacraments to be the *only* means of grace—that he will not be sadly deficient in the great and distinguishing doctrines of the Bible—that he will not unduly exalt the church and enthrone her as the idol of his worship—the queen of heaven;—he is not at all certain, that the young man, simply from the education which he has received, and the principles which he has imbibed at College, will not be disqualified for a Missionary. He has, on the contrary, every reason to fear that no permanent success will attend his efforts: and that while the field ‘is white unto harvest,’ the incapacity of the laborer will allow the grain to be lost, when it might have been gathered for the granary of heaven. In fact, the public are doubtful whether the christianity of the reformation or the christianity of Rome be inculcated at the College, and they question if it be not the latter system which enervates and paralyzes the body, and which, like a great spiritual incubus, keeps it inert, and as a Missionary institution all but totally uninfluential. But let the confidence of the public be restored; or, rather, let the causes which have shaken, and well nigh destroyed it, be removed, and our firm belief is that Bishop’s College will become a great and useful Institution. Then, many a Missionary will look back with pleasure and gratitude on the happy and profitable hours which he spent within its walls; and many a simple villager will then feel that the design of the excellent Middleton has been carried into effect; and that through his instrumentality he has been provided with a pastor, guide, and friend, to cheer, instruct and lead him onwards to the resting place of his soul.

ART. VI.—1. *London Quarterly Review*, No. 155, June 1846.
Article IX.

2. *Ditto*, No. 57, Dec. 1846 Note.

THE general diffusion among our countrymen in India of a spirit of fair and candid enquiry, is a marked and gratifying sign of the progress of improvement. A course of enlightened and consistent policy in a Ruler is now certain of being met with calm and dispassionate consideration, and, when shown to be characterised by integrity and honesty of purpose, of being received with cordial approval.

We may, therefore, safely predict that the administration of Lord Hardinge which has become, by his departure from India, matter of History, will be unanimously praised by all who make Indian affairs their study; and that the Eastern career of this soldier-statesman will commend itself to their judgment and approval as strongly as it evidently has done to that of the Court of Directors and both sides of both houses of Parliament.

We proceed to detail those acts; prefacing them with a few words regarding the early and Peninsular career of Lord Hardinge, chiefly compiled from the Memoir of Lieutenant-General Sir Benjamin D'Urban.

Lord Hardinge is descended from an old Royalist family of King's Newton, county Derby; through which he traces his ancestry up to the conquest. His immediate ancestor raised troops for Charles 1st, hazarded his life and lost his estates in the service of the Stuarts. Lord Hardinge's uncle, Richard Hardinge, of Bellisle, county Fermanagh, was created a Baronet in the year 1801, and was succeeded by His Lordship's elder brother, the Reverend Charles Hardinge, of Bounds Park, Kent, and Rector of Tunbridge. Lord Hardinge had three other brothers; of whom one died young: Col. Richard Hardinge of the Royal Artillery still alive; and Captain Nicholas Hardinge, who, in his 27th year, when in command of the "*San Fiorenzo*," fell in the moment of victory at the close of a three days' action with "*La Piedmontaise*," an enemy's ship of far superior force. A monument in St. Paul's Cathedral, records his achievements.

Before Lord Hardinge had attained his fifteenth year, he joined his Regiment in Canada. At the peace of Amiens he returned to England, and having studied at the Royal Military College, was selected for a situation on the Quarter Master General's Staff with the expedition, in 1807, under Sir B. Spencer, to the coast of Spain. He was actively employed under Sir A.

Wellesley in the Campaign of 1808, was present at the battle of Roleia, and severely wounded at Vimiera. At the close of the war he conveyed despatches to Sir John Moore, with singular rapidity through many dangers. With the Rear Guard at the side of his heroic Chief, he shared in the many severe affairs of the retreat on Corunna, and was one of the officers near him when he fell. In March of the same year (1809) he was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel and Deputy Quarter Master General of the Portuguese Army, under Sir B. D'Urban. He served at the passage of the Upper Douro, on the borders of Galicia; afterwards in Castile; and at the battle of Busaco.

Highly distinguished in the Campaign of 1811 under Lord Beresford in the Alemtijo and Spanish Estremadura; it was at Albuera that his brightest wreath was won. The fight had gone against the handful of British soldiers. Half of those under fire had fallen, when Colonel Hardinge, on his own responsibility pointed out to Major General Sir Lowry Cole, that on his moving up his Division depended the fortune of the day. These fresh troops were, on the instant, hurled against the enemy's left flank; while Colonel Hardinge caused the right to be simultaneously assailed by the re-inspired Brigade of Abercrombie. The heavy columns of the superb French Infantry were thus checked, rolled back and broken: the British guns, already limbered up and ready for retreat, were again brought into action and the enemy driven from that fierce field.

This glorious turn in the tide of that fight, which itself turned the tide of the Peninsular War, was the achievement of Lieutenant Colonel Hardinge then only 25 years old; immortalized by Alison in his record of Albuera, as "the young soldier with the eye of a General and the soul of a Hero."

Lieutenant-Colonel Hardinge served at the siege and capture of both Ciudad-Rodrigo and Badajoz; and especially distinguished himself at the storm of the strong out-work "La Picurina." During the operations which led to the battle of Salamanca, he officiated as Quarter Master General of the Portuguese Army, and for his conduct received the Military order of the Tower and Sword.

At Vittoria, Colonel Hardinge was severely wounded in the body, and, while still suffering from a painful surgical operation, resumed his duties in the Pyrenees. He afterwards served at St. Sebastian, at the passage of the Bidassoa, and in the battles of the Nevelle and Nive.

In February 1815, when in command of a Portuguese Brigade of Infantry, he, in conjunction with General Byng's Brigade, gallantly carried with the bayonet some strongly occupied

heights near Pallas. He was then engaged at Orthès, and in the operations ending with the battle of Tolouse. For the battle of Orthès Colonel Hardinge received his ninth medal.

During the whole of the Peninsular War, Col. Hardinge was never absent from his duty except for very short periods after his wounds at Vimiera and Vittoria. At the peace, his signal services were rewarded by his Sovereign with a Company in the Guards, and by the distinction of Knight Commander of the Bath, an honor usually reserved for General Officers.

Sir H. Hardinge accompanied Sir C. Stewart to the Congress of Vienna, and on the renewal of the war was attached by the Duke of Wellington in a political capacity, with the rank of Brigadier General to the Head Quarters of the Prussian Army under Blücher. At the sanguinary battle of Ligny on the 16th June, Sir H. Hardinge again distinguished himself. About 4 p. m. his left hand was shattered by a common shot, but, refusing to dismount or leave the field, he placed a tourniquet on his arm and sat out the battle, retiring after night-fall with the Prussian army. At midnight, in a hut by rushlight, attended by a single servant, he had his hand amputated. Sir Henry had previously despatched his brother, who was his Aide-de-Camp, to report to the Duke the fate of the day and to bring an English Surgeon. At day-light the French beat up the bivouac, when Sir Henry, determining not to fall into the enemy's hand, though faint from loss of blood, accompanied the retreating Prussians. At Wavre he rejoined the gallant Blücher, who though still suffering from a fall, and from having been ridden over by a whole brigade of cavalry, got up and kissing his friend affectionately, begged he would excuse the garlic (with which he was perfumed,) and consoled with him on Ligny, but characteristically added, "Never mind, my friend, if we outlive to-morrow, Wellington and I will lick the French."

After the battle of Waterloo, the Duke of Wellington devoted a separate Gazette to the merits of Sir Henry Hardinge and to a notification of his own regret for his severe wound. From bad management in the first instance Sir Henry's arm had to be several times redressed, causing him extreme torture; yet within the fortnight he rejoined the army at Paris, where he was received with military honors by Blücher, in the Palace of St. Cloud, and there placed in possession of the apartments of Marie Louise.

At the expiration of the occupation of Paris, the King of Prussia in testimony of his high opinion of his Political and Military Services, decorated him, at a grand Review with the order of merit, and of the Red Eagle; and the Duke of Wellington, personally, presented him with the sword from his own side.

During these eventful seven years Sir H. Hardinge had received four wounds, and had four horses killed under him ; nor was he singular. Men long unaccustomed to warfare are frightened at such losses as those of Ferozshah, Múdkí and Sobraon ; and forget, in these recent events, the casualties of Albuera, Talavera and Waterloo. If, after a hard day's fight in India, all the " means and appliances " of a Cantonment Hospital are not found upon the field ; if Doolie Bearers, (who get no pensions !) run away and leave their wounded charge to be cut up by a straggling enemy ; and every wound is not dressed and soothed with cerate on the instant ; loud is the cry against the " culpable negligence of the authorities : " but let them talk over Wellington's campaigns with any of his Veterans, and learn how men of the best families of the land, lay stiff and cold where they fell, unattended for hours and hours, or even for the whole night as Ponsonby on the field of Waterloo ; or (to take still nearer example) as our own gallant old Chief, Lord Gough, whose wound at Talavera remained undressed for two whole days, though a Lieutenant Colonel Commanding a Regiment ; and as Sir Henry Hardinge, who though attached to the Prussian Army, in a high and honorable position had to wait eight hours for a Surgeon to amputate his hand.

Peace came at last, and with it peaceful duties. Sir Henry Hardinge now served for some years as a Captain in the Guards ; he then entered Parliament and for twenty years sat as Member for Durham and Launceston. During this period he was employed for a short time as Clerk of the Ordnance ; on two occasions as Secretary at War, and twice for short periods as Secretary for Ireland. Sir Henry was early distinguished for his clear business-like statements, his matter of fact manner of transacting his official duties, and for the vigour which he threw into all his actions. It is as much the fashion to decry " Military Civilians," as to undervalue " Heaven born " warriors. Such men as the Duke of Wellington, Sir H. Hardinge, and a host of others of all ages, should ere this have taught the folly of the first error, as Cromwell, Washington, Clive and Blake, that of the other. When will the world perceive that wisdom, foresight and courage are the gifts of God and not the mere results of social position ?

The quickness of perception, the physical and mental energy and business habits which had been so often tried in the field, were now to be tested in the cabinet, and in the Parliament of England—the noblest arena in the World. Here Sir Henry's temper is described by a candid Political opponent as warm but generous, kindling at the least imputation but never " allowing the sun to go down upon his wrath." His adversaries described him as " really a kindly and generous man, warm in friendly

ship, placable and scrupulous in hostility. Plain, sincere, straightforward, just and considerate." They allowed him not only these personal qualities, but all the ordinary ones of a safe practical executor of the suggestions of others. They gave him credit for "understanding what he undertakes, and undertaking nothing but what he understands." Still, in reference to his nomination to the post of Governor-General of India, the same party observed that, "to consolidate our Indian empire by ameliorating its institutions; improve justice; remove remaining restrictions on industry; lighten taxes; to execute great public works; to extend education; and above all to raise the Natives and give them a higher social position, a more elevated tone of feeling, and a greater share of political power, require a great and zealous man. But to achieve such results or even to propose them requires higher qualifications than we can give credit to Sir Henry for possessing."

That the writer erred in this estimate will, we doubt not, be acknowledged when the extent of what Lord Hardinge *has* done for education, for public works, for the reduction of taxes and for the general amelioration of the people of India is known to him. It is strange that the charge should ever have been made, for in the only departments in which Lord Hardinge had been tried, he had uniformly endeavoured to better the condition of those under him. The British Soldier is indebted to him for many boons, and liberal regulations, which add to his comfort during service and improve his condition in old age; and thus he has justly earned the title of "*the Soldiers friend*." To him also we believe it is, that England owes the humane prohibition to the Military and Police against firing volleys on mobs. The instructions are now precise and positive as to when the Soldier is to supersede the Magistrate, and then instead of wholesale measures being at once resorted to, *only one file*, in the first instance, is allowed to fire; the remaining soldiers standing prepared to resist attack.

But the time was come when Sir H. Hardinge was to be called into a new and wider field of action. In May 1844, his kinsman and friend, Lord Ellenborough, was removed from the Government of India by the indignant Court of Directors, whose authority he had defied; and the Ministry of the day, though disposed to defend their colleague, wisely acquiesced in a measure which they could not prevent. With equal wisdom, their selection for the vacant office fell on Sir H. Hardinge. The Court heartily and unanimously acquiesced, and the lovers of official scandal were disappointed at the sudden termination of what at one time bade fair to be a bitter

controversy, nay a struggle for superiority between the Directors and the Ministry.

The new Governor-General was selected not as a brilliant orator or Parliamentary partizan, but as a tried soldier and straight-forward practical Statesman. Without, however, impugning the candour of either the Cabinet or the Court, we may believe that each had a motive for the choice they made. The former, perhaps, desired as much as possible to soothe the feelings of Lord Ellenborough; and the Court, in accepting his kinsman, doubtless considered that they gave the best possible proof that they had recalled His Lordship on public grounds alone, and with no factious motive. The appointment, in which the Ministers and the East India Company thus happily concurred, was equally popular with the public both in England and India. In the latter, the friends of Lord Ellenborough (and they were not a few, especially among the Juniors of the army) looked with hope and confidence to a similarity of Military feelings in the mind of his successor—at once his relative and a soldier; while all trusted to Sir H. Hardinge's acknowledged character for fairness, decision and plain dealing.

Not long before, when the tidings of the Kabul disaster reached England, Sir Henry Hardinge had been offered the command of the Army in India; which he declined. And now, for two whole days, he is understood to have resisted the temptation of £25,000 a year, with authority greater than that of the autocrat of Russia, over a population inferior in number only to that of China. At the age of 60, to give up his family, his seat in the Cabinet, and the society of the greatest men of the times, for the sake of responding to the call of his country and proceeding to the far East, at the behest, and, in a measure, at the mercy of the Board of Officials, who had so summarily dismissed his relative and friend, required no little forgetfulness of self—no ordinary sense of public duty. A common mind would not have so confided. In this, as in many other passages of Lord Hardinge's Indian career, we recognize the prompt courage of the hero of Albuera.

The usual pledges were now given and taken; the usual dinners eaten, and the accustomed speeches enunciated, but with more than their accustomed interest derived from the past, and more, we believe, of sincerity with reference to the future. On this occasion at least the promises of peaceful policy were not forgotten, though doomed to be disappointed; and after-dinner visions of great works, and plans for the internal improvement of the Anglo Indian empire, for once did not melt into air.

In his speech on the victories of Múdkí and Ferozshah,

delivered on the 2d March 1846, Sir Robert Peel thus well described the circumstances under which Sir Henry Hardinge accepted his high office:—"I well know what was the object of my friend, Sir Henry Hardinge, in undertaking the Government of India. He made great sacrifices from a sense of public duty; my gallant friend held a prominent place in the Councils of her Majesty: he was, I believe, without any reference to party divisions, held in general esteem in this House, as well by his political opponents as by his political friends. He was regarded by the army of this country as its friend, because he was the friend of justice to all ranks of that army. It was proposed to him at a time of life, when, perhaps, ambition is a less powerful stimulus than it might have been at an earlier period—it was proposed to him to relinquish his place in the councils of his Sovereign—to forego the satisfaction he must have felt at what he could not fail to see, that he was an object of general respect and esteem. He separated himself from that family which constituted the chief happiness of his life, for the purpose of performing a public duty he owed to his Sovereign and his country, by taking the arduous and responsible situation of chief Governor of our Indian possessions. He went out with a high military reputation, solicitous to establish his fame in connexion with our Indian empire, not by means of conquest, or the exhibition of military skill and valour, but by obtaining for himself a name in the annals of India, as the friend of peace, and through the promotion of the social interests and welfare of the inhabitants."

Such we are told by the Premier of England, by him who best knew them, were the motives of Sir Henry Hardinge in accepting the vice-royalty of India: and when we glance over the parting address of the Chairman of the Court of Directors, to the new Governor-General, and apply it as a touchstone to that Governor's administration, we cannot fail to perceive how honestly and ably Lord Hardinge has acted up to both the Court's instructions and to his own pledges.

After assuring Sir Henry that he had the Court's "entire confidence—a confidence founded on the reputation he had established for himself not only as a Soldier but as a Statesman;" the Chairman slightly but distinctly alluded to the fact that the general administration of British India is the direct charge of the Court of Directors, "subject to the control of the Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India;" and, drawing thence the corollary that "the maintenance of respect for the authority of the Court is demanded by the existing system of the Indian

Government," significantly added, "we are persuaded that you will impress this feeling upon our servants abroad, not merely by precept, but *by your example*."

The Civil and Military services, and (with some emphasis) the Governor General's "constitutional advisers, the members of the Council of India," were then recommended to Sir Henry's attention; the Native soldier's good qualities were lauded; and lastly the Chairman thus urged upon Sir Henry's notice the questions of peace, conciliatory policy, and their results—consolidation and internal improvement:—"By our latest intelligence, we are induced to hope that peace prevails throughout India. I need not say it is our anxious desire that it should be preserved. You, Sir, well know how great are the evils of war, and we feel confident that, whilst ever ready to maintain unimpaired the honor of our country, and the supremacy of our arms, your policy will be essentially pacific.

"To the native states which still retain independence, you will extend the shield of British protection. It has hitherto been considered a wise and just policy to uphold and support those which are in alliance with us; and in dealing with those which are more immediately dependent upon our Government, we have, with a view to soothe the feelings, and conciliate the attachment, of both chiefs and people, permitted the former to retain the recognized emblems of authority, their titles and other insignia of rank and station. Peace, apart from its other advantages, is desirable with a view to the prosperity of our finances and the development of the resources of the country.

"The strictest economy consistent with the efficiency of the service" was then enjoined.

The Chairman next touched on education; observing, it "has long been the desire of the Court to encourage education among the people of India, with a view of cultivating and enlarging their minds, of raising them in their own and our estimation, and of qualifying them for the more responsible offices under our Government. It is, however, necessary, with reference to the subject of education, to exercise great prudence and caution, in order to avoid even the appearance of any interference with their religious feelings and prejudices, and to maintain on such points the strictest neutrality.

"Finally, Sir Henry, I would earnestly recommend the whole body of the people of British India, and its dependencies, to your paternal care and protection. It has always been the earnest desire of the Court of Directors that the Government of the East India Company should be eminently just, moderate,

and conciliatory. The supremacy of our power must be maintained, when necessary, by the irresistible force of our arms; but the empire of India cannot be upheld by the sword alone. The attachment of the people, their confidence in our sense of justice and in our desire to maintain the obligations of good faith must ever be essential elements of our strength. I beseech you, therefore, to keep these sacred principles habitually and permanently in view. The Court has selected you for the high office of Governor-General with reference not less to the confidence which they entertain in your character for justice, moderation and benevolence, than to your undoubted possession of a sound practical judgment, and a firm and indomitable spirit. You are already in possession of the highest renown as a soldier, and we feel assured that you will now rest your happiness and your fame on the furtherance of measures tending to promote the welfare and best interests of the Government, and of the people committed to your care, and it is our earnest prayer that after an extended career of useful and valuable service, you may return to your native country, bearing with you as the best and most gratifying reward of your labors, the thanks and blessings of the people of India."

In a modest rejoinder Sir Henry promised *less than he has performed*.

Sir H. Hardinge reached Calcutta on 23d July. The tremendous heat of the Red Sea at that season did not prevent him from minutely inspecting the works of Aden, and drawing up a Memorandum in correction of the errors of the Bombay Engineers, and proving how unnecessary was the extravagant expenditure then going on upon the rock. Afterwards in India full information was called for, and the Governor-General recorded in another very able paper, that works to an extent sufficient for 1200 men in peace and 1500 in war and proportionate artillery would make good the post against all probable comers; since a European enemy must either drag his guns by land, 1500 miles, or be master of the sea.

It is in similar adaptations of ways and means that the officers in every department of the Government of India have found Lord Hardinge's strength to lie; his practical intellect sees and seizes at once upon the strong and weak points of a question; and above all a military fallacy stands no chance with him. Thus in the instance before us he justly ridiculed the inconsistency of making Aden a Gibraltar, while Singapore, Hong Kong, &c. are left comparatively defenceless. The Aden Papers have generally transpired; and are justly considered as among the very ablest that have emanated from Lord Hardinge's pen.

One of the first acts of the new Governor-General in India was to appoint the late private secretary of Lord Ellenborough to the important commissionership of Tennesserim and Moulemein. Captain Durand has since been removed; but, when appointed, no man in India, of his standing, bore a higher character for talent, application, and business habits; and even those who have since condemned him, find him guilty mainly of errors of judgment. A more honorable man than Captain Durand of the Bengal Engineers does not exist. By his appointment to Tennesserim, the Governor-General was enabled to call up Major Broadfoot, who had for two years held that Commissionership, to the North West Frontier, where Lord Ellenborough had contemplated employing him. These two selections, and a general adherence to his predecessor's policy, satisfied men's minds, that, however in personal demeanour to the Court of Directors, and in some domestic questions, Sir Henry Hardinge might act on his own special views, yet there would be no systematic repeal of Lord Ellenborough's acts—no running down of his opinions because they were those of his predecessor;—a practice too often prevalent in India in places both high and low; so much so, indeed, as often to lead natives to suppose that there is no stability in our institutions; and that one official comes after another only to reverse his orders. "Sir Henry Hardinge came to India "fore-warned, fore-armed" against this restless error. He had visited Mount Stuart Elphinstone in England and asked his advice. The Veteran Statesman warned him against *meddling with civil details*. The advice was wise; and, what is rare, has been as wisely acted on. The advantage of letting things alone where there is no certainty of mending them, is here too little understood, especially by the half-informed. William Fraser, who was murdered at Delhi, was once consulted by one of his subordinates, who in despair declared that he had tried every means he could devise to bring the people of a certain district into order, but without avail. "Did you ever try what could be done by letting them alone?" was the reply. We recommend the anecdote to every magistrate in India who has got a little leisure and is thinking what to do with it!

We would not be understood to imply that Lord Hardinge neglected civil affairs; but when it can be truly said that the most industrious magistrate in India may let "well alone," and yet find ample occupation for *all* his time; how much truer is it in regard to a Governor-General. As he cannot possibly have leisure for fiscal and judicial details, there is real wisdom in his leaving them to such men as are usually found in the position of Lieutenant Governor of Agra or Deputy Governor of Bengal.

We shall be delighted to hear that Lord Hardinge has recommended the permanent appointment of a Deputy Governor at Calcutta. The system works admirably at Agra. The Governor-General cannot, and in our opinion ought not, to enter into all the minutiae of civil *details*; but it is most important that the man who has to do so, should not only be up to his work, but be a fixture for at least a moderate term. By some such arrangement alone, can he be enabled to turn his experience to proper account, or encouraged to sow with any reasonable prospect of seeing some portion of the fruit of his labours. The improvement of the North West Provinces under Mr. Thomason's four years' administration has been most marked; but what possible amelioration can be expected under a system, that, in ten years, has given us nine Deputy Governors over a province containing thirty millions of inhabitants, and paying a revenue of nine millions? Fortunately for Bengal, it has had an able Secretary in Mr. Halliday. But, however excellent the ministerial officers, and however worthy and efficient the Deputy Governor, if the latter is to be annually relieved, he can at best only keep matters straight for the day. It is morally impossible he can do more. He would indeed be unwise to hazard his own reputation in the projection of schemes which his successor might mow down in the bud.

The Punjab has been called *the* difficulty of recent administrations; but the Government of Oude has been the difficulty of *all*. A fortnight had scarcely passed over the head of the new Governor-General before his attention was drawn to Luknow affairs. The King, a poor vacillating creature, who had only a twelve month before rejected from his counsel the upstart Amin-ud-Dowlah, now again desired to place him at the head of the Ministry to the exclusion of the Vizier Muna-ud-Dowlah, who was giving satisfaction to the envoy. Strong measures were advised: no less than enforcing the article of the treaty, which authorizes the assumption by the British Government of the direct control of all districts whose mismanagement endangers the public tranquillity. The Governor-General did not consider the case to require such an extreme measure; but, addressing the King, as a friend and well-wisher, solemnly warned him of the consequences of a systematic disregard of the Envoy's representations and advice.

In the same manner, mixing firmness with friendliness, and respect for individual treaties with determination to maintain the general peace, Sir Henry Hardinge endeavoured to persuade the foolish Nepal Rajah, the equally foolish Nizam, and the whole host of petty princes, to look to their own concerns; to conduct

themselves with moderation and good faith; and not to fear British encroachment.

As little communication as possible was kept up with Lahore; and the British Administration of the day, after years of war, and its baneful consequences, sat down in earnest hope of peace, improvement and retrenchment.

Sir Henry Hardinge lost no time in redeeming one of the most important of his pledges to the Court of Directors. On the 10th of October 1844 was passed that memorable education resolution by which employment under Government was secured to native youths whether educated in private* or Government schools, on proof shown of qualification, ability, studious habits and integrity. The effect of this noble resolution was immense; and the Calcutta Baboos especially, lost no time in responding to the call of Government. Early in December they called a Meeting, and voted an address of thanks, which was signed by more than 500 Native Gentlemen, presented to the Governor-General, and by him most graciously received and answered. He told the deputation that he advocated education as mutually beneficial to the Governors and the governed; that he felt the advantages to Government of the services of Natives of superior intelligence and integrity; but added that he patronized learning on the far higher principle that it increased the happiness and prosperity of society. His speech concluded with these words, "Rely upon it, gentlemen, you cannot perform a more patriotic service to your countrymen than by encouraging and promoting education among the native population."

The Governor-General on another occasion distributed the Prize medals at the Hindu College, and in reference to the speech he then made, a respectable Baboo declared, "never did words more convince me of the ardent sincerity of the speaker than did the unaffected but stirring language of Sir Henry Hardinge."

Having thus patronized the Hindus, the Governor-General early in March 1845, attended the distribution of Prizes and Scholarships at the Mahommedan College in Calcutta, where an address was delivered by the students, and received with the same encouraging kindness which had been shown to the disciples of the rival creed. In his reply Sir Henry Hardinge called the attention of his youthful audience to the exciting and wondrous

* It is to be regretted that, from the benefits of this truly liberal measure, *private* Institutions have hitherto been wholly shut out, owing to the narrow and exclusive test of examination which has been adopted. See 5th Miscellaneous Notice of No. IX. of this Review, for a full explanation of this important subject.

facts of Steam and Railroads; and the magic power conferred on man by the discovery of electro-magnetic telegraphs; showing how deeply even at that early day the mind of the Governor-General was impressed with the value of such means of communication in an empire so vast as that over which he ruled. Sir Henry concluded by holding out the encouraging example of a distinguished pupil of the college named Syud Hossein, who had recently been made a Deputy Magistrate, and among whose qualifications was a knowledge of English as well as of several Oriental languages.

The education Minute affected the middle and reading classes of the Natives; and much about the same time (30th October 1844) was issued a notification scarcely less interesting to the lowest and poorest. It involved a considerable reduction in the price of foreign salt. This measure, which had been contemplated during Mr. Bird's Deputy Governorship, seemed to be called for not less by motives of humanity than by the soundest maxims of policy. Nevertheless, the measure was regarded by many as a bold one; since it was expected to affect the revenue to the extent of not less than 12 lakhs of Rupees; and that at a time of great pecuniary pressure, at the close of a five years' war, and the opening of a new administration. There is, however, at least as much of wisdom as of mercy in all such reductions of duties; for by them smuggling is starved, and revenue ultimately augmented.

We come next to a question which has been much canvassed both in England and India;—corporal punishment in the army. A large majority of experienced Indian officers were agreed that Lord Wm. Bentinck's well meant abolition of flogging in the Native army had entirely failed as an experiment of discipline. Insubordination had increased. Evil doers were under no restraint; and a sepoy had actually on one occasion stepped out of the ranks and dared his Commanding officer; telling him that the worst punishment he could inflict was dismissal. It was proved, that, while on the old system the average instances of corporal punishment had not exceeded one in 700 per annum, the number sentenced, under the new system, to labor in irons on the roads had been not less than one in one hundred and fifty—amounting to as many as ten thousand in ten years,—a frightful catalogue, and one that the benevolent heart of Lord Wm. Bentinck could never have dreamt of. Abstractedly considered, corporal punishment is odious; but it is nevertheless true that many men in the Native as well as in the European ranks have gained and honored Commissions whose backs have been scored at the halberds; we much doubt, however, whether any have recovered

the moral searing of labouring with robbers and pick pockets on the public roads. The number alone of men punished by the new Code, was sufficient proof of its inefficiency. The punishment brought misery and dishonour into hundreds of innocent families; while, at the same time, from its being generally inflicted far from the scene of the offence, it was no example to the comrades of the offender, of the consequences of insubordination and neglect of duty.

But a cry had been raised in England against "the lash." With some right feeling, much sickly sentimentalism had been expended on it in Parliament, and by the Press. In India also there was opposition to the idea of restoring flogging to the list of Military penalties; and Sir James Lamley, the respected Adjutant General of the Bengal army, declared it not only unnecessary but highly dangerous.

Sir Henry Hardinge calmly heard all that was to be said on both sides; and, having given the opposing arguments the consideration of an experienced soldier, decided upon repealing Lord Wm. Bentinck's abolition. In a masterly record of his own views, he exposed the error of the prevailing system, mis-called *humane*, by exhibiting the statistics of its convictions and punishments; and then, separating *flogging* from *dismissal*, and showing that one was not a necessary consequence of the other, he stripped the bug-bear of half its ignominy, and all its worldly ruin.

Let us not be mistaken. We are no more advocates for flagellation than the softest hearted of our readers, but we know that the purposes of discipline, especially in camp and on service, often require instant and summary punishment for offences not in themselves involving moral degradation; and that, therefore, as one great object of all punishment is, or should be, the prevention of crime, it was not only justifiable but absolutely necessary that the law should be altered and discipline restored, by a return to a *modified and closely checked* system of corporal punishment. God forbid that any right-minded man should advocate flogging, except as the *effectual* substitute for the *ineffectual* punishments of imprisonment and death! Moreover, we would fence in the penalty with every possible restriction and never inflict a lash more than the particular case required. The purposes of discipline are as likely to be effected by 50 lashes as by 500, and in no case would we have them inflicted except under the orders of the chief Military authority on the spot. Prompt punishment is required for mutiny and insubordination—crimes, which, unless on the instant put down, soon convert obedient armies into ruffianly mobs. Neglectful com-

pliance with orders soon engenders jeers and abuse, then blows, and lastly bayonet thrusts or bullets. Twenty lashes within a few hours of the offence may suppress the spirit which, unchecked, requires the infliction of death.* On the other hand there is much detriment to the service, and no possible good to any party, in marching men as prisoners, as has been the case, from Afghanistan to the British Provinces or from Saugor to Arcot and Madras.

Some such thoughts as these must have been passing through the Governor-General's mind, when he summoned Lieut. Col. Birch, the able Judge Advocate General of the Bengal army, down from Simla to Calcutta; caused the whole of the articles of war to be revised; and, in the face of a still strong opposition, and at a time when he was told that a dangerous feeling of discontent was prevalent in the Native army, had the new Code quietly introduced. We can recollect that it was not without some misgivings that the first case of corporal punishment was enforced in our own neighbourhood: but neither then, nor since, have any murmurs been heard against the law. The quiet and well-disposed Native soldiers know that the punishment will never be their fate; and the dissolute and unruly have no voice or discretion in the matter; indeed, it is merciful to themselves to have a punishment which they dread.

We have said that the late Adjutant General was strongly opposed to the re-introduction of Flogging in the Native Army; but are happy to add that he lived to correct his error, and *acknowledge* it. We have still greater satisfaction in recording that the returns of the army in the three Presidencies shew that the punishment is *so rarely enforced, as to be almost a dead letter*.

We have enlarged on this topic, because we consider the restoration of corporal punishment as the boldest act of Lord Hardinge's Indian career. He found more than one Regiment in mutiny, and a feeling prevalent that a spark was all that was wanted to light a flame. A large proportion of the Native army was on, or near the frontier, subject to the temptations and seductions of the rioting Sikh troops, whose emissaries were leaving

* Within the year 1847 there have been full fifty convictions of European soldiers for gross insubordination. Almost all the offenders have been either imprisoned or transported: three were shot, but only three or four men were flogged. They received fifty lashes each, but we are inclined to believe that their convictions were not generally known when the crimes were committed that entailed corporal punishment.

The law, or rather its practice, still requires amendment. "An eye for an eye" is the law of retributive justice, and surely flogging is a more suitable punishment for the Soldier who strikes his Officer than transportation *which he desires*. We are satisfied, that, if the first ten of the culprits above noticed had, each within twenty four hours of his offence, received fifty lashes, and then been imprisoned, on the silent system, with hard labor for a twelve month or so, the three executions as well as the expence and loss of all the transportations would have been avoided.

no means untried to spread defection in our ranks. The Governor-General had before his eyes the fate of Sir John Craddock and Lord Wm. Bentinck, at Madras; and, little as was said when the event turned out happily and all went well, he must have foreseen as it were already in type, and only waiting for the printer's ink, the columns of invective and reprobation which would have assailed him had a single *file* demurred upon a punishment parade, much more if the new order had caused general disaffection among the Sepoys. An Aliwal is trumpeted even to nausea; but the bold experiment of legislation, the *moral* victory, whose loss would have been revolution, passes by unnoticed in the calm of its own success.

It was during the autumn of this year (1844) that the little war of Kolapore and Sawuntwarri took place. We have already (in No. VII. September 1845.) pretty fully detailed its rise, progress, and termination, and have little to add to that account. The Governor-General is understood to have urged on the Bombay Government prompt and energetic measures, nor did he disguise his disapprobation of the dilatory proceedings of General Delamotte and his colleagues; and though a member of the Cabinet which had approved, or at least shielded, the appropriation of Sindh, might well have been expected to be prejudiced against the sturdy advocate of the unfortunate Amirs, Sir Henry at once approved of the nomination of Lieut. Colonel Outram to the command of a light field force; and that able and gallant officer, as we shewed at the time, justified the confidence reposed in him by bringing hostilities to a speedy close.*

The war concluded; able officers were nominated to conduct the civil management of the lately disturbed tract, where—much in the manner recommended in our pages at the time—the whole authority was left in the hands of the British agents; in Kolapore during the minority of the Prince; in Sawuntwarri apparently for ever. All has since remained perfectly tranquil in that quarter, mainly owing to the same means that have more recently tranquillized the Punjab. The forts were dismantled, or occupied for the Government; the hereditary Militia honestly disposed of, paid up and discharged; or such as had claims retained and usefully employed in police and other duties. There is a favorite and true saying in the East that without “*siyasut*” there can be no “*riyasut*,” or—to be intelligible at home—that severity is inseparable from good government. And on this principle the Governor-General acted

* In reference to Colonel Outram's services on this occasion, we understand Lord Hardinge to have said, that he was just the sort of fellow he would wish to have in the field at the head of a Light Brigade.

in the case before us. He insisted on the punishment of the leaders of the insurrection ; but forgave all others.

Immersed in these high duties of a Civil ruler ; patronizing literature, encouraging education, cheapening the poor man's food, drawing tight the bands of military discipline, maintaining peace, and repudiating aggression,—the charge has been brought against Lord Hardinge that he desecrated not the cloud which was rising over the North-West Frontier ; that he permitted the Sikh invasion to take him by surprise ; and thus jeopardised the empire, and sacrificed many valuable lives. Strange to say, the most forward of these accusers has been the *Quarterly Review*, the political organ of His Lordship's party. We have placed the title of the offending number at the head of our article, because we are prepared to prove that the assertions which it contains are as groundless, as they are injurious to Lord Hardinge's reputation ; and because the explanation afterwards offered by the *Quarterly* was tantamount to no explanation at all.

The Mail which first bore to England the news of the Sikh invasion, carried, we believe, only a hasty and exaggerated account of the battle of Múdkí ; and in a time of profound peace the country was aroused with the intelligence that nearly 100,000 Sikhs* were encamped upon British territory and threatening a British outpost. Public confidence, and common sense, fled at the announcement ; and without reflecting that the beleaguered post was held by the best General Officer in the Bengal Army, at the head of 10,472 men ; that this force which had the advantage of holding a walled town and a partly intrenched cantonment, was more than double that which won the battle of Assaye, and four times that which stemmed the whole torrent of Holkar's Army at Dehli ;† and above all that those most qualified to judge (Sir Hugh Gough, Sir John Littler, and Brigadier Wheeler,) were perfectly satisfied not only of the safety of Ferozepore but also of Lúdíana ;—without giving a moment's consideration to any of these things the Press assumed defeat, in the interval between the two Mails, and a portion of it yelled for the recall of an "imbecile" Governor, and an "incapable" Commander-in-Chief. Other Mails arrived ; and with them the tidings of the glorious victories of Ferozshah, Aliwal, and Sobraon. And when Sir Robert Peel in Parliament, in that clear and convincing

* We do not estimate the Sikh Army which crossed the Sutlej at more than 60,000 ; but the crowds of armed plunderers, who flocked in the train of the Camp to what they deemed certain victory, swelled the invading force to at least 100,000.

† Burn and Ochterlony had 2½ Regiments and some untrustworthy irregulars. Holkar mustered 70,000 men!

manner for which his statements are remarkable, detailed the policy which had been observed by the Governor-General towards the Lahore Durbar—although the Right Honorable Baronet, in avoiding exaggeration, very largely understated the strength of the frontier posts at the time of the Sikh irruption,—yet the house and the country generally, went with him when in concluding that part of his speech he declared,—“ *It is quite clear that my gallant friend the Governor-General did take every precaution to ensure the safety of the British dominions in India, in case of sudden and unprovoked attack.*”

The *Quarterly Review* undertook for “the incapable Commander-in-Chief,” the same friendly office which the Premier had performed for “the imbecile Governor-General :” And zealously did it execute the task. But it was not content with eloquently advocating the claims which that undaunted leader had upon his country's admiration. In the warmth of Biography it forgot History ; and taking for its model those warlike medals in which the erect figure of the victor is made to appear gigantic by the corpses prostrate at his feet ; it elevated the subject memoir *by denying* all merit, all sagacity, all Military of it's fore-thought, to his friend and superior, the Governor-General, beyond the bold-heartedness that is common to every British Soldier.

The words of the Reviewer are as follows:—“ If there had been urgent arguments addressed to Lord Ellenborough in favor of a peaceful reign, the wish both of the Directors and of the cabinet on that head was expressed with increased earnestness to Sir Henry Hardinge. It is necessary to state all this clearly, in order that the true causes of our seeming unpreparedness to encounter the danger of a Sikh invasion, when it came, may be understood. Sir Henry entered upon the duties of his office more anxious than perhaps any other Governor-General had ever been before him to signalize the entire term of his residence in India by the useful labors of peace. At the same time *he did not consider himself bound either to censure or to retrace the steps which his predecessor might have taken in an opposite direction.* He found that the attention of Lord Ellenborough had been turned seriously towards the North-Western Frontier THAT ALL THE TOWNS FROM DELHI TO KURNAUL WERE FILLED WITH TROOPS ; that the Commander-in-Chief had already surveyed the whole extent of the protected states with a view to make choice of Military positions ; and that the advanced posts of Ludiana and Ferozepore were garrisoned. Sir Henry Hardinge neither undid any thing of all this, nor

'found fault with it; but he carefully abstained from the discussion in Council or elsewhere of topics which might turn men's thoughts to War; and, without neglecting any necessary preparations, bent himself to the arrangement of plans for the better education of the people of India, &c. pp. 187, 188, No. 155. Quarterly Review, June 1846.'

"Sir Henry Hardinge continued the winter of 1844, and the early spring of 1845, to prosecute his plans for the general improvement of India. That he kept his eye upon the Punjab, and was neither regardless of the confusion into which its affairs were falling, nor of the consequences to which this might probably lead, is most certain. He had already directed that the works both at Lúdiana and Ferozepore should be strengthened; and raised the garrison of the latter place from four thousand to seven thousand men. The former was held by about six thousand; and at Umballa, where Gough's Head Quarters were established, and among the Cantonments in its rear, lay about seven thousand five hundred, of all arms. *But as Sir Henry certainly did not anticipate that the whole power of the Punjab would be thrown across the Sutlej, he naturally concluded that there was force enough at hand to meet and repel whatever invasion might be hazarded.*"—Page 189, No. 155, *Quart. Review*, June, 1846.

Such entire ignorance of localities, and of what, in reality, had been done on the frontier is displayed throughout the article on which we are commenting, that if we were writing for India alone, the *Reviewer* might safely be left to his own meditations; but, as an air of authority pervades his essay, it may be necessary to remark, for the benefit of readers in Europe, that not only "all the towns from Delhi to Kurnaul were" *not* "filled with Troops," but that not a single soldier was stationed in any one of them at the period referred to; moreover, that Kurnaul itself had been abolished as a military station, a twelve month before Lord Hardinge arrived in India.

If the English language conveys any meaning at all, the extracts we have quoted imply that Lord Ellenborough had prepared every thing on the frontier for war; that Lord Hardinge refrained out of delicacy from countermanding those preparations, which he however considered unnecessary; but that he as carefully refrained from adding to them a single man or a gun, except at the post of Ferozepore; satisfied that the force which his predecessor had collected between Meerut and the Sutlej was "enough to meet and repel whatever invasion might be hazarded."

The Table below will show how the case really stands :*

Post.	Strength as left by Lord Ellenborough	Do. at first breaking out of War.	Increased preparation made by Lord Hardinge.
Ferozepore,.....	4,596 men 12 guns.	10,472 men 24 guns.	5,876 men 12 guns.
Lúdiaua,	3,030 men 12 guns.	7,235 men 12 guns.	4,205 men 0 guns.
Umballa,.....	4,113 men 24 guns.	12,972 men 32 guns.	8,859 men 8 guns.
Meerut,	5,873 men 18 guns.	9,844 men 26 guns.	3,971 men 8 guns.
Whole Frontier, exclusive of Hill Stations which remained the same.	17,612 men 66 guns.	40,523 men 94 guns.	22,911 men 28 guns.

Yes; as the *Quarterly Review* in self-correction says in its "Note," two numbers later, "The state of preparation with reference to the Sikhs, at the time of his arrival in India, (July 1844) *did not satisfy him* (Lord Hardinge) *at all*. On the contrary, within three weeks of his arrival in Calcutta,—as soon, that is, as he had received from the Commander-in-chief a correct state of the distribution of the force in advance, *he came to the conclusion that it would by no means suffice, even for defensive purposes; and that it was wholly inadequate to carry on an offensive war, should such be forced upon him*. In like manner the answers to his inquiries relative to the state of the Magazines and means of transport, declared, that to assemble 36,000 men—the total amount of

* We have taken these figures chiefly from a "Note" which we can scarcely say appeared, but which is to be found, in the 157th No. of the *Quarterly Review*, of December 1846. The materials of this "Note" the Editor says he received "from India;" and that he advances them "on authority which it is impossible to controvert;" yet it will scarcely be credited that after having, six months previously, in a widely circulated article on the War, disseminated the belief that the Military Governor-General of India had been so absorbed in peaceful occupations as to forget his frontier and endanger the Empire; when in process of time he received "from India" and "on authority" the completest refutation in figures and facts; the only *amende* which he makes as an historian and instructor of the public mind, is to smuggle the contradiction into his 157th number, at the bottom of a page and the tail end of an article on "the state of Ireland"!!!—This too without any announcement in the Table of Contents either on the cover, or fly-leaf, that such a "Note" was to be found by any one anxious to know the truth about the War in India. We wish not to be uncharitable; but it is apparent that if there had been as much desire to make known the corrections, as to blazon the errors some more conspicuous place would have been found for the "Note," and the usual means have been adopted of attracting the attention of the Reader, by including it in the table of Contents. That we are not imagining a grievance is proved by the fact that the Indian papers which copied the entire original article of nearly 40 pages, took no notice, so far as we know, of the *Note* of scarcely more than three. This can only be attributed to their being unaware of its existence. Certainly they could not have found it devoid of interest.

'troops stationed within a circuit of some hundreds of miles—
'would require two months after the order to concentrate should
'have reached Benares. Sir H. Hardinge saw that this state of
'things would never do; and he began forthwith to reinforce
'every post in advance—yet did it so quietly, that even in our own
'provinces the operation passed unnoticed."—*Note in No. 157.*

The result was that before he had been three months in India, Sir Henry Hardinge had several Corps marching from the farthest confines of the Bengal Presidency towards the N. W. Frontier; apparently in the usual course of relief; but "giving orders that not a man should withdraw from his position till the relief arrived; upon one pretext or another he kept the whole together; thus doubling without the smallest appearance of care on that head, his disposable force."—*Note in Quarterly Review, No. 157.*

With a similar prescience of their coming necessity, the Governor-General in September, 1844, only two months after his arrival in India, gave orders for European barracks to be built at Ferozepore, and they were completed in April, 1845. In January, 1845 Sir Henry wrote *privately* to the Governors of Madras and Bombay for remount horses; and borrowed 600 from the former and 500 from the latter, for his Artillery; 968 of which reached Muttra in November, 1845, *before the War broke out.*

From Bombay also the Governor-General summoned H. M.'s 14th light dragoons, foreseeing that if there was a war the British Cavalry on the Frontier would have warm work of it.

Equal preparation was made in the Ordnance Department. In January, 1845, the horses of Light Field Batteries were increased from 98 to 130; four Bullock Batteries got horses; and two Batteries of iron 12-pounder Batteries were prepared with elephants.

"It was not, however, by providing men and guns alone that the Governor-General put matters in a train against every emergency. Fifty-six large boats prepared by Lord Ellenborough were brought up from the Indus, and reached Ferozepore in September, 1845. The flooring, grappling, cables, &c., arrived likewise complete; and a pontoon train was borrowed from Sindh, and rendered available. It was this forethought which enabled the Engineers to lay down the bridge below Ferozepore in the course of one night and one day; and to do their work so securely, that the whole of the invading force—24,000 strong, with 40 pieces of siege-cannon, 100,000 camp followers, and 68,000 animals—passed without the occurrence of a single accident."—*Quarterly Review, note in No. 157.*

To quote still further from the ungracious recantation of the *Quarterly*; "it appears in a word, that the new Governor-Gener-

ral judged it necessary to re-arrange with the concurrence of the C. C. the whole plan of distribution; and the result of his arrangements was that no less than 14,000 British soldiers fought at Múdkí five days after the declaration of War; and after leaving a strong detachment with the baggage, 17,727 men, including seven English Regiments and 69 guns at Ferozshah three days later." These figured statements, are a sufficient answer to the charge against the Governor-General of being unprepared; for no one who has seen a single Regiment, much less a brigade or Division move, can be ignorant that the rapidity with which this force was concentrated was unprecedented in Indian warfare, —that not a tithe of the amount was ever before assembled in an equally brief period—and that, without long continued previous preparation, not one-half of it could possibly have been brought to bear within any reasonable time.

To assist, however, a just estimate of what Lord Hardinge did in the way of preparation, let us reduce our speculation to one simple question; viz. If, out of 32,479 men including the European Regiments in the Hills at and above Umballa in December 1845, only 17,727 men could be brought into action after junction with the Lúdiana and Ferozepore forces; and, if that number but just sufficed to beat back the most formidable enemy and win one of the most bloody battles which British India has ever witnessed;—what sort of an army could the Commander-in-chief have assembled and brought into the field, and what would have been the position of the empire, had the strength of the frontier at and above Umballa remained as Lord Ellenborough left it in July 1844, at 13,538?

Thus far we have only compared Lord Hardinge's Military preparations on the N. W. Frontier, with those of his immediate predecessor, who contemplated not merely *defensive*, but *offensive* operations; because the narrow limits of a Review forbid us to extend the retrospect. But should the Historian in his search after materials, ever glance his eye over these pages, we call upon him to go farther back and bring the light of former times and former administrations, to bear upon the one before us. Let him tell the mole-eyed critics of one war, how other wars came upon British India; how the Indian army was *prepared* when the Government had virtually broken the treaty with Mysore; when Hyder Ali's invasion burst upon our defenceless frontier; when his hordes swept the country around Madras; and, having destroyed one army, and paralyzed the only other in the field, his nightly watchfires illumined the senators of the "benighted Presidency!" *How prepared*, when the Burmans broke through treaties, invaded our territories and for six months sat down in

front of our hastily assembled army ; and how prepared when the Nepalese murdered our Police officers, occupied our lands, and one after the other destroyed our detachments ! Or, as more akin to what might have been expected from the Sikhs ; what was the extent of our preparation when, on two occasions, the Mahrattas confederated against us, or even when the Pindarri bands burst upon our borders and devastated our districts ? When all shall have been fairly told, it will be, we think, unnecessary to add that in no one of these instances were we in a tenth degree as well prepared for war as in 1845, though in all we had at least as much reason to expect it.

The retrospect may be further pursued. Was there less cause, antecedently, to dread the Mysore troops, the Burmans, the Mahrattas, and the Nepalese, than the Sikhs ? Which of all these enemies had the best Military reputation ; and which was considered in India most formidable to the British Empire ? Was it the warlike banded force of Mysore, led by French Officers under their able, unscrupulous, and powerful chief, in the first flush and tide of his conquests, and in the hour of our greatest weakness ; the disciplined and veteran Battalions of Perron and De Boigne, backed by a formidable artillery and by bands of hardy cavalry ; the undaunted and energetic Gúrkhas proud of a hundred victories ; the lusty Burmans scarce rested from a long career of unchecked success ;—or, was it the *supposed* rabble of dissolute and mutinous Sikhs, with weapons scarce cleansed from the murder of their Sovereign, and the massacre of their best and bravest leaders ? Anarchy doubtless has its strength. Its wild impulsive throes may overthrow whatever is immediately within its reach, and by a mad assault may even surprise and conquer kingdoms ; but it was left for the Sikh soldiery to prove that the centurion and the sentinel may be training themselves for offensive war, while apparently busied in murdering their consuls and their tribunes ;—France herself cannot show such an example. The French were invaded ; the Sikhs were invaders.

And let not the historian, who begins the parallel we have suggested, stop here. Let him, after showing how former wars came upon British India, set forth how they were *carried on* by the administrations of the day ; let him recount the dangers and destitution of Rangoon, the six months' delay at Chittagong, the constant famine-stricken state of the Arracan Division, and the little better condition, and still worse results of General Shouldham's column, during the Burman war ; the disasters of the two Woods, the defeat and death of the gallant Gillespie, the fruitlessness of the whole first Nepal Campaign, and the all but failure of the

second,—saved only by Ochterlony's happy rashness; the starving state of the Army at Kandahar and Ghuzni, and lastly the battles of Meaní and Dubba fought just after a British Regiment had been sent by one route out of Sindh, and the Bengal column by another;—and then, let him compare these blunderings into a victory, with the noiseless combinations of Lord Hardinge, who, in nine days after the invasion, brought no less than 17,600 men (among whom were no less than seven* British Regiments) into action at Ferozshah, and six weeks later finished the campaign with an addition to his European force of two Regiments of Infantry and two of Cavalry at Sobraon; so that the most terrible war which has ever threatened our empire was gloriously concluded in sixty days, at which period Sir Charles Napier, with a reinforcement of 16,500 fresh men and 50 guns, was close at hand! We have thrown out these last suggestions to those who read or may one day add to the History of India. We must leave the campaign to stand upon its own merits, unrelieved by the contrast of others less successful; and feel sure that after a calm perusal of the facts we have adduced and the *figures* we have given—those obstinate and indelible proofs—it will seem astonishing to our readers that the cry of want of preparation should ever have been raised against Lord Hardinge; and that 22,911 men and 28 guns should steal up so softly to the frontier as to be unnoticed even by the newspapers. In the end, however, according to the old motto, "truth will prevail" even in the teeth of a "*Quarterly Review*;" and whenever the time shall come (may it be distant!) for History calmly to review the closed list of Lord Hardinge's Military deeds in India, we believe that this very quality of *foresight*, which, from ignorance of *facts concealed by himself*, he is now so strangely denied, will be accounted foremost among his claims to the title of an able General. It is true that his fire and vigour in action at sixty does no shame to the glories of his early fields; but his *main excellence* consists in prudence of preparation, and that accurate calculation of time, place, necessity, and result, which in strategy is called combination. Seldom indeed in any country has been found a soldier who so minutely entered into the economical details of his Army, who so thoroughly understood those details, and as far as in him lay brought them to bear upon the work in hand. We wish too that he could have left behind him in India a little of that "*mens æqua rebus in arduis*," which is so happily perpetuated on his medal. Our countrymen in the prostrate East become enervated by long prosperity; and little

* There being at the time only eleven in the Bengal Presidency.

fitted to meet even temporary trouble. Like the Romans of old, we have vitality enough to survive a Thrasymentus or a Cannæ, but we not only cannot forgive a Varro, but find it difficult to understand a Fabius. We are too loud in consternation at occasional disaster and unaccustomed loss; and in scanning the conduct of our leaders are too ready on half information, or no information at all, to register as dastards and imbeciles, men who—perhaps before we were born—had proved themselves in the field, and in the cabinet, both brave and wise.

Among the injurious insinuations of the "*Quarterley Review*" in chronicling events previous to the war, it was pretty broadly implied that not only did not the Governor-General make military preparation himself, but that he would not allow the Commander-in-Chief to do so for him. As an instance, the supposed marching and counter-marching of the Meerut division, was quoted; and we now extract the same Reviewer's recantation '*upon authority which it is impossible to controvert.*'"

"For example, at page 190, Sir Henry Hardinge is described as arresting, in November, 1845, the advance of a force which Sir Hugh Gough had ordered up from Meerut, and declining to reinforce the Garrison of Ferozepore with an additional European Regiment. This turns out not to have been the case. No regiments were ordered to remove from Meerut, so early as the month of November, with the exception of H. M.'s 9th Lancers; and even that corps was subsequently halted ~~at~~ the Commander-in-Chief's suggestion. Other regiments were directed to *hold themselves in readiness*—and that they were in a condition to move so early as the 11th of December, was owing entirely to the vigorous measures adopted by the Governor General in his dealings with the Commissariat."

Not only, indeed was the Governor-General no stop upon the Commander-in-Chief's proceedings, but the two veterans were united in opinion both as to the measure of danger, and the means of meeting it. Both believed that the frontier might be insulted, perhaps invaded, by desultory hordes of marauding horse, and loose bands of Akalis; but neither imagined that the threat which, since the death of Runjit Singh, had so often been idly made in our times of trouble and even of peril, would now be carried out at a period of perfect peace, when the undivided resources of the British Indian Empire were available to repel attack. And it should be remembered that they held this opinion in common with Major Broadfoot, Captain P. Nicolson,* Mr. Currie, Sir John Littler,

* A very erroneous idea was prevalent after the Sikh War with regard to its having been foreseen by some of the Political officers on the Frontier and not by others. It

Brigadier Wheeler, Captain C. Mills, and indeed all the ablest and best informed officers on the Frontier. Time has shewn the error of the belief; and recorded it in the blood of the two first of the wise and gallant men we have enumerated; but even after this lapse of time, and familiar as we are with the actual result, their judgment seems to us sound and consistent with *human* reason and probability. For it was *not* credible that the Lahore Government would calmly sit down in the midst of its difficulties, and make the horrible calculations which it did of its inability to stand another month against the Army—that the next revolution would be directed against the lives and properties of the few surviving Sirdars; and that the vengeance of a foreign Army would be a lesser evil than the fury of its own,—that, *therefore*, it was expedient to fling the soldiery upon British India, supplying them with every possible means of success, taking, if unsuccessful, the chance of clemency and forgiveness, and if victorious the merit and profit of repelling the English from Hindustan. We repeat that this calculation was too monstrous to be altogether credible, though not too

has been said—chiefly, we believe, on the authority of private letters, some brief and hurried expressions of which might very easily be misconstrued by inexperienced readers at a distance,—that Captain Nicolson was always of opinion that the Invasion would occur, but that Major Broadfoot scouted the idea; and this has been made a handle for exalting the sagacity of the former at the expense of the latter. Captain Nicolson was an able and zealous officer, and did his best at a difficult time; certainly his manly and upright character wants not the support of an untruth! We have seen copies of more than one of Captain Nicolson's letters written just before the Sikhs crossed. In one to Captain Mills, so late as the 2nd of December 1845, he wrote, "I do not think the Sikh Army will come on, but it is feverish." "The whole army with guns and commissariat to some extent is ready for a start, but I cannot help thinking it is taking up its position rather with a view to defence *in case of our advance** than with the idea of crossing the Sutlej *en potence*. Small bands of them we must look for, &c. &c."—and again the very next day to Major Broadfoot—"If the Sikhs do cross the river it will be for plunder; but I do not think they will cross. Small independent bodies may." Shortly after the war we saw some original letters of the same officer to Major Broadfoot, and though we cannot recall the exact words, we can positively state that up to the last moment they expressed a firm belief that the Sikh Army, *as an Army*, would never be mad enough to cross the Sutlej. We mention these facts, not to depreciate Captain Nicolson's real merits; but simply to vindicate the memory of Major Broadfoot, who had no equal on the Frontier, and few perhaps in India.—Captain Nicolson having been Major Broadfoot's assistant could have had no other sources of information than those open to his official superior. By his position at Ferozepore he only saw and heard what was reported a few hours later to Broadfoot, and what the latter could corroborate or correct by Captain Mills' and his own immediate emissaries. We have quoted the opinions of all on the Frontier that the enemy would not cross, *as an Army*. To their testimony we may add that of Major Lawrence in Nepal and Captain Cunningham at Bahawalpur, both of whom it is understood discredited the *fact* of the invasion *after* it had occurred. But we needlessly accumulate evidence on the subject. We very much doubt whether the Sikhs themselves knew their *own* intentions 24 hours before they carried them out. *They had prepared the means of a great military movement—chance—accident—caprice determined the quarter against which it should be directed.*

* The italics are ours.

monstrous to be true. We have shewn that Lord Hardinge did not credit its probability, but *was* prepared for its possibility.

A few words will not be misplaced here as to the bygone policy of our Government on the frontier in question.

It has ever been the wish of the British Government to assist in the maintenance of a strong Sikh Government in the Punjab. It is understood that those who had the best means of forming a judgment on the question, Colonel Richmond, Major Broadfoot, Colonel Lawrence, and Mr. Clerk—in whatever other points they may have differed, were all agreed in this, that no advantage that might be gained by annexation could equal that of having an independent and warlike but friendly people between us and the loose, wild Mahomedan hordes of Central Asia. Not that the latter are in themselves formidable, even in their own country; but that their unsettled Government, or too often absence of all Government, must ever render them unsatisfactory neighbours. Much however as the maintenance of a Sikh Government in the Punjab was desired, it was early perceived that the chances were against it. One after another the ablest men in that unhappy country were cut off; falling by each other's hands or plots; often the assassin with his victim.*

The violent death of Jowahir Singh, though for an instant it promised to prevent hostilities, in the end rather accelerated than postponed them. No man dared to seize the helm. Raja Lal Singh was not wanting in courage; and Maharaja Golab Singh has abundance; but neither coveted the Viziership of the "Búrcha Raj,"† which involved responsibility to a thousand exacting masters. Intoxicated with success at home, where no man's honor was safe from their violence, where they had emptied the coffers of the state, and plundered those of Junmú; the unsated soldiery now sought to help themselves, from the Bazars and treasuries of Delhi. This madness of the Sikh army was the true cause of invasion, and not either the acts of the British Government, or its Agents.

Next to Runjit Singh, Maharaja Sher Singh, was the truest friend in the Punjab to the British alliance. He was not a

* Dr. MacGregor, in his History of the Sikhs, naively mentions the name of the Múnshi who now holds Raja Dhyán Singh's written order for the murder of Maharaja Sher Singh; and also the one written by Ajit Singh for that of the false Vizier; but his believing in the existence of such documents only proves how little qualified the Doctor is for the office of the Historian. Asiatic Ministers in general are much too prudent to give *written* orders for the assassination of their rivals or masters; Rajah Dhyán Singh was the last man in the world to have put on record such a document!

† "Búrcha:" somewhat equivalent to our Butcher, was the designation applied to the Lahore Pretorians during their reign of terror.

wise man, but in this at least he shewed wisdom. Few indeed are the native chiefs, or natives of any rank, whose wisdom is consistent and complete. Many are clever in the extreme, acute, persevering, energetic, able to compete with the best of Europeans in ordinary matters, to surpass them in some; but the most accomplished character among them has its flaw. We never yet met one that was not an infant at some hour of the day, or on some question of life. Maharaja Sher Singh is an instance. Brave, frank, and shrewd, he might have been a strong, if not a great Ruler, had he not been the slave of sensuality, and shrunk from the exertion of opposing the Jummû brothers. He felt himself in their toils, but lacked the energy to snap the cords. He saw that they ruled, though he was King. He wanted the resolution to act as one.

It is as difficult for an administration to shape its conduct so as to please all parties as it is for an individual to do so. Great was the outcry against Lord Auckland for anticipating, what he believed, invasion; and as loud against Lord Hardinge, because he acted contrarily. It is now much the fashion, in some quarters little cognizant of facts, to declare that among the duties of the Paramount Power is the obligation to interfere in the concerns of every state of India at all internally disturbed. The loudest setters forth of such doctrines, however, shut their eyes to the fact that interference may possibly rather increase than prevent mischief, and that British Troops, once marching into any native state, the independence of that state then virtually ceases. In short, that unless we subdue and occupy for ourselves, which under the circumstances here referred to, we have no right to do, the chances are that we inflict injury rather than confer benefit. Interference therefore must be made on pure motives, for the good of the people and not for the improvement of the finances of India. The day has gone by for annexing principalities, because they are rich and productive. The spirit of the age is against such benevolence. With so much of preliminary remark, we may observe that it is now no secret, that in the spring of 1841 Maharaja Sher Singh *did* make overtures to the British Government, and was offered an armed interference in his favor. A force of 10 or 11,000 men, was moreover actually told off, and under preparation at Kurnaul, to move into the Punjab under Major General Sir James Lumley; and the vituperators of Lord Hardinge's preparations for the defence of the frontier will—ought to be—"at a loss for words to express their indignation," when they hear that only four years previous to the Sikh Invasion of British India, it was calmly contemplated to march a

force not exceeding that of Sir John Littler's at Ferozepore to Lahore, to put down the whole mutinous Sikh Army.

In referring to this circumstance, however, we are far from desiring to make it the handle of an imputation against Lord Auckland's Administration: we only give it its weight in judging of Lord Hardinge's military prudence. The intentions of Lord Auckland and of his advisers were most pure: his Lordship was perfectly aware of the dangers of interference, but he believed that the benefits to all parties would outweigh the evils. He acted on the light of his day. He calculated on divisions in the Sikh camp, separation of interests in the Sikh Durbar, and immediate junction of the Maharaja and his partisans with the British auxiliary force. And the event might certainly have justified the measure; but we doubt whether the military movement, much less the political scheme, would have succeeded. For if the Sikh soldiers could drag their chiefs and officers over the border which Runjit Singh had never crossed but to repent, and there induce them to lay down their lives for the Khalsa, how much greater must have been their influence, how infinitely more determined would have been their opposition, had *we* been the invaders of Umritsur and Lahore. Our own opinion is that a massacre of Sher Singh and his adherents would have closely followed the British passage of the Sutlej, and that the whole Khalsa Army and the flower of the Jat population would have united to oppose us in one decisive action which would have destroyed our army, or have given us the keys of the Capital. Our British Indian readers—many we trust heroes of the Sutlej—are now in a position to judge as accurately as we can of what might have been the result; but let them in fairness remember, that their own knowledge is recent and dear bought *experience*, and not *prescience*: perhaps at the opening of the War of 1845 they themselves (as the custom was in the British Camp) both thought and talked contemptuously of the Sikh army. How then shall any man “throw a stone” at Lord Auckland, who only trod in the steps of those who went before him, and whose opinions were—in this respect at least, enthusiastically embraced by *his successor*.

Within a twelvemonth, the Kabul catastrophe depressed our Military reputation in India more than any disaster since the retreat of Monson. The necessity was recognized of making extraordinary efforts to recover our pre-eminence and our prestige. Yet General Pollock's avenging army never exceeded 10,000 men, until united with Sale, when with Irregulars “of all sorts,” it might have mustered 15,000 of all arms.

It may be said, "Lord Ellenborough relied upon Sikh friendship and co-operation, or he would never have permitted so small a British force to carry on operations at the further extremity of the Punjab." On the contrary, Lord Ellenborough recorded on the 15th March 1842 his opinion that no reliance was to be placed on the Sikh Sirdars or Soldiers co-operating with the General; and ordered accordingly that the army should not advance, unless General Pollock could "by his own strength overawe and overcome all who dispute the pass, and keep up at all times his communication with Peshawur and the Indus." Thus wrote the Governor-General, who was at heart a Soldier; and, as the advance took place we must presume, the General, who was chosen from all India to the high office of avenging his country, felt himself equal to the task, and that the Political Officers (Mackeson, Lawrence, MacGregor and Shakespeare) employed under his orders, saw no peculiar danger in the move. In short Lords Auckland and Ellenborough, backed by public opinion, based a mighty military operation on the belief that a British army no larger than Littler's at Ferozepore,* though watched by 30,000 disaffected Sikhs, could "by their own strength" force the formidable Khyber; and when reinforced by Sale, could "keep up their communications with the Indus."

When we remember Plassey, Buxar and numberless other victories of early days; when we call to mind that the great Duke in the face of Holkar, the most dangerous enemy we had encountered since the days of Hyder Ali, divided his scarce 10,000 men, and with less than half that number fought and won the glorious battle of Assaye; when indeed we review all our greatest battles in Burmah, Nepal, India, Afghanistan, and China, and see what handfulls were enough for Victory, and lastly when we acknowledge the estimation in which, with very few exceptions, our officers held Sikh Soldiers *till they tried them*, in 1845; surely we need not too closely scrutinize either the intentions of Lord Auckland or the overt acts of Lord Ellenborough. But if we can—nay if we must—exculpate those noblemen, how unjust to arraign Lord Hardinge? The armed interference contemplated by Lord Auckland was postponed by the vacillation of Sher Singh and the lateness of the season, until at last it was prevented altogether by the Kabul catastrophe. On the return of Generals Pollock and Nott from

* We refer the curious reader to the Afghan Blue Book, No. 80, for Sir Jasper Nicholl's own expression of his "extreme unwillingness" to part with his Brigades. There is much food for reflection in the mode Colonel Wild was first sent up to Peshawur, and General Pollock, and then Colonel Bolton successively followed.

Affghanistan, Lord Ellenborough at the head of 40,000 men and 101 guns, met them at Ferozepore. Early in 1843 the assembled thousands dispersed, and the frontier station was left with only 2,500 men, and so remained until after the battles of Maharajpūr and Punnir, when it was strengthened by two Regiments. Lord Ellenborough contemplated the erection of a strong Fortress at Ferozepore, but the foundations were never laid; and the intrenchment that was substituted, scarcely, if at all, strengthened the position.

We may take this opportunity of stating the opinion to which mature consideration, and the gradual disclosure of facts, has led us; that,—whereas the War Establishment of the Indian army, including 33,000 British Soldiers, as also Irregulars and Contingents, did not exceed 300,000 men, and had to defend a frontier of 12,000 miles, and protect as well as coerce a population of not less than *100,000,000 souls, a large proportion being of warlike habits; and ill habituated to our yoke,—so far from Lord Hardinge having failed to bring up to the Frontier in 1845 every soldier that was available; his error lay, if any where, in having denuded the provinces by *bringing up too many*. But the result justified the measure, and showed that the Statesman had not been forgotten in the Soldier. At Gwalior, by Lord Ellenborough's arrangements, a hostile army of 30,000 men had merged into a friendly contingent of 6,000. Nepal was quiet, or at least engrossed in its own petty domestic broils; Burmah was somewhat similarly situated; Oude, the Deccan and Mysore preserved an obedient subordination; and from Rajpūtana Colonel Sutherland is said to have written that 100,000 gallant Rajpūts were ready to march to the support of Government. There remained then only the chances of domestic insurrection, and of disaffection in our own Army. How well the native Soldiery resisted all appeals, from the Lahore incendiaries; how true they were to their salt, when double pay with unlimited license was offered them; is best shewn by the fact that not above thirty men deserted from the Ferozepore garrison of 10,472; and that *after* hostilities commenced not an individual among them abandoned his colours; nor are we aware that twenty did so from the whole Army during the war.

Domestic insurrection was a more probable contingency. There is no denying that much alarm was felt in Bengal, and in those parts of the Agra presidency which were farthest from

* With a population of 34,000,000, the French Army is 450,000, or more than four to one of the Indian, in reference to population.

the seat of war; but a crude conspiracy at Patna, which injured only the few desperate men concerned in it, was the only treason of which we ever heard.

If however partial commotions had been the consequence of the withdrawal of troops from the lower provinces; it was perhaps wise to hazard them for the great purpose of bringing the war to a rapid and glorious close. The rising of a mob, or even the tumultuous gathering of armed men without discipline, or means, is a small matter when compared with the approaching tide of a Regular Army of 60,000 men, well supplied with Artillery, and daily swelled by numberless recruits of its own creed from the very country it invaded.

To combine the defence of the frontier with the defence of the provinces, one other alternative presented itself to Lord Hardinge. He might have increased the army. But he rejected the idea for reasons sufficiently obvious and cogent. Already the expences of the state were more than a million above the income; already the Government was threatened with bankruptcy.

Let us do justice therefore to the all but overwhelming difficulty of the Governor-General's position; and honor to the firmness with which he met and overcame it. It was, we may rely upon it, no easy task—no light responsibility—to defend a wide frontier with a scanty army, await a war with an empty treasury, and so cautiously prepare for hostilities as not to give cause for offence. The latter was hardest of all. The threatening rupture with the Khalsa might not come in a day, or a year, or might even be staved off for the duration of Lord Hardinge's administration; but in all human probability it was nigh at hand, could not be avoided, and *ye! in good faith could not be anticipated.*

Yes, it is our opinion that up to the date of the actual invasion we had no "casus belli;" and had we invaded the Punjab because the mad Sikh Soldiery, as they had often done before, threatened to invade *us*; the Princes of India would have supposed that our long and patient forbearance had been merely an untiring ambush,—a lying in wait till dissension had thinned the ranks of the Sikhs, in order that when they were exhausted with intestine strife, we might come forth and spring upon the prey. The press of Europe too would have found in such a questionable policy another theme for calumniating "perfidious Albion," and in all probability that very portion of the Indian press which has systematically assailed Lord Hardinge's "want of preparation" might have then been loudest in vituperating his *aggression.*

Native States have, at any rate, appreciated the chivalrous good faith which marked his conduct. Character, we can assure our friends is as useful, and "honesty as good policy" in Asia as in Europe. The Duke of Wellington, with reference to Gwalior, well said that he would prefer giving up any advantage to bringing by implication a stain upon our name. We would desire that our forbearance and good faith should ever prove to the millions who so closely watch our actions that we have come among them as messengers of peace, protection and good will; that we are slow to take offence, and abhor the subterfuges of the aggressor,—though, when injured, we have the power and the spirit to avenge ourselves. This train of thought pervades Lord Hardinge's policy, and we honor him for it.

Having now fully discussed the Governor-General's preparations for defensive war upon the N. W. Frontier, let us pass to the war itself,—first pausing a little to see what reason there was to expect invasion in 1845 more than in any other year since the death of Shere Singh, and next to add a few words as to how we had been prepared in former times to resist aggression.

Mr. Metcalfe's veto, rather than Ochterlony's Battalions, stopped Runjit Singh's southward career in 1808; and when the station of Lúdíana was established and left, with three or four Regiments, 150 miles in advance of all support, the British authorities must have either estimated the Sikhs very lightly or confided in them very implicitly. Thus Lúdíana remained for thirty years, until strengthened by Lord Ellenborough. But more extraordinary still, Ferozepore, though the base of the grand movement of Affghanistan, was, after the first few months, left with a garrison of three, four, and sometimes of even two Regiments.

How jealously Runjit Singh watched British movements in Affghanistan is well known; how he forbade the passage of the Punjab, obliging the army of the Indus to proceed by the wide circuit of Sindh and the Bolan Pass. How, after the Lion's death, Sir J. Keane's return to the provinces, during the cold weather of 1839-40, was only not opposed through the extraordinary personal influence of Mr. Clerk and the estimation in which he was held by the Sikhs, is also no secret. Those who were with Sir John may remember, that when he arrived at Shahdurra with the mere skeleton of a Brigade, and saluted the fort of Lahore, his compliment was not returned; and barely the commonest personal civilities paid to himself. Some at least of his companions may also remember that an

official notice then reached him from Captain Nuthall, an intelligent commissariat officer, who had been for months employed in collecting supplies in the Punjab, that a treacherous attack on his camp was intended, and that simultaneously with it the Sikhs purposed to cross the river, burn Ferozepore and march on Delhi. Whether there was any truth in the information is perhaps not now ascertainable, but one thing is certain, that, about the same time the British kafila for Affghanistan, on which our very existence in that country depended, was refused a passage; and not till after a month's delay, and *again* through Mr. Clerk's personal influence, was it permitted to pass.

The reader of the *Delhi Gazette* will also remember how, during the next year, 1840-41, Major Broadfoot's progress with Shah Sújah's family to Kabul was impeded as much by his own Sikh escort as by the mutinous soldiers on his way; and how, but for his own indomitable courage, he probably never would have reached his destination. It is also well known how *cordially*, in 1841-42, that ill-fated and ill-used officer Brigadier Wilde, was supported by his Sikh allies, and how, on General Pollock's arrival at Peshawur and during his two month's stay there, they were considered more as enemies than as friends; and yet, by entrusting them with the escort of our treasure and our supplies, the safety of the army was virtually placed in their hands!

But still more to the point are the little remembered facts, that, in the year 1843 and again in 1844, the Sikh army *actually left Lahore* with the declared purpose of invading the British provinces: the Frontier authorities considered it possible they *would* come, and General Vincent, commanding at Ferozepore a force scarcely half the strength of that of Sir John Littler, received his orders how to act *in case they should*. And yet, after all these threats, all these symptoms for years disregarded by two successive administrations, that of Lord Hardinge, *which alone took all the steps that could with propriety be taken, has been recklessly accused of neglect and supineness.*

We offer Sir Robert Peel's opinion in regard to the course pursued by Lord Hardinge, as expressed in the admirable speech already referred to:—

"It is quite clear that my gallant Friend the Governor-General did take every precaution to ensure the safety of the British dominions in India, in case of sudden and unprovoked attack. In the early part of the year, at the time when he was occupied with his functions as Governor-General, and when it was most material that he should perform them in conjunction with his Council at Calcutta; in a minute, dated on the 16th June, he submitted to the Council his opinion that our relations with the Court of Lahore became so doubtful, that, great as was the inconvenience of separating the

Governor-General and his Council, it was desirable, with reference exclusively to Indian interests, that he should proceed to the left bank of the Sutlej, in order that on the spot he might be enabled to give such directions as appeared necessary, and which, if given at the distance of a thousand miles, might be inappropriate. The unanimous opinion of the members of the Council was, that it was for the public interest that the Governor-General should proceed to join the army; and, in conformity with this advice, in the month of October he took his departure for the left bank of the Sutlej. Up to an early period in December, the opinion of my gallant Friend (Sir Henry Hardinge) was, that there would be no irruption from the right bank of the Sutlej into the British territory. He felt confident that the Sikhs must be convinced that such an attempt could only end in signal defeat, and therefore that it would not be made. So far as he could reason from experience, he had a right to arrive at this conclusion. In 1843, the army of Lahore left the capital and advanced to the Sutlej; but after remonstrance on our part it retired again and abandoned the enterprise. In 1844, exactly the same conduct was observed; the Punjab army, eager for pay, or for booty, if pay could not be obtained, and, instigated by the Government and the chiefs, appeared to contemplate an irruption; but, in 1844, as in 1843, the army withdrew to the interior. Accounts, however, reached my gallant Friend towards the end of November last, which led him to believe that an invasion of the British territory was seriously menaced. The House will find by the Papers recently presented by command of Her Majesty, that on the 20th November, Major Broadfoot addressed a letter to the Commander-in-Chief, and another to the Governor-General to this effect:—

“ Governor-General's Agency, Nov. 20, 1845.

“ Sir,—Since I had the honour of waiting on your Excellency to-day, I have received Lahore letters of the 18th instant (morning). During the night of the 17th, the chiefs had agreed on, and the Durbar had ordered in writing, the following plan of operations. The army was to be divided into seven divisions, one to remain at Lahore, and the rest to proceed against Roopur and our hills, Loodiana, Hureek, Ferozepore, and Scinde, while one was to proceed to Peshawur; and a force under Rajah Goleb Singh was to be sent to Attock.”

The decision then taken by the Lahore Durbar was, that four divisions were to be employed in an attack upon the British territory, but they were not to make a concentrated or simultaneous movement; and the policy of the course adopted by the Governor-General was thus demonstrated. The Lahore army, in four divisions, was to make four separate attacks on different points along the river—the first division was to force the eastern extremity of the line; another to attack Loodiana; a third pass the river at Hureek; and the fourth attack Ferozepore. Those divisions were to consist of about 8,000 men each. The House will see by reference to the Papers laid before them how difficult it was for any person, even the most experienced, to speculate on the decision to which the governing powers at Lahore might arrive. They will see, too, that the Ministers, or those who held the reins of government, spent their days in such continuous drunkenness and debauchery, that no resolution of theirs could be depended on. An account written by the Agent at Lahore, to the Secretary to Government, dated Umballah, November 21st, founded on information received direct from Lahore, presents this picture of the councils of the Punjaub:—

“ The Raneé (that is, the regent, the mother of the infant Maharajah) complained that whilst the troops were urging the march, they were still going home to their villages as fast as they got their pay; and Sirdar Sham Singh Attarewallah declared his belief that unless something was done to stop this, he would find himself on his way to Ferozepore with empty tents. The bait of money to be paid, and to accompany them was also offered, and at length the Durbar broke up at two p. m. Great consultations

took place in the afternoon; but I know only one result, that the Ranee had to give her lover his formal dismissal, and that he (Rajah Lal Singh) actually went into the camp of the Sawars he is to command, and pitched his tent. What the Ranee says is quite true of the sepoy's dispersing to their houses; the whole affair has so suddenly reached its present height, that many of the men themselves think it will come to nothing, and still more who had taken their departure do not believe it serious enough to go back. On the day after this scene took place, i. e. the 19th, the usual stream of sepoy's, natives of the protected States, who had got their pay, poured across the Sutlej, at Hureekkee, on the way to their home."

There appears also an account of another conversation, in those papers, which took place between the Rajah Lal Singh and Bhaee Ram Singh, one of the principal officers and advisers of the Lahore Government, and who seems to have been the only one of them in whom, from his character and wisdom, the slightest confidence could be placed. In a letter from Lahore, dated the 24th day of November, the following conversation was detailed: Bhaee Ram Singh, addressing Lal Singh, said—

"The English have interfered in no affairs of the Khalsa; what is the wisdom of your making religious war at the bidding of the soldiery? None of the nobles have discovered the real intentions of the English. The Governor-General's agent, who is a steady friend, has written in the plainest terms, that the English Government desires only friendship like that of the late Maharajah Runjeet Singh; but that if any thing wrong is done by the Sikh army, the rulers of the kingdom will be held responsible, for rulers must account for the acts of their troops and subjects. Be cautious how you march to Hureekkee with the troops. The Rajah said, 'Bhaee Sahib, what can I do? if I remain, the soldiery seize me by the throat.'"

*In a word, the councils of the Durbar seem to have shifted from day to day, and no one could speculate with any degree of confidence on the probable result.**

On the 9th of December, the Governor-General, thinking our relations with the Punjab very critical, and that it was desirable to take every precaution against any sudden irruption, gave orders that the division of troops at Umballah, consisting of 7,500 men, should move towards the Sutlej. On December 11th, the very day on which the Lahore army crossed the Sutlej, the British and native troops of that division were on their march from Umballah to the frontier. The whole proceedings of the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief, subsequently to that day, as well as before it, were characterized by the greatest prudence, skill, and foresight. From Umballah the troops marched to a place called Busean, where, owing to the prudent precautions of the Governor-General, they found an ample supply of food and stores. It was resolved that a junction should be effected with the Loodiana division, and that it would be better to incur some risk at Loodiana, rather than forego the advantage of a junction with the Loodiana division of the army. Those troops advanced accordingly towards Ferozepore, and learned by the way that the army of Lahore, amounting to not less than 60,000 men, had crossed the river, and were prepared to attack the British army. The expectations of the Governor-General were entirely justified by the result."

Our extract is long but to the purpose. Sir Robert Peel under-estimating the force at Ferozepore at only 7,500, but over-estimating the number of heavy guns in position, correctly states that "the Army of Lahore shrunk from the attack of so formidable a post," and moved down to give battle to the Army advancing from Umballa. There is much in the extract

* The Italics are ours.

quoted by Sir R. Peel from Major Broadfoot's despatch to induce belief that, whatever were the insane intentions of some wild spirits among the Sikh Army, there was still, even late in November, no general intention of invasion. "*On the 19th (of November) the usual stream of Sepoys, Natives of the protected States, who had got their pay, poured across the Sutlej, at Hureki, on the way to their home.*" This in itself was justly considered a pacific symptom. These men were not emissaries sent to mislead our Sepoys. Such did not come in *streams*, but stole over one by one, and were, without exception, Hindustanis, who had relatives in our ranks.

So late as during the month of October 1845 the tenor of the Governor-General's conversation and correspondence was sanguine as to peace for another year at least: to the Commander-in-Chief alone did he urge preparation for a defensive war, and it was at this time that confidential orders were issued for two-thirds of the force at and above Meerut to be prepared by the 12th November, with the means of moving on the shortest notice.

On the 22d of November the first *authentic* intelligence reached Major Broadfoot, and through him the Governor-General, that invasion was intended; and the very same day the report was contradicted. The greatest indecision prevailed at Lahore, in the Camp as well as in the Court. Both felt that they were on the brink of greater events than in their worst revolutions they had ever shared in—greater too than they felt able to direct and guide to their own profit. Astrology was now called in; as if the perpetual stars would shed down firmness upon such miserable mortals and be accomplices in their plots! But the soothsayers themselves declared that a fortunate day would not arrive before the 28th of November; and the soldiery who would have hailed "*To-morrow*" as an oracular response, from Heaven, now called the interpreters of fate, impostors. The majority of voices was for an immediate march. The Raní and her advisers, who felt that all authority was lost, urged them to be gone at once; but this very impatience roused the suspicions of the soldiers. Hesitation again fell upon them; and Lahore became like a sea without a tide, agitated by opposing winds. Thus doubtful did matters remain for more than twenty days: the whole Sikh Army it is true, at last left Lahore; but, as on former occasions they still hesitated to "cross the Rubicon," and finally commit themselves. The great delay, however, was in persuading the Sirdars. *They* had property to lose. The rabble had only property to gain. Sirdar Tej Singh, who ultimately was Commander-in-Chief of the invading force,

consented only when openly and loudly taxed with cowardice, and even threatened with death.

In the *Calcutta Review*, No. XI. Sept. 1846, we endeavoured to give our readers as truthful an idea as we could of the military events which followed; of the rapid march of the British Army from Umballa and Lúdíana; of the hard contested and glorious battles of the Sutlej. We shall only now add what seems deficient in that account; or correct what we may have since discovered to be inaccurate; keeping in view more particularly, as we are bound in this memoir, those personal exertions of the Governor-General, which would have been out of place in a history of the war and its many heroes.

Her Majesty's 80th Foot marched from Umballa on the 11th December for Ferozepore, or a day before the invasion took place; and so little did the Military authorities expect that it was running into danger, that the families of the men actually moved with them. On the 2d December, the Governor-General had dismissed the Lahore Vakíl because he had given no satisfactory answer to the Political Agent's demand for an explanation of the reasons of the advance on the Sutlej. A week was allowed him to satisfy the Governor-General that hostility was not intended. That week was required to complete the Commissariat arrangements. The Deputy Commissary General had required six weeks for preparation and received for answer that it must be done in as many days. The energetic Broadfoot volunteered to undertake the task, and was ready within the time. The Army of the Sutlej is indebted to him for food.

On the 12th of December the Commander-in-Chief moved with his head-quarters from Umballa. On the evening of the same day the Sikhs commenced crossing the Sutlej. On the 13th the Governor-General proclaimed the Cis-Sutlej states, at once invaded and incorporated with British India. Sir Henry, being some days' march in advance of the Commander-in-Chief, rode over to Lúdíana, inspected the Fort, and, deeming it secure, withdrew the Lúdíana troops to Bussean, the great grain depôt on which the British Army depended, and which was only 60 miles from the Nuggur Ghat at which the Sikh Army crossed.* The Sikhs might have easily made a forced march on that important place, reached, and burnt it on the evening

* Among other instances of ignorance of localities, the Quarterly Reviewer increases the distance from Lúdíana to Ferozepore by one-fourth, and places Bussean between them. The commonest map would have shewn his error, and considering that the *whole* army and *all* its supplies moved by way of Bussean, he *might* have taken thus much trouble.

of the 14th December, had not the Governor-General by that time, thus thrown in front of it the Lúdíana force of 5000 men. The main column of the British Army, under the Commander-in-Chief from Umballa, did not reach Bussean till the 16th, and the importance of the Governor-General's combination will be better understood when we explain, that, if Bussean had been fired by the enemy, the advance of the whole British Army would have been delayed ten days at least, until food could have been brought from the rear; and Ferozepore, would have been all that time without relief! On the 15th and 16th, as the Governor-General's camp passed Raí ke Kote, it was disencumbered of its heavy baggage, spare tents, &c., and the elephants and camels thus rendered available, were forthwith employed in bringing up stores for the Army. The elephants in particular were most useful on the 19th December, in bringing up the wearied men of the first European Regiment and Her Majesty's twenty-ninth Foot, who had made an extraordinary march from the Hills to join the Army, but after all were too late for Múdkí. This provision and application of carriage, was one of many instances which the war afforded of the Governor-General's happy management, and attention to *details*.

On the 15th the Sikhs crossed their heavy Artillery. On the 16th they encamped at Lungiana, about three miles north of Ferozepore; and Sir John Littler gallantly marched out with two Brigades and offered them battle, which the boasting enemy declined. On the 17th the Sikhs advanced a division, and occupied the celebrated position of Ferozshah, which they immediately entrenched. On the morning of the 18th, another strong division of upwards of 30,000 men, horse and foot, with 22 guns, was pushed on to within a few miles of Múdkí, where, concealed in the jungle, it awaited the arrival of the British Generals, whose destruction they looked forward to, with confidence, from a belief that they were attended only by a small escort.

On that morning the British Army had made a fatiguing march of twenty-one miles from Churruk to Múdkí, where a Sikh picquet was on the watch, and retired to inform Raja Lal Singh and the troops in ambuscade, that now was the time to make their spring. The British picquets had hardly been planted; scarcely one of the Soldiers had breakfasted; and officers were at their ablutions or snatching a little sleep upon the ground, when Major Broadfoot, who was sitting at luncheon with the Governor-General, received a scrap of paper. Looking at it he rose with the exclamation, "the enemy is on us". He rode to the front and passed the word along. Some mistrusted his in-

formation, and even when he shewed the clouds of dust raised by the advancing enemy, his warning was not implicitly believed, and the dust attributed to skirmishers.—“That dust,” he energetically exclaimed, “covers thousands; it covers the Sikh Army.” The story is differently told in different quarters; but, though like Plutarch’s biographies, the anecdotes of Broadfoot may not be all strictly true, yet they are all illustrative of his bold, energetic, and able character. While the British troops were yet forming, he returned from his reconnoissance, galloped up to the Commander-in-Chief, and gracefully saluting him, pointed to the rising cloud of dust ahead and said “There, your Excellency, is the Sikh Army!” It was the Political Agent making over the Frontier to the Soldier. The cannon shots that almost immediately began to lob in from the still unseen guns soon told their own tale.

The Commander-in-Chief at this time despatched an Aide-de-Camp to the rear to hasten on H. M.’s 29th and the 1st Europeans still a march behind: and the Governor-General had previously sent back his active Commissariat Officer, Captain G. Johnston, with elephants, as before mentioned, carrying food and water to assist the movement.

The victory of Múdkí has already been well chronicled in our pages; and its details need not here be repeated. Suffice it that, the battle won, every exertion was made to improve it. Expresses were sent in every direction with information; Sir J. Littler was in the first instance warned to be ready to move by his right to join head-quarters, and afterwards directed to combine with it by mid-day of the 21st near Ferozshah. On the night of the 19th H. M.’s 29th and the 1st Europeans accompanied by the 11th and 41st N. I., arrived in camp, and at day-light of the 21st, after two full days of rest to the Army, the whole force moved, without baggage, in light marching order on Ferozshahr.

During this halt of two days, the wounded and sick were cared for, and secured in the fort of Múdkí, a Regiment and a half being told off to protect them and the baggage of the Army. Regarding the latter arrangement we understand, there was much difference of opinion, but the Governor-General insisted that none should be taken to the field. The decision was a wise and a humane one. It was better in every sense to place a strong detachment at Múdkí, than leaving the wounded with a small one, to embarrass the column with the care of the baggage train; while the Fort, defended by a Regiment and a half, was safe for a time against the enemy’s Cavalry and loose plunderers, which alone could penetrate to the rear of

our Army. Much needless alarm however was caused by idle reports in the Camp at Múdkí, which would have been more reasonable had it been left less protected.

Leaving 5000 men to hold his position, and watch Tej Singh, Sir John Littler prepared early on the 21st to join Headquarters, with 5,500 men and 21 guns. Permitting his division to snatch a hasty meal, at 8 A. M. of the 21st he quietly moved off, by his right, leaving his camp and picquets standing, and at mid-day had effected his junction, without Tej Singh's being aware of his departure from Ferozepore,—so ably was the movement conducted.* Sir John sent word of his approach to the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief, who had arrived within a mile of, and opposite to the intrenchment of Ferozshah, when the ever-active Broadfoot, riding forward with a few horsemen, conducted the General to the Commander-in-Chief. Arrangements were now made for the struggle. A question has arisen,—the combination having been completed by mid-day,—why the attack was delayed till half past three? Time was of the utmost importance, all the force expected having arrived, it was vitally important to strike the blow before Tej Singh could join; why then was there a delay of nearly four hours? We have never heard the question satisfactorily answered, and shall therefore leave it, with other points of this battle and of the war generally, to be hereafter explained.

A few minutes before 4 P. M. the attack commenced, Sir Hugh Gough leading the right, Sir Henry Hardinge, the centre, and Sir John Littler the left. The advance was made partly in line, partly in echelon, the Governor-General preferring the first formation, as less likely to create confusion, especially in difficult ground. The right and centre were successful; the left wing was repulsed. Daylight failed and prevented complete success. The loss on our side was severe, ten Aides-de-Camp fell by Lord Hardinge's side, five killed and as many wounded; among the latter was his nephew. His two sons, though closely attending their father, escaped unscathed.

At the side of his Chief, whom he refused to leave when wounded by a shot from the Sikh tents, fell the gallant and

* The intelligence department of the Sikhs, during the war, has been as unduly trumpeted as that of the British has been depreciated. Their information is proved on this as on many other occasions to have been very much worse than ours. Tej Singh's conduct on the 21st and again on the 22nd, though usually attributed to treachery, may much more safely be imputed to ignorance of what was passing around him, and to incapacity, as a General in chief; perhaps also, in part to the conflicting orders of his many masters in his own ranks. Doubtless he, like many others, had little inclination for the war; but, once involved, he could not help himself: his life, then, depended on his fidelity to the Khalsa.

accomplished Broadfoot; here the chivalrous Somerset sank mortally wounded; the young and promising Munro was lost to his country; here the brave Saunders Abbott received his wounds, and lay uncomplaining by the side of the Governor-General, during the remainder of the night. The staff of the Commander-in-Chief almost equally suffered; His Adjutant General, his Quarter Master General, and most of his Aides-de-Camp being wounded either here or at Múdkí. Providentially the two noble Chiefs remained unharmed.

In his speech already referred to, Sir Robert Peel happily notices the night's events. We cannot do better than quote his words:—

"The night of the 21st December was one of the most memorable in the military annals of the British empire. The enemy were well defended within strongly fortified entrenchments—their guns were served with the greatest precision, and told on our advancing columns with great effect. The right of the British army was led by the Commander-in-Chief, whilst the left centre was headed by Sir H. Hardinge. Our forces made an attack on the enemy's camp during the three hours which as yet remained of daylight; but they had not sufficient time to complete that victory, which was gloriously achieved on the following day. The British army, however, made good their attack, and occupied a part of the enemy's camp. In the middle of the night the camp took fire, and further conflict was for a time suspended in consequence; but as soon as it had ceased the army of Lahore brought forward their heavy artillery, and poured a most destructive fire upon our troops. The details of those occurrences have been given with admirable clearness in the despatches of both commanders; but there have been private letters received which speak of them with less of formality, and perhaps give truer and more faithful accounts of these actions than the official documents. Perhaps the House will excuse me if I read an extract from a private letter from the Governor-General to a member of his own family. The right hon. Baronet then read as follows:—

"The night of the 21st was the most extraordinary of my life. I bivouacked with the men, without food or covering, and our nights are bitter cold. A burning camp in our front, our brave fellows lying down under a heavy cannonade, which continued during the whole night, mixed with the wild cries of the Sikhs, our English hurrah, the tramp of men, and the groans of the dying. In this state, with a handful of men, who had carried the batteries the night before, I remained till morning, taking very short intervals of rest by lying down with various regiments in succession, to ascertain their temper, and revive their spirits."

My gallant Friend, as you see, spent that eventful night passing from regiment to regiment, cheering the men by his own example of constancy and courage—doing all that human means could do to ensure victory to our arms. "I found," my gallant Friend goes on to say—"I found myself again with my old friends of the 29th, 31st, 50th, and 9th, all in good heart"—regiments with which he had served in the Peninsula, and with them that regiment which has earned immortal fame in the annals of the British army—Her Majesty's 80th Regiment—

"My answer to all and every man was, that we must fight it out, attack the enemy vigorously at daybreak, beat him, or die honourably in the field. The gallant old general, kind-hearted, and heroically brave, entirely coincided with me."

Let the House observe how anxious my gallant Friend is to do justice to his companions in arms :

" During the night I occasionally called on our brave English soldiers to punish the Sikhs when they came too close and were impudent ; and when morning broke we went at it in true English style. Gough was on the right. I placed myself, and dear little Arthur [his son] by my side, in the centre, about thirty yards in front of the men, to prevent their firing, and we drove the enemy without a halt from one extremity of the camp to the other, capturing thirty or forty guns as we went along, which fired at twenty paces from us, and were served obstinately. The brave men drew up in an excellent line, and cheered Gough and myself as we rode up the line, the regimental colours lowering to me as on parade. The mournful part is the heavy loss I have sustained in my officers. I have had ten aides-de-camp *hors de combat*, five killed and five wounded. The fire of grape was very heavy from 100 pieces of cannon ; the Sikh army, drilled by French officers, and the men the most warlike in India."

From my affectionate regard for this gallant man, I am proud to be enabled to exhibit him on such a night as that of the 21st of December—going through the camp—passing from regiment to regiment—keeping up the spirits of the men—encouraging them—animating their ardour—and having lost ten aides-de-camps out of twelve—placing his young son, a boy of seven—ten or eighteen years of age, in the front of the line, in order that the British troops might be induced not to fire on the enemy, but drive them back by the force of the British bayonet. It was characteristic of the man to read these details. He had two sons present, one of whom was a civilian, and the other in the army. On the afternoon of the 21st, he sent the civilian to the rear of the army, saying that his presence disturbed him, and that, if he refused to retire, he would send him away in arrest as a prisoner ; but the presence, he said, of his younger son, an officer, whose duty called him to the field, only made the father more desperately resolute in the discharge of his duty. On the 22nd, after the battle was over, he took his eldest son, when visiting the sepoys and the wounded ; and he showed them a Governor-General of India who had lost his hand, and the son of a Governor-General who had lost his foot, and endeavoured to console them in their sufferings by proving to them that men in the highest rank were exposed to the same casualties as themselves."

The event of the night, that long—long night, was doubtless the capture and spiking of the great gun which, within 300 yards, had been pouring death on our harassed and recumbent ranks : But Her Majesty's 80th, supported by the 1st Europeans, at the Governor-General's word, were in a moment up, and spiked it ; and for the rest of the night the enemy was silent. In this attack Sir Henry Hardinge's nephew and Aide-de-Camp, Col. Wood, advancing with his own regiment, H. M.'s 80th, was severely wounded. It is pleasing even still to listen to the stories current regarding those eventful hours, "and sure he talked to us, as to Ladies in a drawing-room, so quiet and polite," is a frequent remark of the Soldiers of the Artillery, of H. M.'s 29th, 31st, 50th, 9th, and of the 1st Europeans, who, lying around the Governor-General, witnessed his composure during the night. It must be remembered that Lord Hardinge, during these perilous hours, not only personated the Soldier and the General, but the Father and the Viceroy. His thoughts then were not simply for the army, but for the mighty empire in his keeping—

for his brave boys by his side; and yet the rude men around him could perceive no symptom of anxiety on his brow—nay more, their own stout hearts were encouraged and inspired by his calm and cheerful bearing.

The *Quarterly Review* has disseminated much error, regarding the events of this momentous period. No officer carried messages of retreat between the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief, though some few did take upon themselves to advise that course, and one officer, by his enquiries for the road to Ferozepore, shewed what was passing in his own mind. The statement bears absurdity on its face: the two chiefs lay within a hundred yards of each other, and once or twice, during the night, consulted together. There is not indeed a doubt that neither for one moment hesitated what should be done, "to die at their posts rather than yield an inch to the enemy." It is not however to be denied that this *was a night of danger—of great danger*. Darkness had covered our ranks, while the scarcely thinned foe, driven from his foremost entrenchments, and with his formidable artillery still almost intact, fell behind his second line, and strengthened it for the morning's fight: and where were our Battalions? Nearly two whole divisions were absent. Sir John Littler had been repulsed, and Sir Harry Smith, in the darkness and confusion, after having actually occupied a portion of the village of Ferozshah in the heart of the Sikh entrenchment, retired two miles from the field; so that of 17,500 men, not more than 7,000 can have lain that night before a foe still numbering 40,000 men and 60 guns;—a situation such as might have daunted a Roman heart. Sir Henry Hardinge calmly prepared for the worst; he sent orders to his Secretary, Mr. Currie, at Múdkí to destroy his papers, in case of accident to himself; he positively ordered his wounded nephew into Ferozepore, as well as the gallant Prince Waldemar and his suite, who with equal reluctance left the field.

By daylight of the 22d all arrangements for renewing the attack were made; Colonel Benson, accompanied by Captain A. Hardinge, the Governor-General's youngest son, had been despatched before dawn to bring up Sir John Littler, but before they could reach, the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief had advanced at the head of their line. On hearing the first shot Captain Hardinge spurred on to his father, saying that as his Aide-de-Camp, he must be in his place. Indeed this young Soldier was the only member of the Governor-General's Staff that remained unharmed. Col. Birch, Col. Parsons and the Hon'ble Captain West now officiated as Aides, and taking them with him, Lord H. advanced at the head of the left as

Lord Gough did of the right of the line, keeping 30 yards in front to prevent the troops from firing, and desiring the Staff to tell them, that if they fired they fired on him. The opposition was slight, most of the guns were taken in reverse, and now wheeling to the right, past the village of Ferozshah, the Commander-in-Chief and Governor-General swept down the whole left and rear of the enemy's position, halting when they had cleared the works at the opposite extremity.

Not till now did Smith's and Littler's Division rejoin; but there still remained work to do. Sirdar Tej Singh had at length been roused to action, perhaps by some of the early fugitives from the combat of the night; and scarcely had the tired troops united, before his fresh Battalions and Squadrons, amounting to scarcely less than 30,000 men and 60 guns, came in view,—showing how needful had been the dawn's attack, and how dangerous would have been a single hour's delay. Whether daunted by the defeat of the night, or suspicious of a stratagem, in the flank movement of the cavalry and part of the artillery, on Ferozepore, Tej Singh, after little more than several demonstrations and a distant though destructive cannonade, withdrew.

Thus was the Sikh invasion repelled. The Burchas had found themselves overmatched; accompanied even as they were, by thousands of their brothers, and of wild Akalis, eager for war, and to wet their swords in Feringi blood,—for the savage soldiery and their kinsmen ruled not only the Durbar of Lahore and the villages whence they came, but sought to have a share in the supposed certain plunder of Delhi. Few of these Amateurs, however, were seen after Ferozshah; nor were they much heard of again, until, after the terrific rout of Subraon, when they lay in wait for their discomfited comrades, ready to cut down and rob all stragglers who might escape to the right bank of the Sutlej. Thousands of the Sikh Soldiers are understood to have fallen by their hands.

But now that the first roll of the tide of invasion had been resisted, how did Sir Henry Hardinge occupy himself? His exertions seem to have redoubled. Night and day his active mind was at work. Collecting information, getting up supplies, urging on the indolent, encouraging and cheering the active and willing, now suggesting plans to the Commander-in-Chief and his Lieutenants; now writing to Calcutta, to England, to Delhi, Umballa and Kurnaul, and now riding out to Army Head-Quarters to consult with the Commander-in-Chief in person.

On the death of Major Broadfoot, Major Lawrence was sent for from Nepal, although there were aspirants to the vacant office on the spot; and he proved his zeal by joining within a fortnight. In the interim Mr. Currie carried on the duties of the Frontier; while Major Mackeson was entrusted with the charge of the Cis-Sutlej states.

A brief return to disputed points may be here excused. It is not easy within the limits of a single article even to refer to all that has been said and written regarding Lord Hardinge's acts. The bare enumeration would fill the pages of a Number of our Review. Lord Hardinge is blamed for the "*defenceless state*" of the Frontier; but we have shown by figures that he doubled and trebled the strength of posts. We may now add that shortly after his arrival in India he seriously contemplated altogether withdrawing the posts of Lúdíana and Ferozepore, and was only prevented from doing so by the knowledge that the act would be misinterpreted. Retrogression is at all times difficult; never more so than in the face of a powerful and insolent enemy. No one at all acquainted with Lord Hardinge can doubt that he is the last man in the world who would have taken up those positions. No one knows better than himself, that he who tries to defend every thing, defends nothing, and that, in Major Broadfoot's admirable words, "the defence of the frontier against aggression is the power of Government to punish the aggressive nation; and towards the exercise of that power the frontier force will contribute best by securing, against all comers, those important stations" viz. Lúdíana and Ferozepore.

If it had originally devolved upon Lord Hardinge to have made provision for the defence of the Frontier, he would doubtless have simply watched the fords, and kept in hand, in the neighbourhood of Sirhind, a strong field force ready to meet any enemy that might cross. It was idle to expect that two isolated posts could defend a hundred and fifty miles of river, fordable at twenty different points, and crowded with boats. Our readers may rely upon it that Major Broadfoot only expressed Lord Hardinge's conviction when he said that the Ferozepore force was meant for the protection of Ferozepore and the Frontier *in peace*, and not for general war purposes.

On another point much discussion has arisen. On one side it is asked why Lord Hardinge fought the battle of Ferozshah *so late* on the 21st December, and on the other why he fought *at all* on that day. But the fact which we have already stated in our account of the war in a former number must not

be forgotten, viz. that on the 19th Lord Hardinge had asked for and accepted the office of second in command of the army. We then expressed our entire approval of the arrangement under all the circumstances of the case, and we hold to our opinion. There are seasons when all secondary considerations must be waived,—when the post must be abandoned, the detachment sacrificed, for the safety of the Army. Once in the field *in this capacity*, though the Governor-General could suggest his wishes, he could not without going to extremities issue or enforce orders. It belongs not then necessarily to the province of Lord Hardinge's biographer to enter into the details of the different actions of the war, but we must remind those who would have counselled a halt at Ferozshah that it could not have been made—neither supplies nor water being procurable. Strategy is good: excellent in its way; but *water* more than ground directs military movements in India; where no General can succeed who does not look minutely to this important point. The wells near Ferozshah were at intervals of miles; *and by them* were the movements of the British Army influenced.

The writer in the *Quarterly Review*, however, reversing the real state of affairs, gives Lord Hardinge no credit for what he really ~~did~~ *did* in cases where he acted with energy, and leaves him, at least by implication, to bear the blame of defects in operations over which he had virtually little or no control. That writer's remarks, and the strictures of others on the order of battle on the three different occasions, and on the want of information of the enemy's movements, are examples of the latter; while with regard to the former, the Reviewer, apparently ignorant that in India not a man or a gun can move without the sanction of the Governor-General, emphatically claims for the Commander-in-Chief alone all credit for the bringing up of troops and stores for the combinations which preceded Aliwal; and yet it was at Lord Hardinge's suggestion and by his orders that the troops engaged there were assembled from the four quarters and combined at Ludiana. Brigade after Brigade was pushed on from Army Headquarters: Wheeler went after Smith, Taylor after Wheeler; Lawrence at the last moment to help on Taylor; all at the Governor-General's suggestion; while the Shekawatti Brigade westward and H. M.'s 53d from the southward were brought up by his direct orders. All this was known, or should have been known, by the Historiographer of the war.

During the war *precise* information was seldom procurable. Many able and good men were employed in procuring intelligence, but the Indian Army, possessing no esta-

blishment trained in time of peace to procure the information required in war, can never be more than partially successful in this respect. The thing is not to be done in a day—a Quarter Master General or a Political Officer may in himself be all energy and ability, but, unaided, must inevitably fail to secure accurate and precise information. All this requires *known* and tried Native Agency—men who have a stake in the state. Serving against Asiatics we can never have our Colquhoun Grants, who will enter the enemy's lines and ascertain their state and preparation; but there is no possible reason why we should not have imitators of him in our Native Army. To pay men, teach them, trust them in peace, and thus to have them ready for war, is the true policy. We shall then have men whom we can rely on, instead of chance-comers, who *may* be honest, but if energetic and able are too often rather serving the enemy than us. Thus has it ever been since Hyder Ali sent his shoals of hurkaras to deceive and mislead our Generals, down to the late war, when, as in all previous campaigns, the intelligence arrangements had to be made *after* hostilities had commenced. Lord Hardinge in a measure has provided the nucleus of a remedy, and, in the small guide corps raised on the N. W. Frontier under Col. Lawrence's supervision, has given the means of acquiring information, and has prepared a body of men to meet future contingencies. We would have had him act on a larger scale, and even in peace time attach several officers to the corps to learn their duty and acquire information of roads and rivers, wells and tanks, supplies, means of carriage and other Milito-Statistical details,—so much required, so little attended to in India. The very formation however of this corps is a sufficient answer to those who charge Lord Hardinge with neglecting, during the war, so important a point as that of procuring intelligence of the enemy: while it proves equally that His Lordship felt during the campaign the necessity of some such permanent establishment.

We entirely deny that during the Sikh Campaign there was any thing like *general ignorance* of the enemy's movements; or that the authorities were not kept at least as well informed of what went on around them as during any other war that was ever conducted in India. But supposing the fact to be otherwise, is it not too much to blame the head of a Government, whose whole tenure of office has been $3\frac{1}{2}$ years, and who was called into the field within less than half that time after his arrival, for evils which arise only from the defective institutions of an Asiatic system that has prevailed over our European

notions—a system, that has existed from the days of Clive and Hastings, and through every administration down to the present day? If the Governor-General denied either the Quarter Master General or the Political Agent the means of supplying information, then indeed is he to blame; but because, with a thousand pressing matters before him, he did not, even before he could look around, reform and remodel an important branch of the public service, he is forsooth to be made the scape-goat for many imaginary and some* real defects in the system bequeathed to him by his predecessors!

But we digress—and should here rather detail how, personally, the Governor-General at this time exerted himself in all departments; how he urged the reinforcing of Sir Harry Smith, how he sent Lieut. Lake of the Engineers, Lieut. Clifford of the Artillery, and finally Major Lawrence, one after another to see to the munitions and reinforcements in support of the Lúdana movement. Nothing escaped his attention; not even the minutest Commissariat or Ordnance details. He thought of the brandy and beef for the European soldiers, as much as of the grape shot for the Artillery, and the small arm ammunition for the Infantry. All this time the heavy train was ~~winding~~ its weary way by the Bussean road from Delhi. The Governor-General was therefore intensely anxious that the seat of war should not be moved from the Ferozepore side eastward, and consequently strained every nerve to crush Runjore Singh, and prevent even his light troops moving southward. To effect this object the force before Sobraon was greatly weakened, but the Commander-in-Chief as well as the Governor-General saw the advisability of the measure. An excellent Brigade under Colonel Taylor of H. M.'s 29th, which was detached to reinforce Sir Harry Smith, had reached Dhurmkothe within 20 miles, and would have been up next day, when on the repeated and urgent suggestions of the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief to attack, Sir H. Smith on the 28th January fought the battle of Aliwal. This action secured the communications, and the authorities could now await

* Our approval of the scheme of training a guide corps, such as is here indicated and strongly recommended, may appear to be at variance with the opinions elsewhere expressed in this article against Natives of India proving useful in a double capacity. In a measure it is so: but the low castes of the N. W. Frontier are a bolder, and altogether a different race from those of Hindustan. In India Sowars are notoriously blind Guides, and we never heard that a Sepoy was expected to know his way any where: if then Col. Lawrence can obtain faithful Guides of ordinary courage he will do good service. One or two hundred would have been invaluable to have carried despatches between the different posts of the Army during the war. Col. (General Sir George) Schovell's Guides, though many of them French deserters, were often thus employed during the Peninsular war.

without anxiety the arrival of the siege train. Lord Hardinge had visited the Army Head-Quarter Camp on the 28th January, and, riding back, his horse fell under him and so severely bruised his leg that he was a cripple during the rest of the campaign. Suffering great pain, and for a month scarcely able to sit on horseback, he yet did not forego his labors, nor did he fail to sit out the whole action of Sobraon, though he went to the field in his carriage, and only mounted his horse when the batteries opened on both sides.

On the 8th February Sir H. Smith's division rejoined Head-Quarters; on the 9th the Train reached camp. On the 10th the Sikhs were driven across the Sutlej. As far back as the middle of January the Governor-General had in his home despatch contemplated the probability of coming to action by that day. We do not purpose again to fight the battle of Sobraon in these pages, but will offer a few brief words on some hitherto unexplained points. The question has been often asked why were not the entrenchments at Sobraon and Ferozshah turned; why attacked in the face of the formidable Sikh Artillery? The same question might be asked of almost every Indian battle. The Duke of Wellington wisely *counselled* taking an Asiatic Army in motion, but ~~he~~ himself with half his numbers attacked them at Assaye, in position and by a forward movement. At Mehidpúr, where perhaps the next most formidable display of cannon was encountered by an Anglo-Indian Army, Hyslop and Malcolm,—the latter at least accustomed to Indian warfare, and trained in the school of Wellington,—not only attacked the long array in front but crossed a deep river under fire. But the fact is that Ferozshah was not to be outflanked, its oblong figure was nearly equally formidable in every direction, and had Sir Hugh Gough attacked on the Northward face, he might have subjected himself to the double fire of Tej Singh in his rear and the works in his front; besides having abandoned the line of communication with his wounded and baggage at Múdkí.

As matters *turned out* at Sobraon, perhaps the Cavalry and Grey's Division, with some Horse Artillery might have crossed the Sutlej simultaneously with the attack, and completed the destruction of the panic-stricken Sikhs. We say, *perhaps*, for even now we are not satisfied that the move would have been a safe one. The Nugger and Uttari fords are deep and uncertain, our troops on the other side must have been for at least two days without any certain supplies; and above all with the experience of Ferozshah before us we did not know that every man's services might not be required on our own

bank of the river. No man in camp, not even the Commander-in-Chief and Governor-General (and there were no two more sanguine of victory) expected such complete success as crowned our efforts on the 10th February.*

Here again the Governor-General was attended by both his sons, and his nephew; and the same calm collected demeanour was on this occasion observable by those around him, as under more trying circumstances at Ferozshah. The Artillery fire did much execution, and cleared the whole area except the immediate breastworks in their front; but as the Sikh gunners stood manfully to their guns, and rather than otherwise increased their fire, there was some hesitation whether the column of attack should be brought forward. About 9 o'clock the Commander-in-Chief and Governor-General held a few words of converse. Councils of war do not usually fight; but their's was not of such sort. The gallant Gough was all fire, and confidence; and the equally gallant Hardinge bade him by all means proceed to the assault if he felt satisfied of success. He told him that loss must be expected, but should not prevent attack if it was likely to prove successful. It is well known how both chiefs simultaneously ordered up Smith's and Gilbert's Divisions, ~~how~~ those Generals as well as Dick, reeling before the shock of the Sikh batteries retired; but only to re-form and again on all sides to renew the attack;—the best proof of discipline that soldiers could give; and one which the Portuguese, to whom Sir Henry Hardinge was often accustomed to liken the sepoys, seldom evinced. In a previous number we have also told how the Governor-General at the very commencement of the attack had three Troops of Horse Artillery brought up by their Drivers and kept in reserve at Rodawala, until their Gunners, employed with the heavy guns, had fired

* Major General Sir Robert Dick's Column, as one powerful wedge, was alone intended to attack; but by some mistake it was left weaker by a full Brigade than was contemplated. Smith's and Gilbert's feints were converted into real attacks on Dick's repulse, and thus it was that a larger front was exposed and more loss incurred than otherwise would have been the case. This is to be lamented. Too much, however, has been said of the casualties during these battles, and we have only to look to the returns of the Peninsular War or to those of Assaye, Argaum, Laswari, Delhi, Mehidpur, and Maharajpur, to find that the loss in former campaigns averaged at least as much as that of the Sikh battles, and generally, indeed in India always, from the same cause, the enemy's Artillery. It must ever be so. Assaults are not to be made on positions, bristling with heavy guns, without loss; and if more cautious measures, involving delay might in the first instance save some lives, it must also be borne in mind that such delays tend to give confidence to the enemy, who on the other hand promptly confronted and well beaten in a hand to hand fight seldom renews the conflict. We are far from advocating bull-dog measures or the neglect of science, but we would impress on our Readers that we hold India *at least* as much by the conviction of our prowess and our pluck as by our civil institutions, and therefore that deeds which at first sight may appear brutal and sanguinary, in the end may actually save life.

away all their ammunition and could retire to bring these field pieces up to complete the destruction of the Sikh army. This may seem a small matter, but is in keeping with all Lord Hardinge's military conduct. Though an Infantry officer himself he saw at once what no Artilleryman appears to have perceived, and evinced his sense of its importance by despatching three several officers to bring them up. In this manner with a view of ensuring the execution of his orders, he detached the officers of his Staff so rapidly one after the other that he was repeatedly left almost alone during the heat of the action.

Our tale is of the Governor-General and our narrative must keep him constantly in sight ; but we would not for a moment imply that the Commander-in-Chief did not throughout the day do all that a soldier could do. Never indeed, on India's fertile field of glory, fought a braver spirit than Lord Gough ; and we believe that no British General in the East has ever won so many battles.

By 1 P. M. the battle and the campaign were over, and not a Sikh in arms remained south of the Sutlej. The moment was a proud one for both the Commander-in-Chief and Governor-General, but we doubt whether, in the mind of either, there was elation, and whether the first and saddest thought was not the heavy cost of victory : recollections of the noble soldiers who had fallen, the brave who had suffered, the widows and the orphans who survived. Such men as Lords Hardinge and Gough *can* appreciate peace, can separate the tinsel from the gold, and in the parade and panoply of war picture also to their minds its horrors, with a force and vividness which can hardly be appreciated by an amateur soldier.

By half past one Colonel Wood, the ever active Aide-de-Camp, now Military Secretary, of the Governor-General, scarcely recovered from his wound received at Ferozshah, was off with the tidings of victory to Ferozepore, which though twenty-five miles distant he reached in an hour and a half and returned half way to meet the Governor-General at 5 P. M. That night the passage across the river commenced, and by the incredible exertions of Colonel Abbott and the engineers, the whole army was at Kussúr one march in the enemy's territory, and thirty-five miles from the scene of action on the 13th, the third day after the battle !

We now know that the Sikh power was completely broken by the repeated heavy blows of Múdkí, Ferozshah, Aliwal and Sobraon ; *but such was not then the general opinion ;* and there were not wanting many, even in high places, to solemnly warn the Governor-General against crossing the Sutlej, as some

of them said, "only to be driven back with disgrace." Better men declared, that we had not the means to lay siege to both Gobindgurh and Lahore, and that without such means it would be injudicious to cross. While thus pressed on the spot; there had been for some time *as* impressive suggestions from irresponsible persons elsewhere to advance and to hazard all in the Punjab *before* the enemy were broken and *before* our train and ammunition had come up. The Governor-General's practical common sense steered him safely between these extremes. He waited not an hour beyond the arrival of the siege train: he felt that all now depended on time, on closing the war before the hot season could set in on our European troops, entailing death in a hundred shapes on all ranks, and the expences of another campaign on the Government.

Some have blamed Lord Hardinge for the partition of the Punjab, and above all for raising Raja Golar Singh to a throne and independent principality. In former numbers of this Review every thing like argument that has been adduced against the policy has been fully answered. We will here however add a few "last words" briefly commenting on the other courses which were open to the Governor-General.

It was ~~not~~ of the question to annex the Punjab. The lateness of the season, the weakness of our army, especially in what constitutes its pith and essence, the Europeans,—who after four pitched battles and the skirmish at Buddawal, were reduced to barely 3,000 men, forbade it. In this view the Governor-General was supported by the opinion of the best soldiers in India, among whom was Sir C. Napier. Our occupation of the country, even if successful, would have been expensive and dangerous. It would, for years and years, have interfered with useful projects in India, perhaps like Sindh have entailed another debt. Under any circumstances, it would have brought us into renewed contact with Afghanistan and its difficulties—our Sepoys, into collision with the fierce and hardy mountaineers of the north, with whom a struggle which can bring neither glory nor gain could not fail to be unpopular. This is the matter of fact view of the case.

The exaltation of Golar Singh is a part of the same question. Those most hostile to this act of the Governor-General, have founded their chief objections on the badness of his character. He is represented as a monster, as an unholy ruffian who delights only in mischief. We admit that he is a bad man: we fear however that there are few Princes in India who are much better,—few, who, with his provocation, have not committed equal atrocities. And let it not be forgotten by those

who justly execrate his worst act, that the victims of his barbarity were also the victims of their own. They had not merely rebelled against his authority, but had cut in pieces his police officers and thrown their fragments to the dogs. We go as far as any of our readers in execrating Golab Singh's conduct even on such provocation: we but ask that it be remembered.

From this chief let us turn not only to almost any leading member of the Lahore Durbar, but to any independent chief at present alive in India, or to any that have passed away during the last hundred years; and then let us decide if Golab Singh is a worse man than they were. Is he worse than his rival Sheikh Imam-ud-din, who with no personal animosity, but simply out of zeal to the powers of the day, cut up and removed in pots, the late Treasurer of Lahore and his brother? Is he more vile than Raja Lal Singh, another rival, who was one of the chief parties to the murder of Hira Singh, of Kashmera Singh, and of many others? Compare him to the Raja or Ex-Raja of Nepal and the present Minister of that country, with their hands dyed deep with blood! If we go back to the Nawabs of Oude and to the Nizams of Hyderabad, to Tippoo or his Father Hyder Ali, or to the ~~late~~ ^{late} of our protégé Amir Khan; is there a man among them all at whose hands not only blood, but innocent blood, could not be required, or who taking him all in all is morally preferable to Golab Singh? It is not so much what he *formerly* was, as what he has been *during the last eighteen months*, that ought, in fairness, to be considered. Has his new career been cruel and tyrannical or otherwise? He certainly has not gained the ear of the Press, and especially of the Lahore scribes. Watched as he is, by a hundred Argus-eyed enemies, what single atrocity has been brought home to him? The general tenor of the reports of the score of English travellers who have visited his country during the years 1846 and 1847, is, that though grasping and mercenary, he is mild, conciliatory and even merciful: that he indulges in no sort of sensuality, and that he has permitted himself to be guided by the advice of the British Political officers employed with him.

Golab Singh then, is morally no whit inferior to other native Princes, and in intellect vastly the superior of all. We may therefore conclude that if a Sovereign was to be set up, it would not have been possible to have found a better; certainly not among the Princes and Ex-Rajas of the Hills, than whom a more dissolute and despicable race it would be difficult to lay hands on. Besides the re-enthroning them would have been returning to the system which took us to Afghanistan, and

it must be always borne in mind that we gave, or rather confirmed, to Golab Singh *little that he did not either possess at the time, or over which he had not some authority.* The Blue Book proves that even Sheikh Imam-ud-din and his father had been creatures of Golab Singh, and had held Kashmir by his influence. The Raja's power and means, it is true, were overrated, but that again was not the fault of Lord Hardinge; who could but judge from the information before him. It was not then sufficiently understood how much Rajah Dhyani Singh's death, the exactions of the Sikhs during the past two years, and perhaps his own penuriousness had weakened his military power. Had terms been refused to Golab Singh, and he had proved an Abdul Kadir, where would have been the end of the vituperations levelled against Lord Hardinge? Insurrection, however incurred, would have excited instant attention, while measures which ensure tranquillity, are received with silence or treated with indifference and contempt.

One very inconsistent portion of the clamour against Lord Hardinge has been that he has given up a native population to a Ruler alien to their own faith. The charge is an unreasonable one. As a tolerant Rajpūt Golab Singh must be more acceptable to his subjects than can be intolerant Sikhs. A large proportion of them are Rajpūts: there are few or no Sikhs in the hills, and even of the majority who are Mahommedans, most are of Hindu lineage, men whose ancestors in the proselytising days of Mahommedan power were *forced* to change their religion. Such races of Mahommedans are very different from those of pure descent.* They retain many of the feelings, prejudices, habits and even superstitions of their Hindu forefathers and to them a Hindu, a Rajpūt and a mountaineer could not be objectionable simply on the score of faith. One of the first acts of Golab Singh was to proclaim freedom of worship through his dominions; while even to this day in the face of Colonel Lawrence and the British officers, the Mahommedan cry to prayer has been suffered rather than sanctioned at Lahore. But those who are loudest on this question appear to forget

* At one time there was something like an accusation of treachery put forth in reference to the promotion of Golab Singh; but the fact is that Lord Hardinge's dealings with him may with advantage be contrasted with those of all and any Indian officials towards hostile Princes and their dependents from the days of Clive and Jaffer Ali down to those of Marquis Hastings and Ummir Singh Thappa, or even with the more recent cases of Haji Khan Kakur in Afghanistan, and Morad Ali, in Sindh. Golab Singh, of his own accord, held aloof and was virtually an enemy to the Sikhs during the war:—he obtained them a favorable peace, the terms of which, if there had been any honesty or patriotism among the Chiefs, they could have fulfilled in a week and thus have deprived him of Kashmir. His redemption of *their* bond corrected the only mistake that was made in the whole transaction; for after all that had passed it would have been cruel to have left him to be Vizier of Lahore,—to avenge the plunder of Jummū—the murder of his sons and brothers.

that this is not the first or the tenth time that a chief of one creed has been placed over a people of another. They forget the transfer of Khyragurh and the Nepal Terai to Oude, of Tonk to Ameer Khan: they are oblivious or unmindful of the partition treaty of Mysore, or of the offer, so late as the year 1842, of the Affghan province of Julallabad to the Sikhs. These are some of the instances in proof that Lord Hardinge acted in this matter, in conformity with the practice of some of his ablest predecessors. We are far from presuming that the errors of one administration palliate those of another, but it will be acknowledged by all practical men that provided honesty and good faith are preserved intact, a wider latitude must of necessity be admitted in political measures than would be admissible in domestic matters. Public men have something more to do than simply to gratify their feelings. Lord Hardinge needed not to seek for the best or the most amiable man in private or in public life: what he wanted was the best ruler,—the man who could best secure tranquillity in a hitherto troubled tract. The chief who would have the ability and the courage to manage tribes which, in the memory of man, had never been managed. The task was not an easy one. Lord Minto and other Governor-Generals gave away many petty principalities, but as in the instances of Hansi, Kurnaul, &c., they were soon surrendered as uncontrollable.* When all these points are considered, it will, we doubt not, be conceded that, in this branch of the arrangement, Lord Hardinge acted wisely and well.

If then the Punjab could not become English, what should have become of it? Some—not many—would have given it back to Dhulip Singh, or rather to the Burchas, and thus allowed them another opportunity to try their arms against us. Strange as it may seem, we have heard respectable and intelligent men advocate such a course. Others would have had a Punjab, as well as a Cis-Sutlej protectorate,—perhaps the wildest of all schemes. Surely we have by this time had enough of such a system, to forbid again voluntarily shackling ourselves with such arrangements. A native principality is always more or less a source of care, the more so indeed the more that it is interfered with, unless managed altogether by our officers. But when we come to a hundred petty chiefships, each with its owner possessing full internal authority, we have all the vices, the absurdities and inconveniences of the native system of Government on a large scale, without its advantages.

* Few Chiefs of India would have refused the sovereignty of the Hill country, but we know no individual among them, except Golab Singh, who, circumstanced as it then was, could have managed it.

Incapable of resisting foreign aggression or of preserving domestic peace, and at feud with their surrounding neighbours, regarding every village boundary. The paramount power has all the odium of being the protector of such petty Rulers, and therefore the aider and abettor of their misrule. It has been our fortune for the last forty years to have borne with this system on the W. Frontier, and it would have been insanity had we enlarged it. We should have had all the expenses of defending these Chiefings from foreign powers, from internal commotion, from mutual violence, and when the day of danger and trial arrived, many would have acted as the Ludwa Raja did during the late campaign.

In a word, Lord Hardinge had not the means for annexation, had he desired it. It was necessary to punish and weaken the invader without, if possible, destroying his political vitality. To lessen his power for mischief by dividing his territory was the only alternative; nor, in doing so, would it have been practicable to have annexed the Hill Provinces, adding the upper half of it to the British dominions. A position so isolated and difficult of access could only have been held by means of a chain of strong military posts. The ruinous expense of such a measure is the most conclusive argument against it. Would those again who clamour against handing over the Hill Territory to Golab Singh have approved of annexing the Lower Provinces to the British dominions, thus fastening the more cruel and distasteful rule of the Sikhs upon the Mountain Tribes: or would those who urge the danger of the neighbourhood of the Sikhs, even now that their army is dispersed, have listened with complacency to a proposition which would have given them so advantageous a position of annoyance as the possession of the Mountain Ranges which bound the Plains of the Punjab? It was necessary to provide for the management of the Hill portion of the Sikh Territory, and now, nearly two years after the event, we deny that politically or morally, a better practical arrangement could have been made.

We have perhaps said enough to prove that those on the spot and best qualified to judge were not of opinion that we were at the time in a condition to seize and annex the Punjab, had the Governor-General been so disposed. It is very easy to judge now of what should have been done twenty months ago. The Sikhs have come to terms, and have settled down, because they have been well treated *by us*, and protected from their own Army and Chiefs *by us*; because scarcely a single jagir in the country has been resumed, and because the rights and even prejudices of all classes have been respected. It is

however by no means so certain that had the country been occupied; all jagirs summarily resumed as has been done elsewhere in India, and held until it might be the pleasure or convenience of Government to examine into the tenures; and had our system, even in its most moderate form, but with its necessary vexations to a loose wild people, been introduced; it is by no means so certain that the Sikh population would have sat down quietly under the yoke. They have lost little that they held under Runjít Singh; they are therefore patient and submissive, if not contented and happy, but had they been reduced to the level of our revenue-paying population, there cannot be a doubt that ere now there would have been a strike for freedom. The Sikhs perhaps care as little for their Government as do other natives of India; but like others they care for themselves, their jagirs, their patrimonial wells, gardens and fields—their immunities and their honor. And in all these respects, the Sikh and Jat population had much to lose. The Sikh position must not be mistaken. They are a privileged race, a large proportion have jagirs and rent-free lands; all hold their fields on more favorable terms than the Mussulmen around them.

A Guerilla war; the Sikh horsemen plundering the plain; Golab Singh acting the part of Abdul Kader in the Hills,—would have given us at least one long year's warm work. Its expense may be calculated. Then let any one conversant with such matters estimate the expense of holding any equal extent of territory in India—of the N. W. Provinces, of Bombay, or Madras. Let him calculate the cost of the Military and Civil Establishments, and then consider how much of the single crore of rupees that comes into the Punjab treasury would reach the General Exchequer of British India. We fear that for some years at least the deficit would be considerable. Besides the British Garrison of Lahore costing thirty Lakhs per annum, twenty-five Infantry Regiments, 12,000 Cavalry, and eighteen or twenty Batteries are now kept up, irrespective of numerous Irregulars. For a long period not a man less could we maintain; with more than the usual proportion of Europeans, with batta to the Sepoys, with a hundred et ceteras that always start up after an arrangement has been closed.*

These are substantial reasons for the Governor-General's

* When it is considered that the pay of the Officers of a Regiment of Native Infantry of 800 men exceeds that of the Native Officers and Soldiers, while the Sikh rates of pay are lower than those of our ranks, some idea may be formed of the expense that would be incurred by the substitution of British Battalions and batteries for the Sikh Troops now employed in the Punjab.

moderation, and many others even as cogent might be found; but he acted on higher and nobler grounds than mere expediency. He desired to punish a gross violation of Treaties; he did not desire to destroy an old and long faithful Ally. No one more than the Governor-General saw the chances of a breakdown in the arrangement of March, 1846; but it is as idle as it is malicious therefore to blame him for its consequences. The question rested entirely on the honesty and patriotism of the Sikh Cabinet. Were they or were they not disposed to sacrifice their own selfish desires to the hope of rescuing their country from internal anarchy and foreign domination. Because one good, one able man was not to be found in a whole people,—was that a just reason for condemning the Governor-General's acts. He at least did his duty, nobly, wisely and honestly. Carefully abstaining from such interference as would weaken the executive, he authorized remonstrance of the most decided kind to the Durbar in behalf of the disbanded soldiery: as decidedly he supported the constituted authorities against the assumptions of Dewan Múlraj of Múltan; he forbore on the strong provocation given at Kangra, and forgave the offence of Cashmere, punishing in the latter case one individual, where a very slight stretch of privilege would have authorized a disseverance of the whole Treaty.

In our last number having reviewed the 2d Punjab Blue Book, we need not here repeat our arguments, but may satisfy ourselves with congratulating Lord Hardinge and the British public on the great success of His Lordship's Punjab Policy. The candid reader will remember how some of the bravest of the land, how Sir Charles Napier himself, expressed alarm at the first occupation of Lahore; how the cry of Kabul was in every man's mouth; and disaster was loudly predicated. We have heard that Sir Charles Napier so fully considered there was danger in the arrangement, that he volunteered to take command of the Lahore garrison. To hold the post of honor, as brave a man was found in Sir John Littler; and near two years have now passed over with less of outrage, less of crime in the hitherto blood-stained Punjab than in our most favored provinces. Daily the newspapers have told of improvements or of contemplated ones: of favors and kindnesses showered on chiefs, people or soldiers so as to give all well-disposed among them reason to approve our Rule.

The idle attempt or rather thought of a half-crazed Brahman supported by a score of as wretched and worthless creatures as himself last February has been, for their own purposes trumpeted, into something by designing Europeans, but silence and

contempt is a sufficient answer for their malice. They would desire to mar, they would rejoice to break, the peace—the calm, that they hate—which they prophesied would never be.

The effects of this honest policy of Lord Hardinge have extended far beyond the limits of the Five waters. The Princes of central Asia have looked with wonder upon such acts of moderation; upon the twice-emancipated Punjab; on the twice-surrendered Cashmere. Dost Mahommed Khan has been quieted, the chiefs beyond his limits cease to look for the coming English Squadrons. The Princes of India too have evidence that we do not seize all that is fairly within our reach. Oude, Hydrabad and Gwalior may still hope for prolonged existence.

It would be no unpleasant theme to dilate on the Kashmir Campaign, on the extraordinary fact, never before witnessed of half a dozen foreigners taking up a lately subdued mutinous army through as difficult a country as is in the world to put the chief, formerly their commander, now in their minds a rebel, in possession of the brightest gem of their land. Roman History tells no such tales—shews no such instantaneous fellowship of the vanquished with the victors.

A still pleasanter tale would be that of the voice of a suppliant people, a unanimous nation, calling on their conquerors to remain for their protection, calling as the Britons of old, to their masters not to abandon them; to remain and to protect their Infant Sovereign and to save them one and all from themselves—from their mutual animosities. The best part of the Continental Press, while giving Lord Hardinge credit for his moderation, could not credit that Mr. Currie and Colonel Lawrence had not brought about this happy event,—this combination, in their opinions, so fortunate for both parties.

How it *was* brought about cannot be better explained than in Lord Hardinge's own despatches; and though our article has already exceeded the usual limits, we give nearly in full Nos. 2. and 9 of the Blue Book Papers; the first of which clearly lays down the principles of the Governor-General's policy; and the second tells how his agents carried out the preliminary arrangements after the deposition of Lal Singh. Little comment is required on either. They speak for themselves; and are as honorable to the head as to the heart of the writer.

In despatch, No. 2, dated "Simla, September 10, 1846, the Governor-General commences by informing the Secret Committee," that the Political Agent had reported that, in conformity with his instructions, he had repeatedly declared to the Durbar that the British Garrison of Lahore would, in fulfilment of the agreement of 11th March, be withdrawn during the month of

December. As directed, the agent separately informed each member of the Durbar of this determination, in order that there might be no misunderstanding. With the exception of Dewan Dina Nath, they unanimously declared that the administration could not stand if the British troops were withdrawn. Six months respite was asked but the agent, instructed of the Governor-General's strong objections to the subsidiary system, distinctly refused. We must however give his Lordship's own words:—

"The avowal of the Vizier and his colleagues, on the 10th of September, has not been elicited by any suggestions offered to him by the Officiating Agent. That officer has treated the Vizier uniformly with respect, and his declarations have not originated in any attempt to excite his fears; but they appear to be the voluntary impressions of his own judgment, as shown in former conversations shortly after the Officiating Agent's arrival, when he expressed the danger, to which he was daily exposed, of being assassinated.

I have no doubt the Vizier and the Durbar are convinced of the sincerity of the British Government's purpose to promote the establishment of a permanent Hindoo Government in the Punjab, and that the British Government has no desire to interfere in their internal affairs.

The Durbar has profited by our advice and mediation in settling their differences with the Dewan of Mooltan. They know that the Political Agent has abstained from enforcing the Article of the Treaty for the payment of the arrears to the disbanded soldiery, in order that the British authorities might not be obliged to court popularity at the expense of the Vizier's Government; that the greatest pains have been taken, and most successfully, to maintain a strict discipline amongst our troops; that the inhabitants of their great city can, for the first time during many years, sleep in safety; that the insolence and rapine of the Khalsa soldier have been repressed; and that, upon the whole, a most favourable change has been effected in the feelings of the Sikh people, and even soldiery, towards the British authorities, since the occupation of the capital in March last.

There can be no doubt of the great improvement of our relations with the people of the Punjab, in this short space of time, which is corroborated by the satisfaction which has followed the assesment of lands made in the Julunder and the ceded territories.

I notice this state of popular feeling, as far as it can be correctly ascertained, not only because its existence is a satisfactory proof that the occupation has been followed by desirable results, but because this disposition, on the part of the people, to confide in our justice and lenity, will be an essential means of carrying on a Government through a British Minister, if such an expedient should be adopted. At any rate you will be enabled to form a correct judgment of the present state of our relations with the Punjab.

In my despatch of the 3rd instant, I stated my impression that no permanent advantage to the Maharajah's interests, or to our own, would be derived by the continued presence, under existing circumstances, of our troops at Lahore. That opinion remains unaltered.

I do not think that the British Government would be justified in supporting a native Government in the Punjab, merely because it may conduce to the safety of a Regent, and a Minister obnoxious to the Chiefs and people, and to whom the British Government owes no obligations. These are the very individuals who, for personal interests of their own, excited the Sikh soldiery to in-

vade the British frontier; and considerations of humanity to individuals would be no plea for employing British bayonets in perpetuating the misrule of a native State, by enabling such a Government to oppress the people.

*Our interference, if it should ever be called in, must be founded on the broad principle of preserving the people from anarchy and ruin, and our own frontier from the inconvenience and insecurity of such a state of things as that which, it is assumed, will follow when the British troops retire.**

To continue to hold Lahore, without reforming the evils so clearly existing under the Vizier's Government, would not only, if that Government is to remain as it is now constituted, be an infraction of the Agreement entered into on the 11th of March, but would, in all probability, be an unsuccessful attempt. If the various classes who now justly complain of the misrule of the Regent and the Vizier, find that a British force, in opposition to the terms of the Treaty, continues to occupy Lahore in support of a bad Government, the confidence which we have inspired up to the present time, will be changed into mistrust of our intentions; the Sikh troops remaining unpaid would refuse to serve at the distant stations; and, with a British garrison at Lahore, the whole of the country beyond the Ravee would not fail to be a scene of disorder and bloodshed. I, therefore, adhere to the opinions expressed in my last dispatch, that the British garrison ought not to remain beyond the stipulated period, if a Native Government continues to administer the affairs of the Punjab.

I have, since my arrival in India, constantly felt and expressed my aversion to what is termed the subsidiary system, and, although it was probably most useful and politic in the earlier period of British conquest in India, I have no doubt of its impolicy at the present time, but more especially on this, the most vulnerable, frontier of our empire.

The period of the occupation of Lahore was expressly limited to the end of this year, for the purposes specified in the Agreement of the 11th of March, namely, that the Sikh army having been disbanded by the Vth Article of the Treaty, a British force should be left to protect the person of the Maharajah and the inhabitants of the city, during the reorganization of the Sikh army. By the XVth Article of the Treaty it was stipulated that the British Government would not exercise any interference in the internal affairs of the Lahore State.

At that time, the entreaties of the Regent for our assistance appeared to me not only reasonable, but as imposing upon me a moral duty, exacting, as I was at that very time, from the Lahore Government, the disbandment of their mutinous army. It is true this assistance, and the whole measure of occupation, was no part of the original policy in framing the Treaty, for you are aware that the application for our troops was made after the Treaty had been signed. But it was evident I had no alternative, if I felt confident, as I then did, that the British garrison would be able to effect its declared objects without compromising the safety of the troops. I, therefore, did not hesitate to afford the aid solicited, although I did so with reluctance.

On every occasion, the Lahore Government has been assured that the British Government deprecates interference in their affairs: they have been informed that our troops were ready to retire at any moment, if the reorganization of the Sikh army, and the improved state of the country, would admit of their being withdrawn.

It may be further observed, that the occupation of Lahore could not be considered in the light of a subsidiary arrangement, because the instruc-

* The Italics are ours.—Ed.

tions given to the General officer and to the Political Agent, were, that the garrison was placed there to preserve the peace of the town, but was not to be employed in any expedition, even between the Ravee and the Sutledj.

The force was expressly given as a loan of troops for a peculiar emergency, and to aid the Lahore Government in carrying out an essential Article of the Treaty, which required the disbandment of their army. No payment was demanded, except for certain extra allowances granted to the native troops, whilst serving beyond the Sutledj.

If, therefore, the proposals of the Regent and the Durbar are merely confined to a further loan of British troops for six months, on the plea that a Hindoo Government cannot be carried on, unless supported by British bayonets, I am of opinion that the application must be refused.

There has been ample time for the reorganization of the Sikh army, and by proper management the Durbar could have fulfilled the limited objects for which the British force was left at Lahore. The means of effecting these objects have been invariably neglected, in opposition to the friendly admonitions of the British Government. I have not failed to exhort the Vizier to pay the troops with regularity, as the only mode by which the Government and the army can be on good terms, and without which no efficient service, or correct discipline, can be expected. Two regiments have been recently driven into mutiny for want of pay—such a course being their only means of obtaining their just dues,—whilst estates of large value have been given to the brother of the Maharanee, as well as to the relations of the Vizier. It is surprising that, after the experience of the last five years, of a mutinous army controlling its own Government at Lahore, the Durbar cannot understand, or will not practise, so simple a system to ensure obedience.

~~It is not necessary~~ that I should recapitulate the acts of impolicy and injustice which have marked the conduct of the Durbar during the last five months. Having a right to interfere, by the terms of the Treaty, in matters relating to the payment of the disbanded soldiery, I have frequently urged the Durbar to do their duty; and this advice, given with moderation, has led the Sikh Government to make the confession of its own weakness, and to implore the Governor-General to prolong the period of occupation.

It is impossible to place any confidence in the professions of the Maharanee or the Vizier, that the advice of a British Agent would be followed, if the garrison were to be permitted to remain: the British Government would, in such case, be a party to the oppression of all classes of the people. Again, if the troops are withdrawn, we are warned that the country will be plunged into a state of anarchy, and the destruction of all Government will ensue. Neither of these results would be consistent with the humanity, or the sincerity, of our policy, and they would be equally opposed to our best interests.

The other course—which it may be open to the British Government to take, and which has constantly occupied my attention since the 3rd of September—would be, to carry on the Government at Lahore in the name of the Maharajah during his minority (a period of about eight years,) or for a more limited time, placing a British Minister at the head of the Government, assisted by a Native Council, composed of the ablest and most influential Chiefs.

This course, however, could not be adopted, even if the offer to surrender, the Regency were to be made by the Maharanee, unless Her Highness' solicitations were cordially and publicly assented to by the great majority of the Chiefs.

If, therefore, the Chiefs should not join the Regent and the Durbar in

calling upon the British Government to act as the guardian of the young Prince during his minority, and to conduct the administration, no attempt would be made to carry such a measure into execution. I should, in that case, scrupulously adhere to the terms of the Agreement. Those terms could not be suspended, even temporarily, without some such public act as that of assembling all the Chiefs who have an interest in the State, through the lands they hold from the Maharajah; and in any such proceeding, the proposal must originate with the Lahore, and not with the British authorities.

The marked difference between the system of having a British Minister residing at Lahore, and conducting the Government through native agency, and that which now prevails of a native Government administering the affairs of the State, without any interference, foreign or domestic, excepting from the Regent, would amount to this, that, in the one case, our troops are made the instrument for supporting misrule, and giving countenance and strength to oppression; in the other, by British interposition, justice and moderation are secured by an administration conducted by native executive agency, in accordance with the customs and feelings, and even prejudices, of the people. An efficient administration, working satisfactorily, being fairly established, the British interposition might be withdrawn; or, if necessary, it might continue till the coming of age of the Maharajah, when, as may be hoped, his country would be made over to him in a much improved and prosperous condition.

The principal means of ensuring a successful Government would consist in the strict administration of justice between the Government and the people, in the regular payment of the troops, and the guarantee to the Chiefs, of the unmolested enjoyment of their estates, which should ~~only be liable to~~ forfeiture on a strong case of misconduct clearly proved.

The native officers of the army would remain, as at present, Generals and Colonels at the head of their troops; and innovations, unless required for important purposes of government, would not be introduced.

Such a system of British rule might not answer as a permanent one, but it might be adopted, if the Durbar and Chiefs are convinced that the Government, without such an alternative, would fall to pieces on the retirement of the British garrison.

If, therefore, the proposal of the Regent and Durbar should lead to an offer to carry on the Lahore Government by a British Minister, during the minority of the Maharajah, and the proposal should be confirmed by the influential Chiefs, publicly convoked for the deliberation of such a measure, I should be disposed to give to the experiment a favourable consideration.

* * * * *

If no such proposal leading to modifications of the Treaty should be made, it is my intention to withdraw the British force from Lahore the latter end of December, in accordance with the Agreement. I shall, in this case, have afforded the Lahore Durbar every facility in my power, to avert the misfortune which the Vizier and his colleagues anticipate on the retirement of the troops; and you may be assured that, in the transactions now pending, the conduct of the British Government shall be strictly regulated by principles of justice and good faith.

With regard to the apprehended failure of the Vizier to establish a Sikh Government, I am satisfied it will not have been caused by any difficulties which might not have been obviated by a firmer Minister. At the same time, it must be admitted, that he has been placed in a position of great difficulty, which might have baffled the skill of an abler and better man.

It is due, however, to the Rajah, and must be admitted, that he has on all occasions cheerfully assented to every proposal for the comfort and accommodation of the British troops.

If the hope, which I have expressed since last March, that a permanent Sikh Government might be formed, should be disappointed, the result will not prove that the measure could have been dispensed with at the time it was adopted.

The force was left expressly for the purpose of protecting the inhabitants of a large city from spoliation by a disbanded army. The occupation has fulfilled that object, and has given to the Sikh Government the time to reorganize their army; it has given to the Lahore Government the opportunity of performing its duty to the State; and if, from causes beyond the control of the Governor-General, the attempt to establish a Sikh Government should fail, that result can in no respect reflect unfavourably on the policy of the attempt. It has not impaired the British character; on the contrary, it has caused it to be respected, not only by force of arms, but by the removal of national prejudices. At the time I consented to the occupation, the question then raised by the opponents of the measure, was, not whether a Sikh Government would succeed or fail, but whether the British garrison could maintain its position in Lahore?

The risk of occupying the capital, in my judgment, was not commensurate with the moral obligations imposed upon me, and the political advantages which have followed that act; and, at this moment, it will not be forgotten by reflecting men, that a great military object has been obtained, of giving to this admirable Indian army a salutary lesson, that, under the firm management of an able commander, there are no difficulties in occupying a large town, the capital of a foreign nation, which cannot by good discipline be overcome.

I, therefore, never can regret a measure which, up to this hour, has secured the capital of a neighbouring State from ruin, and has maintained unimpaired the reputation of the British power throughout our Eastern Empire.

The above masterly document tells how honestly the Governor-General endeavoured to prop up the State that had been struck down by the hands of its own children:—it does more; it emphatically lays down the somewhat novel though happily growing doctrine that British protection when accorded is not merely a shield for the Native Sovereign and his myrmidons, but that it covers the people also—that the country of an ally may be defended, but may not be harried by British bayonets.

The other despatch with which we enrich our pages states that the culprit Vizier of Lahore was tried in open court in the presence of sixty-five of his Peers; *not by them*, as shewn in the last number of this Review, *because they were his enemies*; but by five British officers every individual of whom was more or less his friend and well-wisher. It then tells of the terms on which Lord Hardinge consented to carry on the administration of Lahore for eight years. Even Lal Singh, though anxious for a Resident and a Contingent, on the old system, preferred this scheme to being left to the mercies of the Sikhs and the

fate of his predecessors. But without further preface we offer the extract nearly in full as published in the Blue Book :—

No 9.

" The Governor-General to the Secret Committee.

Camp, Bhyrowal Ghat,

December 21, 1846. (No. 59.)

(Extract.)

In my last dispatch, of the 5th instant, I informed you of the arrangements which had been made at Lahore, for conducting the inquiry into the allegations of Sheik Imamooddeen, relative to his proceedings in Cashmere.

The collection of papers which accompanies this dispatch will bring before you all the circumstances that have since occurred, and will show, that the course contemplated by me, in my communication to you of the 19th of September, in the event of the Lahore Government desiring the continuance of the British troops, has been acted upon.

I have to request your attention to Mr. Currie's letter of the 5th of December, forwarding the minutes of evidence and abstract of the proceedings taken in the investigation of the Cashmere insurrection.

You will observe that the inquiry was conducted in the most open and public manner. All the leading Chiefs of the most influential families, sixty-five in number, attended to witness the proceedings."

* * * * *

The Governor-General then enters into some details of the trial of Rajah Lal Singh; acknowledges the services of Mr. Currie and his colleagues, and thus proceeds:—

" In the subsequent transactions to which I am now about to draw your attention, and which refer to the terms on which alone I could consent to the continued occupation of Lahore by a British garrison, you will find that all the anticipations of my confidence in this valuable officer's ability have been realized.

In the same letter (of the 7th of December) in which I confirmed Mr. Currie's proceedings, I instructed him to address the Maharajah, expressing the deep interest I took in His Highness' welfare, and stating that, as the time had nearly arrived when the British troops would, in observance of the Agreement of the 11th March, withdraw from Lahore, I was anxious, after the Vizier's deposition, that the Government should be so reconstructed as to afford the best prospect of preserving the Raj; that I was anxious, after the British Government should remain on terms of peace and amity with the Government of Lahore; but that I was determined, after the experience of the last nine months, and the recent misconduct of the Vizier, not to leave a British force in the city, beyond the stipulated period, for the sake of supporting a Native Government which can give no assurance of its power to govern justly, as regards its people, and no guarantee for the performance of its obligations to its neighbours.

I stated, that it was the duty of His Highness' Government and the Chiefs, to decide upon the course which they might deem to be most expedient; but that in these arrangements I could exercise no interference, further than in giving to His Highness' Government the aid of my advice and good offices in promoting the interests of the State.

These sentiments were conveyed to His Highness in Mr. Currie's letter of the 9th of December, and the answer is contained in a recapitulation of each paragraph by the Durbar, concluding with the request that I would

leave two regiments of infantry, one regiment of cavalry, and a field-battery, at Lahore, with Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence as the Resident, for some months longer.

Mr. Currie, in his reply to this letter of the Maharajah's informed His Highness, that the application for the continuance of a British force at Lahore involved a departure from the conditions of the Articles of Agreement concluded on the 11th of March, and stated that it would, therefore, be advisable that the members of the Durbar and the principal Sirdars should assemble, in order that Mr. Currie might declare, in their presence, the only terms on which the Governor-General would consent to a modification of the arrangements, and to the continuance of a British force at Lahore, after the expiration of the stipulated period.

The paper containing these conditions was carefully translated into Persian and Hindoostanee, and delivered by Mr. Currie to the chiefs, when they met on the 15th December. For the purpose of avoiding all misunderstanding, the different articles, were explained—the Sirdars retired for consultation, and, after some discussion relating to the amount of the contribution for the expense of the British garrison, the terms were agreed to.

In order to afford full time for further deliberation, it was resolved that the Sirdars and Chiefs should reassemble on the following day, when certain individuals should be selected by themselves to draw up Articles of Agreement, in conjunction with Mr. Currie and Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence. The Chiefs accordingly reassembled at Mr. Currie's Durbar tent, at 3 o'clock of the 16th instant. Each article was discussed separately; the contribution was fixed at twenty-two lacs; and every Sirdar present signed and sealed the paper. All the Chiefs, in number fifty-two, on the conclusion of the meeting expressed their satisfaction that the Maharajah would be under the protection of the British Government during his minority, which will continue until the 4th of September, 1854.

At these meetings the Chiefs unanimously concurred that a State necessity existed for excluding the Maharanee from exercising any authority in the administration of affairs, and the Durbar and the Chiefs have come to the decision that Her Highness shall receive an annuity of one lac and a half.

You will observe, that a British officer appointed by the Governor-General in Council, with an efficient establishment of subordinates, will remain at Lahore, to direct and control every department of the State.

The feelings of the people, and the just rights of all classes, will be respected.

A Council of Regency, composed of leading Chiefs, will act under the control and guidance of the British Resident.

The Council will consist of eight Sirdars, and the members will not be changed without the consent of the British Resident, acting under the orders of the Governor-General.

The power of the Resident extends over every department, and to any extent.

A military force may be placed in such forts and posts, and of such strength, within the Lahore territories, as the Governor-General may determine.

These terms give the British Resident unlimited authority in all matters of internal administration, and external relations, during the Maharajah's minority.

The concession of these powers will enable the British Government to secure the peace and good order of the country—the authority will be exercised for the most beneficial purposes: these terms are more extensive than have been heretofore required, when Native States have received the protection of a British contingent force. My motive in requiring such large powers has arisen from the experience of its necessity during the last nine months; and

my reluctance, on general principles, to revert to the subsidiary system of using British troops to support a Native Government, while we have no means of correcting the abuses of the civil administration of a country ostensibly under British protection. A British force, acting as the instrument of a corrupt Native Agency, is a system leading to mischievous consequences, and which ought, when it is possible, to be avoided.

The occupation of Lahore will afford the means of counteracting much of the disorder and anarchy which have disturbed the Punjab for the last five years, chiefly owing to a numerous Sikh army, kept up in the vicinity of the capital, in numbers greatly disproportioned to the revenues of the country, and by whose republican system of discipline, the soldiery had usurped all the functions of the State.

The control which a British garrison can exercise in enforcing order amongst the disbanded soldiery, will, in conjunction with a British system of administration, protect all classes of the community. The immediate effect of depriving a numerous body of military adventurers of employment (there being still many to be disbanded to reduce the numbers to the limits of the Treaty of Lahore,) may be troublesome, and a source of some uneasiness.* No policy can at once get rid of an evil which has been the growth of years. But the operation of a system of order introduced into the Punjab, will subdue the habits of this class, as has been the case in our own provinces since the Pindarree war, and, by gradually mitigating the turbulent spirit of the Sikh population, encourage the people to cultivate the arts of industry and peace.

A strict adherence to the letter of the Treaty, by the withdrawal of the British garrison at this moment from the Punjab, after the avowals made by the Durbar, that the Government could not stand, would probably have led to measures of aggrandizement, and the extension of our territory, after scenes of confusion and anarchy. This danger was felt by the most able of the Sirdars, and it reconciled them to the sacrifices which the terms inevitably required for the interest of the Lahore State. By the course which has been adopted, the modification of the terms of the Agreement of last March, has been made with the free consent of the Sirdars, publicly assembled, who were made fully aware of the extent of the power which, by the new articles, was to be transferred to the British Government.

NOTE BY REVIEWER.

* In some quarters we understand that Lord Hardinge is reproached with allowing the arrears of a thousand or two of Sikh Sowars to remain unpaid. The following facts therefore will be instructive:—The Sikh Army has during the last twelve months been reduced not less than 20,000 men; and the finances thereby relieved by 80 lakhs. Not only have *all* these men been paid their arrears, but the Army still kept up, which was found in arrears of from nine to sixteen months is now paid nearly as regularly as our own. The infantry are two months in arrears, and the majority of the cavalry only five; and their not being paid up as well as the infantry is for the excellent reason that there is no money. When these facts have been digested, we would beg attention to the contrast afforded by the following. The Gwalior cavalry, remodelled and taken under our protection in January 1844, was still owed in June 1847 (3½ years after the treaty) the monstrous sum of 25 lakhs of Rupees. If 10 lakhs of the marriage gift of the Bazeer Bhaie have been appropriated to the payment of those arrears, as was suggested, we understand, by the local agents, there will still remain four years after the treaty a larger arrear to the Gwalior cavalry, than is owed to the whole Sikh Army nine months after the treaty that transferred it with the rest of the Lahore State to British care. We attribute no sort of blame in this matter to Col. Sleeman, or Sir R. Shakespeare. The treaty of Gwalior did not give them the authority to act; that of Lahore *did* give Col. Lawrence. We only add one more example to the many on record of the evils of the *old* Subsidiary system, and the advantages of the *new*.

The confidence which the Sikh Chiefs have reposed in British good faith, must tend, by the unanimity of their decision, which partakes, as far as it is possible in an eastern country, of a national sanction, to promote the success of this measure.

I have deemed it expedient, that the ratification of the new terms of Agreement entered into for protecting the Maharajah during his minority, should be made as public as possible. It has, therefore, been determined, in communication with the Sirdars, that his Highness shall come to my camp on this side of the Beas on the 26th instant; and I propose afterwards, when the Agreement will be formally ratified, to pay His Highness a friendly return visit at Lahore."

Compliments to Mr. Currie and Colonel Lawrence here follow, and the despatch thus concludes:—

"In every part of India the most perfect tranquillity prevails.

No efforts on my part will be omitted to preserve this desirable state of things. My views and measures have been uniformly directed to maintain a system of peace, by consolidating the British power in India, and not by objects of aggrandizement, and I trust that the arrangements now about to be ratified will tend to this effect, and that the course which I have adopted will be found by you to be consistent with true policy, and conducive to the interests of British India."

The Treaty of March 1846 was no sooner signed than arrangements were made for the management of the valuable acquisitions obtained. Mr. John Lawrence one of the most experienced officers in the Civil Service, was sent for from Delhi, in which neighbourhood he had served for many years with great credit. To his care as commissioner was entrusted the Jullunder, with half a dozen assistants, while Major Mackeson, with a similar staff, superintended the Cis-Sutlej states, both acting under the Agent of the Governor-General. The arrangement answered so well that within the year almost all the complicated questions caused by the war were decided, and the Sikh Chiefs put on a new and improved footing. Major Broadfoot had truly observed that these chiefs had long ceased to be the *protected*, and might latterly rather be called the *restrained*. They had ceased to *fear* the Punjab Ruler: they now only feared our preventions from plunder. The police powers of many of these were withdrawn: the customs of all commuted or abolished. The disorderly and untrustworthy contingents on both sides the river were commuted for a money payment sufficient to pay several good regiments; the jagirs of all examined, and possession allowed until so done; and above all a very light summary assessment was completed within three months in the Jullunder, and during the year elsewhere. The Governor-General's only instructions to the commissioners being to be moderate in their demands, and not to distress the people. Thus has order been brought out of anarchy and a most fruit-

ful and lovely district, already yielding fifty lakhs, been added to British India.

Simultaneously with these arrangements, retrenchments in a small way were commenced, but it was not until the treaty of December 1846 was signed, that the Governor-General felt justified in reducing the Military Force. Now however that affairs were put on a more promising footing; the strength of every infantry corps in the service was reduced as also of all the irregulars; the Police Battalions were one by one disbanded and already without any apparent effort more than 30,000 have been reduced from the Bengal army alone. There is no denying that while this bold measure has saved much to the state, it has curtailed establishments with less injury to public credit than ever was before accomplished.

There is one feature of this question which the future Historian will dwell on with special satisfaction. Scarcely was the Punjab war over than the party in the British Senate, with which the Governor-General had always acted, were ejected from power. They had honored and rewarded him, and he might now have retired, or when remaining at the request of his Political adversaries—who seem to have treated him with as much consideration as if one of themselves,—he might not unreasonably be expected to forward no financial arrangements that would affect his popularity during the brief remainder of his stay in India. An ordinary man would certainly thus have acted; but far otherwise has been Lord Hardinge's practice. In the face of the clamour of a portion of the press he has as honestly and unflinchingly used the shears as Lord Wm. Bentinck could have done—as effectively as if he, himself, were to be the gainer. He had submitted his resignation to the Home Authorities. He had expressed his desire to be relieved in the winter of 1847; so that without any apparent dereliction of duty, he might have left every invidious measure to be carried out—every reduction to be enforced by his successor.

We shall enter somewhat fully—we trust not tediously—into these reductions, premising that, since the year 1837, the Indian Army has been increased by no less, in round numbers, than 120,000 men. More than half of these levies have been discharged, and yet all vulnerable points are as well guarded as they ever were; and the N. W. Frontier is placed on a footing of strength sufficient to silence the most clamorous alarmist.

With the exception of the Cavalry, every branch of the Indian Army has been increased since 1837; the officers by no less than 834; in the proportion of 656 to the Infantry, 146 to the Artillery, and 32 to the Engineers. Above 50,000 men have

already been reduced, leaving the army still stronger by more than that number than it was in 1837. None of the officers, Native or European, have been touched. Certain local corps have been disbanded; while other "Irregulars," more urgently required, have been raised. Among these are the Sindh and Sikh Levies. The chief reduction has been caused by bringing down the strength of corps from 1000 and 1100 to 800 men.* This was effected by giving a bonus of from three to twelve month's pay to every man willing to take his discharge; and by permitting men to invalid in 1847, who in usual course would not have been passed till 1848. No soldier, however, of the regulars has been discharged against his will; and none of the irregular horse who have served seven years; while every individual of the latter, however short his service, discharged on the reduction, has received a gratuity of twelve months pay, being no less than £24 for a private horseman,—a noble sum, a fortune to many.

Eight regiments of Cavalry were raised during the war; and all of them for very good reasons were irregulars. First because a corps can be formed in a month or two and costs ~~only~~ £19,000 per annum; while one of regulars, costs £39,000; 2dly, because they are more easily moved and provided for; requiring (including officers) only thirty-seven doolie bearers and twenty-two camels, while a corps of regular cavalry requires sixty and 200 respectively; lastly and above all, because, during the Sikh campaign, after every exertion, we never had 4,500 sabres in the field opposed to not less than 30,000. We were deficient in *numbers*, not material. When Punjab affairs were settled; the strength of corps of irregular horse was reduced to 500, and we believe it is the intention to bring them down to 420, the strength of the regular cavalry; but, as in the infantry, the full number of corps as also their constitution has been kept up, so as to enable officers on the shortest notice to fill up their ranks. The gratuity of a twelve months' pay to the discharged men was a humane measure, because many had incurred debt to enable them to enter the service, but it must now be clearly a man's own fault if he is unable to make a fresh start in life with a trifle in his pocket: it was a politic act, because it will induce volunteers, when required, to crowd to our ranks.

Thus the reduction in the native army has been effected, with the least possible detriment to efficiency. The cavalry,

* They are to be permitted gradually to fall to 750.

the arm in which we were most deficient, has been increased by eight regiments; and the number of sabres, even after reductions, by some hundreds. For the police battalions, the more efficient Sindh and Sikh Levies have been substituted. The police corps did not give satisfaction. No man who has much worked with natives could have expected otherwise. The theory of a military police is excellent; but as a general rule natives of India will not take to a double trade. They will not both fight and write; they will not do menial work and head work. There are of course exceptions to this as to every other rule; but with some personal experience in these matters we are decidedly of opinion that the native of India who has been in the habit of doing one work well will fail in a double duty. There are a dozen reasons for what we aver. Listlessness, cowardice, vanity and the prejudices of the caste to which they belong all interfere with such combination of duties. He who reckons on orientals by European rules, will assuredly reap repentance. The Sikh and Sindh Levies are more decidedly military bodies, than the police battalions, and bring into our ranks men who have fought against us; and might, if not employed, do so again. This indeed, is another reason for encouraging irregular cavalry, as it is chiefly formed of the most military portion of the Mahomedan population.

Though several European regiments have been sent home since the war; it is quite a mistake to suppose that the European force in India has been decreased, below the usual average. On the contrary it very far exceeds what was considered sufficient to defend India during any period of the China, Gwalior, Sindh and Afghanistan Campaigns,—the fact being that though between the years 1837 and 1842 the force in Bengal was increased by no less than one dragoon and seven infantry regiments, an equal number were generally absent, beyond the limits of India. During the years 1843-44 and '45 this branch of the army counted three regiments of dragoons, and fourteen of infantry, being one of the former, and five of the latter, in excess of the establishment of 1837. In the year 1838, while the whole European force in the Bengal presidency, was only two regiments of cavalry and nine of infantry, one of the first and two of the last were in Afghanistan; and in 1840 when the infantry establishment was increased to twelve regiments not less than six were absent, viz. three in China and three in Afghanistan. In the year 1846 the infantry regiments were again increased to sixteen

by orders from home, but before the reinforcements could arrive, peace was declared.*

It is now, we understand, intended to keep three regiments of dragoons and eleven of infantry on the Bengal establishment, being *one* of cavalry, and *two* of infantry in excess of the establishment of 1837 before Gwalior or the Punjab was subdued!

At Madras in the year 1841, there were eight European regiments, but of these three were absent; viz. one in China, one at Aden, and one at Moulmein; leaving five. The establishment is now to be eight!

At Bombay, the European force was

In 1837.....	4½	regiments (a wing being at Aden).
„ 1838.....	2½	„
„ 1839.....	3	„
„ 1840.....	4	„
„ 1841.....	4	„

One has now gone home, leaving seven, but a wing being at Aden and two Regiments in Scinde, 4½, the same as in 1837, remain for the duties of the presidency.

Thus we have shewn that the European force actually within the limits of India is considerably stronger than at any former period—though now for the first time since our Sovereignty commenced there is no organized army (Nepal excepted which has no Cavalry) in India, but our own. To make the matter still plainer to unprofessional Readers, we may remark that now, during profound peace, the European force in India, though 5,000 men less than the War Establishment of 1846 is 10,000 in excess of that of the year 1835 and 9,000 stronger than that of 1837 when the hostile Army of Gwalior was on our flank, the Sikhs in our front and the expedition to Afghanistan was already on the tapis!

The increase to the Army since 1837, in Bengal alone exceeded 50,000 men; the reductions, including Queen's Regiments sent home, exceed 30,000 men at a saving of £700,000. In Bombay, including a European Regiment 7,000 men at a saving of £300,000, and in Madras 10,000 at a saving of £160,000.

Thus the total reductions already completed are £1,160,000, while with the Lahore subsidy of £220,000, and the Jullunder and Cis-Sutlej proceeds (after deducting expenses) of £500,000

* This was a very natural and proper caution on the part of the home authorities, but it has been unadvisedly made a handle for the report that Lord Hardinge wrote to England, after Ferozshah, for 12,000 troops. The fact, however, is he did not write for a man. Lord Hardinge is not the person to wait till the middle of a war before he indents on England for all he considers necessary. No—his reinforcements were much nearer; Sir Charles Napier was in Sindh with 23,000 men. When the war ended in February 1846, Napier was at hand with 16,000 men and fifty guns; while supports from England could hardly have reached before the spring of 1847; unless Egypt, and there in April and May the soldiers would have suffered from heat.

more; we have a total improvement of the Revenue during the year 1847 of £1,880,000 sterling;—so that with reductions in progress at Bombay and Madras, the relief to the finances of India may be expected to be two millions of money; giving us for the first time since 1838 a prospect of escape from bankruptcy.

The advocates of annexation, those who think the Indus or the Solemane Range should be our border, may with advantage reflect on the above facts. Annexation that tends to insolvency can never be beneficial. Hitherto our debt has increased with our frontier; and we are satisfied that the Punjab would be no exception to the rule. Its revenues are *not* four millions as influential journals in England consider; they are scarcely one-third of that sum; and of it nearly half is expended in jageers and the British subsidy. Could we with our present establishments safely hold the four Western Doabs, or the other half? We think not; and had we tried to do it, where would have been the reductions above displayed? Would those who feared to occupy Lahore, with 10,000 men, *at the earnest prayer* of the Sikh nation, have had no misgivings, when again in front of the formidable Khybur—when ~~again~~ confronted with the Murris, the Bogtis and the Vizeris, while the irritated Sikh population was in their rear? Each river of the Punjab would have been as dangerous, or at least as dreaded, as a Khurd Kabul or a Khybur, and we must literally have kept up an Army in each Doab, or India and Europe would have rung with forebodings of disaster—instead of a reduction of the Army, then, there must have been an increase and especially in the most expensive branches; the Europeans;—the artillery and the cavalry. Above all, instead of sending home Queen's Regiments, we must have indented for six or eight more, and for years at least the country would have been a loss to us. The balance sheet is the best answer against annexation!

In proof that the reductions we have noticed have not unduly affected our Military strength, we proceed briefly to contrast our present and past posture, in the most vulnerable quarters.

A European Regiment has been withdrawn from Moulmein—wisely we think. The force there was not strong enough to make, though it might tempt, War—our Steamers would now enable us to reinforce the Tenasserim Coast, or to destroy Rangoon at a few hours' notice.

The small fortified posts of Petoragurh and Lohú Ghat on the western Nepal Frontier, inviting attack, have been dismantled, and their garrisons withdrawn. The Regiment of Native Infantry has been recalled from Almorah, where it

should never have been stationed, and the fort at that station is being strengthened, and made tenable against all comers until it can be relieved.

An Irregular Cavalry Corps is now stationed at Gorukpūr, in communication with that at Segowlie; the best possible arm to employ in watching the Goorkhas. By Lord Ellenborough's arrangements, Gwalior is now an armed friend, occupied by a British force more than double that which won "Meenec."

There remains only the N. W. Frontier. We have already shewn, but may repeat, that in July 1844, when the Sikh Army was in force at Lahore, the British troops at and above Meerut, amounted to, 24,000 men and 66 guns, but were increased by Lord Hardinge by 1st December 1845 to 45,000 men and 98 guns. Now, however, while there are not three thousand Sikh soldiers in the whole country around Lahore and Umritsur, and those under our orders, we shall have, *by the present relief 54,000 men and 120 field guns as well as a battering train of equal strength at and above Meerut !**

A comparison of these numbers should satisfy the most apprehensive mind, that in making his well considered reductions, ~~Lord~~ Hardinge has not hazarded the safety of the empire. Not only during the whole of the year 1846, were moveable Brigades, complete in carriage and equipment, kept up at Lahore, Ferozepore and Jullunder, but are now in the midst of profound peace, retained. Each consists of one European Regiment and three of native infantry, one of cavalry and twelve guns. The former has also two companies of sappers and a second regiment of cavalry. These brigades are under two distinguished Brigadiers, Campbell and Wheeler, both Aide-de-Camps to the Queen and the whole commanded by Sir John Littler. These three brigades can be reinforced in ten days by four regiments of British infantry; while there are three of cavalry, with seventy guns, and 20,000 Native Infantry in reserve.

Lord Hardinge's Ordnance arrangements ought alone to satisfy men's minds that in all that concerns military matters, he is thoroughly at home. Not a man or gun from the war establishment has been reduced; 60 nine-pounder guns before drawn by bullocks have been horsed, and there is now Siege and Field Artillery on and near the Frontier sufficient to meet any contingency, and it will not be His Lordship's fault if the Horse Artillery ammunition, ever again runs short in action, or if the siege train is ill supplied.†

* We are indebted for much of the information contained in this portion of our article to the instructive, and apparently authoritative, letters signed Zeta and Omega, that appeared lately in the *Bombay Times*.

† The old system did not allow sufficient ammunition to the field artillery. Lord Hardinge has rectified the error. We would, however, correct an impression that

We have entered at such length, into the origin, conduct and results of the war with the Sikhs, the great episode of Lord Hardinge's Administration, that we have space only to glance at some of the civil measures to which the restoration of peace enabled him to turn his attention.

The question of the great Ganges Canal had met with cool advocacy and warm opposition. Mr. Thomason's views were opposed, Major Coutley, the able projector was in England, and the war called away his excellent successor, Captain Baker and his assistants. Doubts were raised as to the advisability of opening a new canal, when those, on a much smaller scale now running past Delhi and Kurnaul, had rendered these towns and cantonments unhealthy. A sanatory committee was appointed and ordered to proceed to the canals; there to investigate the amount of sickness usually caused by them and draw up a full report embodying their own suggestions. The committee prepared a very curious table demonstrating most clearly that the size of the spleens of children, in the tract irrigated by the Delhi Canals increased in proportion to their vicinity to the inundation. The fact was not ascertained from examination of bed-ridden patients, but from scores of ~~boys~~ and girls who were running about the villages. It was however also ascertained that these symptoms of diseases were little thought of by the people themselves, and that sufferers from intermittent fever preferred to be subject to such trials rather than to lose the fertilizing waters of the canals. It was also shewn that the course of the Jumna canals being through a low line of country, difficult of drainage, caused swamps and stagnant pools, at the most unhealthy season of the year, as around Kurnaul—much if not all of this may be remedied, and it is believed that Delhi and Kurnaul may yet be restored to comparative salubrity.

By a judicious system of drainage, it is expected that, malaria can be prevented, and with this view it is intended that the Ganges canal shall follow the highest ridge of the Doab, at a prescribed safe distance from towns and cantonments. Thus, irrigation will be prevented in the vicinity of masses of people, and it may be hoped that care and attention will mitigate the

prevails in some quarters, that, because the Governor-General expressed himself warmly regarding the deficiency of ammunition at the beginning of the campaign, he, therefore, thinks ill of the Bengal Artillery. Far otherwise. He thinks them, as all who have seen their practice must do, as good artillery as any in the world. Indeed, his Lordship has often been heard to expatiate on the excellencies of the men and of the Captains, and we believe it to be his opinion that the *chief want* of the artillery, as of the Bengal Army, in all its branches, is a senior list. We may here mention what is little known,—we are not sure that it is so to Lord Hardinge,—that the chief reason for the ammunition having run out at Ferozshah, was the extraordinary number of waggons that blew up. Of eighteen that went into action under Lt. Col. Geddes, no fewer than seven exploded.

present canal evils to the rural population, indeed we do not see why irrigation might not be prohibited within prescribed distances of village sites; but as already remarked, the cultivators prefer good crops with miasma and visceral disease to dearth, hunger and starvation. Malaria doubtless does shorten life, but it is unquestionable that for hundreds whom it has destroyed in India famine has carried off its tens of thousands. Who can estimate the misery and mortality of the famine of 1837; the loss and expence of which alone, in a single year cost the Government a million of money--much what the Ganges canal is estimated at! Only four years previously, in 1833, that of Guntoor cost sixty lakhs and the lives of a quarter of a million of people!

Another danger was prognosticated. It was feared that to diverge from the Ganges $\frac{7}{8}$ ths (seven-eighths) of the main stream would endanger its navigation. As the proposed canal is to be navigable for boats and as the river is now scarcely so, throughout the year,* this objection seems to us unimportant.

After a rigid calculation of the advantages to be gained and the risks to be encountered; the Governor-General in March 1846 visited the head of the canal and its most important feature the Solani aqueduct, and then authorized the vigorous prosecution of the work. We understand that the annual expenditure of a quarter of a million sterling has since been sanctioned from home. Six years will probably open a canal of not less than 600 miles in length, to spread its fertilizing waters over 1,200,000 acres, to secure from famine several millions of people and to remain a lasting monument of British architecture and of British benevolence in India.

That Mr. Stephenson and his staff are now in Calcutta prepared to commence the grand Northern railway is mainly attributable to Lord Hardinge's sound advice and practical good sense. It must ever redound to his credit that when his colleagues, men supposed to be more cognizant of India's wants, doled out such small modicum of Government assistance as would have smothered the project for ever, the Governor-General taking an enlarged, and statesman-like view of the question declared, "I am of opinion that the assistance to be given ought not to be limited merely to the land," and further on, "the value of the land is not commensurate with the advantages which the state would derive from 'rapid and daily communications between Calcutta and Delhi,'" and again, "the calculation of the contribution to be given,

* We have ourselves, in an English wherry, been a dozen times aground in the month of March, between Furrukabad and Allahabad.

‘should be based on the political, military and commercial advantages which would be derived from the completion and full operation of such a line.’ His Lordship’s task was a peculiarly hard one. He had at a time of great financial pressure in the face of the combined opinion of his civil counsellors, to advocate a large outlay. He has had his reward in seeing the foundation of that noble work laid, which we hope it will be Lord Dalhousie’s privilege to complete. In his Lordship’s character and previous career, we have an earnest that he will not be found wanting in works of impoverment: indeed in his speech at the dinner given to him by the Court of Directors, on the 4th November, his Lordship told us that he will do all that prudence permits in opening out the communications of the Land. We trust that the present depression of the money market will prove only a temporary obstacle in the way of this great national work. The guarantee of five per cent. for twenty-five years makes the investment an excellent one as a private speculation, while to Government the advantages of rail-roads will be incalculable. With the means of rapidly transporting our munitions, our batteries and our battalions from one end of the empire to the other, we may confidently defy all danger and the strength of British India, will be more than doubled. Famine can no more stalk in one quarter, while plenty smiles in others. The trains that convey provisions for our English soldiers, to the foot of the Himalayas will return with the products of those mountains, whose dyes, herbs and minerals will now find a market.

Lord Hardinge has added another to the number of Sanatoria, and has, we hope, prepared the way for all Europeans, henceforward invalided for India to be sent to the mountains. We are satisfied that it is only misapprehension of the advantages to be gained that prevents the veterans of Chunar, now, to a man, volunteering for the Hills. And who can deny, that when masses of men can be transported from the sea to the frontier and back again within the week, that every European regiment in the service should have its chief hospital in the Hills, where at least half the period of service of every English soldier should be spent.*

While anxious to further the introduction of railroads, Lord Hardinge has far from neglected those communications to which we must still, for so many years be indebted. On his arrival finding the works on the Great Trunk road languishing, and the

* A few months ago, ice was sanctioned for European Hospitals, and we hear that it is now determined to allow Punksabs, both day and night, in the Barracks in the plains. This is indeed doing as we would be done by—the measure will save many lives.

roads scarcely passable for want of bridges, &c. he gave every encouragement to the Executive Officers and placed the means of completing the whole line of road in three seasons in their hands. The war impeded this as well as many other measures, but more than fifty bridges have been built on this road during $2\frac{1}{2}$ years, no less than fifteen of them, being in one march of 14 miles. Many drain bridges have also been prepared and much metalling work completed. In short except the bridges over seven Rivers, it is expected that ere June 1848, the whole line of road from Calcutta to Meerut, will be quite ready. As it is, travellers in carriages now go up and down for eight months of the year, easily reaching Delhi and Meerut from Calcutta in a fortnight.

During Lord Hardinge's Administration there has been much discussion especially in the south of India, regarding interference with the religion of the natives. At an early date the Governor-General made his stand. By his own example encouraging the observance of the Christian Religion, he not only discountenanced interference with the rites of the natives, but prohibited Government officials from involving themselves directly in schemes of conversion. By all legitimate means, without interfering with the labor of the missionary, he encouraged general education and the enlightenment of the native mind; the rest he appears to have left to God and to his appointed time.

The Notification of October 1846 prohibiting Sunday labor is evidence of Lord Hardinge's sincerity; and will be long remembered to his honor. Viewed merely as a secular measure the good will be great. It will be a check to many who having little to do during the week, from mere listlessness and carelessness, were wont to desecrate the Sabbath, or permit it to be desecrated by their subordinates. The Moslem and the Hindu, who worship after their own fashion, have now some proof that the Christian respects the faith he professes.

On several occasions we have discussed the subjects of Infanticide and Human Sacrifice, and have now great pleasure in recording Lord Hardinge's efforts to put down these crimes as well as suttee and man-stealing.

During the past year scarcely a month has failed to record some act of prohibition of one or other of these crimes in the territories of protected chiefs, in Central or Northern India. Several Princes having come forward and reported their desire to put an end to these atrocities, it now rests with the Paramount Power to see that these edicts be not infringed by present Rulers, themselves, or by their heirs. Where a Prince reports an edict of his own to the British Government, he virtu-

ally calls on it to witness the act, and where he swerves from such attested deed the least punishment that is his due is an expression of the severe displeasure of the Governor-General, which in most cases will have the desired effect. The great gain to humanity of recent measures will be better understood, when it is considered that at the death of a petty chief, such as the Raja of Mundi near Simla, who holds a country yielding scarcely £40,000 a-year, as many as a dozen women have been incriminated;* and that throughout the Hindu States, up to the period of the recent prohibitions, the point of honor has been for every widow to immolate herself. The murder of Raja Hira Singh, at Lahore involved the Suttee of no less than twenty-four helpless women, of whom two were his own wives, and eight his slaves.†

The suppression of Infanticide will be much more difficult than that of Suttee. In different quarters of protected India, whole villages and tribes confess that they have no daughters—declaring that such is the will of God; but even in our own oldest provinces, it is by no means certain that child-murder does not largely prevail. The right course seems now being pursued to eradicate this horrid system:—not by sweeping penalties (carelessly or not all carried out) but by watching events, by instructing the people and by discountenancing all who, having local influence, do not lend it in support of humanity. In the Jullunder Doab, the Bedis, descendants from Gúru Nanuk, permitted no female child to live, and throughout the Punjab they shed blood, almost, with impunity. One of them, however, we observe, by the *Delhi Gazette* has recently been hanged at Lahore, for murdering his mother and brothers, and from the day of the introduction of our rule into the Jullunder, the Bedis have been given to understand that they are subject to the law like other people. When the Bedi of Oona, the head of their “tribe of Levi,” was told by the Commissioner that he must forbid the crime within his extensive jageer; he replied he could not, but that he would himself, by a life of celibacy, support British views. Mr. Lawrence told him that he must take his choice of obeying or

* We have heard an officer assert, who counted the figures on the sepulchres at Mundi of the last ten Rajas, that the average number of victims was 45!

† In Major Broadfoot's despatch dated 28th September 1845, published in the Punjab Blue Book, reporting the death of Sirdar Jowahir Singh and the burning of his four widows, it is stated “Suttees are sacred and receive worship; their last words are considered prophetic, their blessing eagerly sought for and their curses dreaded. Dewan Dinanath, the Rani, the Maharaja, and others prostrated themselves before them and obtained their blessing. *** The Suttees blessed them, but cursed the Sikh Punt.”

of surrendering his lands ; he appears to have preferred the latter alternative.

Child-stealing and the selling of men, women and children, for purposes of slavery or prostitution are crimes,—though still practiced in British India and most common throughout native states,—not sufficiently considered in their frightful consequences. By recent notifications we observe that child-stealing has been made penal in the Punjab, and that the very name of slave has been prohibited in the Gwalior territory. These are wholesome effects of interference : most holy fruits of protection.

Attention thus excited towards Suttee, Infanticide, and Child-stealing, very slight efforts on the part of Government and its officials will surely tend to eradicate the crimes throughout the limits of Hindustan. Some few Hindus may pervert, or disregard their own shasters ; but the more sacred and authoritative of these writings in no way sanction Suttee. We never heard a Hindu pretend to prove that they did, and not many months since a good brahman, emphatically told the writer of these remarks, that in prohibiting Infanticide, we had compensated for permitting the crime of cow-killing. Be it remembered that the majority of Hindus consider a cow's life more sacred than that of a man !

During the last three administrations much anxiety has been displayed to put an end to the sacrifice of human beings by the Khonds and other wild Tribes South-west of Calcutta. We have devoted three articles of our periodical to the subject, and have shewn, that among other recorded atrocities, as many as twenty-five full grown persons have been sacrificed at a single festival by the Khonds : that a caterer for such impious rites had pledged and actually delivered up his own two daughters, for want of purchased offerings ; and that in some of the Khond districts, those who could not procure other victims gave up " their old and helpless fathers and mothers to be sacrificed."

The measures lately undertaken have been carried out under the orders of the Deputy-Governor of Bengal, under the general supervision of the Governor-General. In all his communications on the subject, Lord Hardinge has advocated the combination of energy with forbearance. It has been demonstrated in our pages that mere advice, or earnest remonstrances, or partial tokens of favour will not alone effect the humane purposes of Government ; but it does not therefore follow that we advocate hanging and destroying, or that we would carry our measures at the point of the sword. This would, in our opinion, rather retard civilization, would drive the wild tribes

into their wildest fastnesses and sooner extirpate the offenders than eradicate the offence. Of the nature and extent of Capt. Macpherson, the Khond Agent's success, chiefly through his administration of justice, we have furnished accounts in a previous number; and we purpose, ere long, to furnish still more. But, Lord Hardinge, perceiving the utter impossibility of a single Agent, however zealous and able, effecting much over 60,000 square miles of wild mountain country, suggested giving him six European officers as coadjutors, each armed with full powers to act, and each supported by three efficient native assistants. Thus at a stroke was the machinery to be increased eighteen fold! These European and native agents were to go among the Khonds as friends and benefactors. They were to be authorised to make them small presents, to advise and to consult with them, to administer justice, and to explain that a merciful God does not smile on murder, and that the blood of human victims does not fertilize their fields, but that vallies, happier and richer than their own, as free from famine and disease, are witnesses of no such detestable rites. Failing by such means, we understand it to have been Lord Hardinge's intention to have sanctioned all possible measures short of devastation and spoliation; and we have little doubt that when mild measures, such as those which have already been shewn to have proved so far successful, are thus energetically enforced, there will be little need of recourse to the sword. But the evils of centuries cannot be eradicated in a day, especially in a country whose climate is so deadly, that for half the year few Indians much less Europeans can live.

If we have not yet obtained Post Office reform, it is assuredly not Lord Hardinge's fault. All his acts prove him to be quite alive to the advantages of rapid and cheap communication and exchange of opinion. We understand that during the spring of 1847, he sent home the Post Office Papers with a strong recommendation that the suggestions of Mr. Riddell, the Agra Post Master General, should be sanctioned.

On the present system, there are two rates of postage for Newspapers; two annas and three annas according to distance. Letters all pay according to distance and weight; a quarter tola or one-fourth of a Rupee being considered a single letter. These rules largely affect the prices of the presidency Newspapers in the Mofussil, and enable all who wish to send small letters to club together, and thus transmit a dozen advices or letters by a single postage. It was soon ascertained that natives did so, and that merchants employed collectors of these scraps of letters in different quarters, who on salaries of five or

six pound a year collected and transmitted letters at decimal rates, and in the same way received packets containing bundles, the contents of which they delivered according to their directions.

The rules now proposed will meet these difficulties. A one-anna stamp will pass Newspapers from one end of India to the other, and, though lightly taxing Calcutta, Bombay and Madras readers, will largely benefit all Mofussil ones. Proprietors must benefit, as the reduction will now induce many Mofussilites to take daily papers. In regard to letters one rate of half an anna or three farthings is suggested for all distances, one-eighth of a tola (Rupee) being however the weight of a single letter, so that there will be little if any advantage in an agency between the Government and letter-writers and receivers. At present the North Western Provinces alone pay any postal revenue to Government. The present income, we believe, is about £10,000, but double that amount is swamped in the expences of the other presidencies, leaving a deficit of a Lakh of Rupees on all India, which is expected to increase to five as the first effects of the new scheme. The Post Office revenue has however lately increased ten per cent. per annum and under such an impulse as is proposed, letters and newspapers will vastly increase, so that it is not too much to expect that eventually a gain will be obtained instead of a loss incurred, by the new arrangement, independent of Government packets being carried free. Should, however, this hope be disappointed, it will still be the interest as well as the duty of Government to remodel the Post Office Establishment. The whole system, especially in Bengal, is discreditable to an enlightened Government. There is now little or no check on the delivery of letters, and while the Post runs at the rate of ten miles an hour westward of Benares, the letter bags are still carried around Calcutta on men's shoulders.

The inhabitants of Calcutta have reason long to remember Lord Hardinge's warm approval in August 1846 of the measures for the improvement of the Calcutta conservancy. All such reforms have every where obtained his support. But to a commercial people perhaps his removal of all restrictions on trade is his best recommendation. Throughout British India, trade is now free, and even in almost every Native State the worst restrictions have been removed. The town duties not only of such places as Lúdíana and Umballa, have been abolished, but those of Surat yielding eleven Lakhs of rupees have been released.*

* It is only fair to say that the Salt Tax was simultaneously increased at Surat, but the loss to Government in that town alone by the new arrangement was estimated at four Lakhs; the duty levied on Salt being seven, while the town duties removed were eleven

No sooner was the Jullunder Doab annexed than all transit and town duties were annulled, and those of the Cis-Sutlej States soon followed. In Central India the example has been followed, so that with exceptions, so few as to be scarce worth mentioning, trade in India is now taxed at single points on the great Customs Line or on the Seaboard. In the North Western Provinces the said Customs Line has been reduced from a double to a single one; would that the state of the Exchequer permitted its being altogether removed. The Sutlej and the Indus are now, *in reality*, free of imposts, to the sea; and, under British influence, considerable reformation in customs arrangements has been effected in the Punjab. Cotton cultivation has not been neglected, and we understand that a full report on this important staple is now before Government.

Lord Hardinge took great interest in the endeavours for the cultivation of tea, and authorized its enthusiastic promoter, Dr. Jameson, to commence plantations in different quarters of the lower Himalayas. The present price that Indian Tea fetches is an earnest that England will be independent of China for this essential of English life, at least as soon as the Chinese can grow their own opium.

Thus much has been done or laid in train during Lord Hardinge's administration of forty-two months. His benefits to the services have not been less real, though not so apparent as those to the state.

In the first place by reducing the expenditure within the income, no retrenchment of salaries has been made. And no rational man can, for a moment, suppose that England could continue to hold India at an annual loss of a million and a half. As then it is not likely to part with its brightest gem, sooner or later all servants of the state must pay the penalty of undue expenditure, be it on visionary schemes of war or of peace. In this then Lord Hardinge deserves gratitude that he has never wilfully allowed a rupee of public cash to be unnecessarily expended: he has closely scanned and jealously scrutinized all attempts, however plausible, on the public pocket; and when he has rewarded liberally, and freely abandoned present profits, it has been because he has sense and farsightedness enough to perceive that there is no reaping without sowing, and that in the end it is cheaper and better to pay well and to act liberally than by stinted measures to cramp zeal and retard improvement.

But far more than in mere pecuniary matters are we indebted to his Lordship. The spirit of consideration and kindness that has prevailed throughout his administration, not only to those around him and enjoying his personal society, but to all

officers of the state with whom he has had occasion to communicate, has been marked. Under Lord Hardinge there has been no black-balling of classes nor undue encouragement of others. Men have been judged by their merits,—due consideration being paid to just recommendations, especially in favor of sons of meritorious officers. Himself a thorough soldier, the Governor-General has always upheld the civil authority as necessarily supreme, but he has discouraged all jealousies between Civilians and Soldiers, and has taught that each is most honored in best fulfilling his duties.

All branches of the army, European and native, are indebted to him for distinct acts of favor.

To his advocacy when Secretary at War, seven Company's officers are now indebted for being Aides-de-Camp to the Queen. And at this moment it is believed that he is striving to obtain for the Army a senior list. The Company's regiments in the three presidencies are indebted to his voice for their extra captains. Additional pensions have, at his recommendation, been allowed to widows of officers killed in action and also to the heirs of native officers.*

Free quarters have been allowed to all ranks at Lahore, the families of European soldiers have been allowed to join them both in Sindh and the Punjab, a measure that, considering Lord Hardinge's precise notions on military questions, can only have been caused by his strong desire to make the soldier as comfortable as possible, since none more than himself saw the objections to crowding Kurachí and Lahore with European women and children.

On the close of the war of sixty days, while the Treasury was still empty, a gratuity of twelve months' batta was granted not only to those who had been actually under fire, but to all who had arrived at and above Bussean, by, a certain day. For months of exposure in Afghanistan and Burmah half this amount of Batta was granted!

The European soldier's kit by a General Order of February 1846 is now carried at the public expence: the Sanatorium of Dugshae and the Barracks for European Artillery at Subathú are the work of Lord Hardinge in continuation of the best act of Lord Ellenborough's Administration.

The boons peculiarly affecting the Native Soldier are not fewer. The pension of Sepoys disabled by wounds in action

* We presume that the gallant Lord Gough referred to this boon, when in a parting speech at his own hospitable table the night before Lord Hardinge left Simla he observed,—“The noble Lord (Hardinge) had done much for the army; both for the living and the dead—he had made *both* more comfortable!”

has been largely increased; in some cases from one rupee eleven annas to four rupees, in others from four to seven rupees per mensem. By an order of 12th February 1846 the benefit of these pensions was extended to Sepoys of local corps.*

By Government orders of 15th August 1845 the long-vexed and dangerous question of Sindh Pay was decided, and troops in that province were put on a footing with those in Arracan. In February 1846 the same rates were granted in the Punjab.

Hutting money was allowed to the whole Native Army by Government orders of August 15, 1845, and on the same date an order was issued authorizing sepoy to put in plaints in all the Civil Courts on unstamped paper.†

Sepoys wounded in the battles of the Sutlej received rations gratis while in hospital, and when scurvy broke out among the wounded Europeans, the Governor-General's own State tents were instantly pitched for the accommodation of a portion, and he constantly visited both Europeans and natives, talking to the former and expressing his commiseration of the sufferings of all.

These are some among the many benefits conferred by Lord Hardinge on the Army of India. As already observed Sir Robert Peel gave testimony in Parliament that he was regarded by the Army of England as its friend, "*because he was the friend of justice to all ranks of that Army.*" He has at least equal claims on the Army of India. Here he has equally been the friend of the Sentinel, the Subaltern, and the Veteran. He has equally sought the welfare, the happiness of all. Before he had put foot in the East, he had advocated the interests of its exiles, and now that he has shared in their dangers, and partaken of their honors; now that his name is for ever connected with the glories of Múdkí, Ferozshah, and Sobraon, history will designate him like his illustrious Captain, a "Sepoy General." His interests and theirs are now one, his honors have been won by the Indian Army, and on a hundred occasions he has already borne testimony to the merits

* Pity it is that these Corps which, as in the cases of the Nusseri and Sirmúr Battalion were present at Bhurtpúr and during the Seikh Campaign, are not called "Irregulars," instead of being misnamed "Locals," and accordingly underpaid. They would to a man volunteer for general service, and having little fellow-feeling with our sepoy and few prejudices would be invaluable light troops. We feel satisfied that their case could never have been rightly brought before Lord Hardinge, or that he would have put them on a proper footing. We have heard that on an occasion of reviewing one of the Gúkha Corps, Lord Hardinge asked a zealous Hibernian officer how it was the men were so small. "They get such small pay," was the answer. We presume he meant to say that higher rates would obtain finer men.

† We should have preferred to have seen the Sepoys hutted or rather Barracked by Government. The present system of hutting is injurious to discipline, and might, without difficulty, be improved.

of that Army, and he will doubtless always be found among its warmest friends. We may venture to remind him that much is expected at his hands and first and foremost it is confidently hoped, that his voice will advocate the Furlough memorial, if, indeed he has not yet satisfied the Home Government, that, much as it is the interest of their servants to be permitted to visit England, it is immeasurably more that of their masters to induce them periodically to go there.

Though thoroughly a utilitarian, Lord Hardinge is possessed of a fine taste, and is fully alive to the beauties of Art. When in Paris he refused to touch a Picture from among the master pieces in St. Cloud, as he would not set an example of spoliation; but he now carries to England purchased specimens of Art and Nature from every corner of India. During his residence, he encouraged the preservation and repair of the magnificent works of Eastern Architecture around him. On the occasion of his visit to Agra in October 1845 he frequently visited the Taj Mahal, the Fort and the Palace. Finding that some of the large slabs of stone from the Palace had been removed, and that the marble railing was lying ruined and unfixed, and the whole place much out of repair, he reprehended such desecration, ordered the pavement to be restored, and the injuries to be repaired. After causing every enquiry to be made to ascertain the original design of the Kútub Minar at Delhi, and finding that neither descriptions nor old drawings gave any authority for the grotesque ornament placed on its summit by Colonel Smith, Lord Hardinge directed its removal.

To the Archæological Society of Delhi, instituted mainly for the purpose of exploring the various ruins of India, Lord Hardinge has afforded his encouragement and assistance, and has placed at their disposal the services of an officer distinguished for his skill as a draughtsman.

The Revenue Survey of the Jullunder and Cis-Sutlej States has already been nearly completed; others in Rajpútana and Central India are being set on foot; and no sooner did Mr. Thomason, the able Lieutenant-Governor of Agra, project a College of instruction for Civil Engineers at Rúrki near the head of the Ganges Canal, than the scheme was sanctioned, and an excellent officer of the Engineer Corps, Lieut. MacLagan, placed at his disposal as its principal. As sanctioned by the Governor-General, the Grand Trigonometrical Survey will also soon be extending its operations into Kashmír and to the banks of the Indus.

Thus in no department are we aware that Lord Hardinge has been found wanting to the extent of his opportunities and

the means at his disposal. He carried on war in all its details, like a thorough Soldier, and has since in all points encouraged the Arts of peace like a practised and farsighted Statesman.

His last public movement was a Vice-regal visit to Lucknow. The public had been for months on tip-toe at the prospect of annexation, though the whole tenor of Lord Hardinge's career might have satisfied people, not only, that he would not at the last stage of his career open a new and wide field of diplomacy, but that under *any* circumstances and at *any* time, he would *not* annex Oude to India in the manner many desire to do. Our opinions regarding the great Indian "difficulty" are unchanged since in No. 6, June 1845, our pages propounded what might honestly and with advantage to all parties be done for Oude.

Indian officials cannot be too careful to read treaties in their spirit as well as in their letter; lest it be thought that like the Romans of old we diplomatize only to deceive,—that our pacifications are only truces. We should not only disdain such practices, but prove to the world that we do so.

Premising thus much, we would ask those honest and able men who advocate the annexation of Oude if, in their opinion, the Treaties with either Oude or Hyderabad contemplated our ever obtaining another rupee from those countries? If such be the case, on what possible plea can we take to ourselves territories, because they are mismanaged, more especially when there is no concealing from ourselves that much, if not all, of this mismanagement, has been caused by our own measures. No, if mistakes have been made, let them be honestly amended, as they would be with Burdwan or with Betteah, or with any other private estate. *Appropriation* is no more the remedy for the mischiefs of a Principality than of a Zemindari. We must abide by our treaties, public as well as private, whatever be the inconvenience. If Oude and Hyderabad affairs are really as disordered as they are declared to be, let us by all means temporarily, or if need be, *permanently* assume the management of part or all, but justice and the faith of treaties forbid the appropriation of a rupee of their revenue to the general purposes of the Indian Government. It will be a reward, ample and sufficient, to recover large tracts from anarchy, and to bring under our influence a numerous population with whom our only connexion can be that of paternal protection. Twenty or fifty lakhs of revenue will not increase our strength so much as may the love and gratitude of people thus rescued from oppression. Above all we shall have

preserved our reputation for justice and good faith—we shall still be recognized as the reverers of treaties.

As the time for delivering over his charge drew near, Lord Hardinge became restless and impatient. We have heard him likened to a school-boy on the approach of holidays. He now counted the days till his release. And can it be wondered that, at his age, after an absence from his family approaching to four years, and borne down with such labor as at any period of life is scarcely endurable, his heart should now bound at the prospect of release—of return to domestic happiness.

The bare perusal of our faint description of Lord Hardinge's Indian career may enable the reader to judge of a Governor-General's labours. Petitions and appeals, every measure Military, Political, or Civil; every arrangement, medical, scientific, police, or revenue, with the hundred miscellaneous matters of the three presidencies, are all liable to be referred for his decision. The responsibility and anxious thought, the amount of business and of office work which it entails, is almost beyond belief, and is to be surmounted only, by ability, method, punctuality, and great industry.

In these attributes and in sound good sense, in quick perception, in judgment, in resource, and in calm prompt courage, we believe Lord Hardinge to be excelled by few living men. His memory is good, though not exact, vividly remembering facts and general circumstances though not particular words. He seldom forgets faces, even though names escape his recollection.

Among other qualities, eminently useful, in his high station, by which the Governor-General was distinguished, one of the most marked was his tact and management of men's minds, in soothing animosities, reconciling adverse spirits; and when differences proved irreconcilable, in conciliating to himself the good will of both the contending parties. Contrary to a practice too common in India, Lord Hardinge may be said to have been on excellent terms with almost every individual with whom he had to transact business. He expected every man to do his duty conscientiously, yet in marking his disapprobation of neglect or slackness, his manner was so kindly, gentleman-like and consistent, as seldom to give offence. Many difficult questions were offered for his solution; and his arbitration was demanded even in personal quarrels.

Nor was Lord Hardinge's career less marked by moderation, we might almost say, by *modesty*, in his public as well as in his private capacity. The unassuming General Order directing the proud march of the captured Sikh Ordnance to Calcutta, when contrasted with the "Song of Triumph," which heralded the return of the Gates of Somnath to Hindustan, might be

adduced in illustration of the former ; and the latter was most conspicuous in the quiet and unpretending style in which he travelled, and which marked his daily rides. Lord W. Bentinck himself was not more unostentatious : and often, even, when in the neighbourhood of the enemy, Lord H. might have been observed riding about with a single attendant.

His habits were abstemious and regular. He was liberal in his hospitality ; no days passed in which visitors did not sit at his excellent board ; and twice or thrice a week large parties were given, to which all strangers were invited. " He was at first surprised at the independence of the Indian service, but freedom of opinion when allied to due subordination was too congenial to his nature to win disapproval. We have said that Lord Hardinge was considerate and kind, and we repeat that he was so to all whether distant or around him. His letters and orders were always courteous and gentleman-like ; never betraying anger or forgetfulness that those addressed were gentlemen, and that even if wrong in particular cases their motives may have been right, or that their previous services may have deserved well of the Head of the Government. All this is undeniable, but we fear it is equally true, that many who, have partaken of Lord Hardinge's hospitality have left his house annoyed, rather than pleased. They have considered themselves intentionally slighted, because the Governor-General had not separately addressed his conversation to them. Wounded vanity is hard to deal with, and we believe that had Lord Hardinge been able more frequently to divert his mind from cares of state to the frivolities around him, he would have been what is called a more popular man. On our own experience we can testify to his desire to be affable and attentive to his visitors. He was always indignant if his staff appeared to fail in their duty to guests ; but it was not always easy for an elderly man worn down with labor from early dawn, to remember the especial case of every pompous Field Officer or self-complacent Civilian. To take wine and say a civil nothing was seldom omitted, but the special remembrance of each individual's peculiar case, was often wanting. This we know gave offence, especially to those, who, having applied for private audiences, were refused them but invited to dinner.

This refusal of audiences has also offended many. Lord Auckland gave them, but regretted it, and recommended Lord Ellenborough not to do so, but His Lordship was more ready of speech and more at home at a Levee or an Evening Party than was Lord Hardinge. We are, however, of opinion that both were quite right. Audiences waste much time : they give advantages only to the forward and presuming and to parasites.

of the Presidency and Simla. Every man can tell his story by letter or viva voce to the Private Secretary. If there is much in him, it will not require an audience to elicit it; his name, character, and particular merits are better known at Army, and Government Head-quarters than in any other service in the world, and Lord Hardinge was the last man in the world to intentionally neglect an individual, high or low, who had in any manner, by courage or by ability, distinguished himself; indeed by his hearty and cordial converse he soon won his way to such men's hearts.*

In Europe, Lord Hardinge's duties required the smallest modicum of official correspondence, and up to his sixtieth year he had little or no practice in writing; but restricting himself in his minutes, memoranda, and letters, as in his speeches, to facts, and attempting no sort of display, the products of his pen may be placed without disparagement, by the side of those of any Statesman of his day. Clear and distinct in his perceptions, he has always desired to master every subject before him, and would never be satisfied with slurring over questions imposing even the necessity of perusing voluminous papers on matters often affecting only the particular interests of an humble individual, but which he perceived did involve a *principle*.

This was a notable and a valuable feature in his character. He took large views of all questions. He saw them as Governor-General; looked on them from the arena of Europe, as affecting England as well as India, and not as referring to a particular class. Such men are needed for this country, and it is on this account we consider, that, as a general question, India can be best supplied with Governors-General from the British senate. Large and enlightened views, influenced but *not warped* by local experience, with ability, is what is wanted in India. The due admixture of European and Native talent is one great secret of good Government; a no less one is the introduction of fresh minds and fresh talent in all places from the mother country.

Because Lord Hardinge was always cordial and kind to his Secretaries, some have jumped at the conclusion that he was unduly influenced by them. Far otherwise. He was ready to hear the opinion of every man who had a right to give one. But no Governor-General ever more decidedly took his own line and chalked out his own course than did Lord Hardinge. He is understood to have usually draughted

* What we have stated relates more especially to all cases of application for private interview, with reference to the obtainment of personal favours, connected with any of the services. As regards individuals, who have worthy objects to promote, unconnected with any of the regular services, a relaxation of the rule, under proper restrictions, might be at once politic and beneficial.

most of his own official letters of importance as indeed seems to have been the practice with Lord Ellenborough, and many of his predecessors. Lord Hardinge's quick perception at sixty enabled him readily to master matters to which his previous habits had been alien, and to which he had before paid little attention; moreover his experience on the stage of Europe enabled him often to throw new lights on the most abstruse Indian subjects.

Accustomed, as a constant attendant, for twenty years, of Parliament, to turn night into day, he found no difficulty in reconciling himself to our Indian habits, and not only to be stirring with the dawn, but as an almost general rule to be at work one, two, and three hours before day light: it was this practice that enabled him to get through so much business and to appear more or less at leisure during the day. On an average however he could not have worked less than ten hours a day.

He was regular in his rides and walks and took much exercise; pacing his room or verandah he would discuss questions of interest with his advisers and Secretaries, and often with chance visitors, or those he met on the road. Many of the younger as well as older members of the service, in no way connected with his own staff, have thus been honored with his cordial and even familiar conversation on the most interesting European as well as Asiatic questions, and it was thus he elicited opinions on Indian subjects, and obtained an insight into the characters and merits of individuals. On such occasions, it was no uncommon speech for him to make.—“So and so must be a fine fellow, every one speaks well of him,” or, “it must be true or some one would say a word in his favor.”

Much has been said and even written of Lord Hardinge's dispensation of patronage. We are among those who believe that the four last Governors-General all dispensed theirs with scrupulous honesty, none more so than the late one. Like other mortals he has erred, but his nominations have been made carefully and with perfect good faith. As in duty bound he has considered recommendations from the Court of Directors where they were in behalf of deserving individuals, in the same way that he has recognized the superior claims of the sons of distinguished officers; but in the whole circuit of his appointments we know scarcely an instance of his putting a man into a wrong place and not one of his wilfully doing so.

We happen to be able to narrate the real circumstances of four of his most important nominations; two of which were at one time unreasonably arraigned.

Lord Hardinge may have originally thought that there was one other officer in the Army who would have made a better

Adjutant-General than Colonel Grant, but he considered his strong claims, his long departmental experience, his excellent business habits, his recent gallant services in the field, his severe wound, and last perhaps not least,—but by no means *the* ground of the appointment as some would say—his connexion with the brave Lord Gough, and confirmed him in the appointment in which he had officiated throughout the war. We know that he is now perfectly satisfied with the choice he made, and we are not sure that if he had to choose again he would not give the *first* instead of the second place to Grant.

Mr. John Lawrence was known throughout the Bengal presidency as a practical, clear-headed, and energetic officer, who had for years as Magistrate of the turbulent city of Delhi, enjoyed the confidence of all ranks. When passing through Delhi, the Governor-General admired his bold, frank manner, and was pleased with his activity in forwarding supplies, carriage and stores to the army, as well as with the cheerful, manly tone of his conversation and correspondence. Before Colonel Lawrence's arrival on the frontier, Mr. J. Lawrence was accordingly sent for to be employed in a judicial capacity in the Cis-Sutlej, states, but the Lieutenant-Governor, remarking that he could not be spared at such a time from Delhi, sent up another civilian, who was considered a good judicial officer. Some disappointment and even disapprobation was expressed at what Mr. Thomason had done; and when at the expiration of the war, a Commissioner was required for the Jullunder Doab, Lord Hardinge again selected him, and has assuredly had no reason to regret his choice; nor has a single voice ever pretended to assert that he has failed in his duties, while those who know him say there are few better civil administrators in India. No man is more satisfied of this than Mr. Thomason.

Colonel Gouldie is our third instance. We doubt if the Governor-General had seen him twice when he made him Auditor-General of the Bengal Army. Colonel G. had been for many years a pension Paymaster, and had acquired a high character as a man of business. He joined the Army, and was found to be a good soldier, a shrewd, sensible man, however employed. This Lord Hardinge ascertained from various sources. We have it from an honourable man that he was casually asked by Lord Hardinge what was Colonel Gouldie's character, and that when he answered favourably, his Lordship replied "that is much what Colonel —— and Major —— said," mentioning persons equally disconnected as our informant, with Colonel Gouldie. At the time we refer to, Lord Hardinge had recommended Gouldie to the Court of Directors for the

appointment; though some months later when he was sent for to be told of his selection, he had not the slightest idea of the purpose for which his presence was required.

In the same manner Mr. H. M. Elliot was selected as Secretary to Government in the foreign department. For a whole year preceding the vacancy, Lord Hardinge would ask, in conversation, all sorts and degrees of persons as to Mr. Elliot's character and ability. Thus without, as far as we are aware, ever having seen him, he selected the man whom the voice of the services voted the best qualified for this important ministerial office.

We might adduce a dozen other instances equally to the point. Every man cannot have his wishes nor perhaps all his deserts, but it may be fairly asked, where was the high influence, or what is called the interest, of Littler, Currie, Elliot, the three Lawrences, Thoresby, Wheeler, Campbell, Mackeson, MacGregor, Birch, Colvin, Sage,* Benson, Gouldie, Edwardes, the four Abbotts, the Bechers, Lumsden, Holmes, Napier, MacLagan, Taylor, Beadon, and a host of others whose names Lord Hardinge probably never heard of before he reached India; before they approached him officially, or were presented to his notice as suited to certain offices.

Although we have already exceeded the limits usually allowed to a single paper in this Review, we must not altogether omit mention of the cordial reception given to Lord Hardinge by all ranks of the community of Calcutta on his Lordship's return from the North West Provinces. Commendatory and congratulatory addresses poured in on him, and the warm expressions of the commercial, civil, clerical and military community of the metropolis of India, will be found not only to bear out the anticipations with which we opened this article but our own statements may possibly appear cold and heartless when contrasted with the glowing and affectionate terms in which they have recorded their sentiments.

At the meeting of the inhabitants of Calcutta at the Town Hall on the 24th December, a letter from the Bishop was read by the Chairman, regretting that indisposition prevented him attending the meeting, and in warm and energetic terms, proposing that a statue be voted to the retiring Governor-General, towards the expence of which the writer expressed himself ready to subscribe £200. We can only find space for the following portion of the letter:—

“ To no one of our greatest Governor-Generals was such a task assigned

* We readily bear our testimony to Colonel Sage's zeal and ability, we wish we could add to his urbanity and considerateness. There are many abuses in the Department of Public Works, but they are more likely to be remedied by the Military Board, working with and through Executive Engineers than by irritating a body of zealous and honorable officers.

by Providence, as was allotted to Lord Hardinge. His victories at the moment of conflict were only equalled by his discretion in avoiding all previous causes of irritation, and by his moderation and wisdom in the use of his success.

None of our bravest Governors had the happiness of conveying, and at once, to a fierce and tumultuous population, such wide-spread blessings, social and moral, as the Punjab has already received.

Nor can I forget the other services of my Lord Hardinge, the honor he has shown to the Christian Religion on all occasions, his prohibition of the continuance of public works in the Lord's Day, his encouragement of Col. Lawrence's benevolent Asylum at Kussowli, and the impulse he has given to public education by instituting periodical examinations into the learning and good morals of the candidates for employment. In fact, Lord Hardinge has crowded into one short administration all the services of the highest order, both military and civil, which have commonly been divided amongst several much longer ones."

Several natives took the opportunity, at this meeting, in enthusiastic terms, to express their gratitude to Lord Hardinge for the benefits he had conferred on India, and, entirely approving of the address, as far as it went, proposed to add to it the following paragraph:—

"We cannot on the occasion of your Lordship's departure refrain from expressing our grateful admiration of the lustre which your beneficent policy in the encouragement of education, your resolute adherence to peace until war became inevitable, and your paternal solicitude for the welfare of the people entrusted to your charge have shed on your administration. Brief as your sojourn has been you have represented the high minded benignity of the British sceptre no less than its majestic splendour, the peaceful virtues of the Christian statesman, no less than the indomitable courage of the British warrior, the humanizing influences of British ascendancy no less than the invincible force of British arms."

Some discussion ensued; the only difference of opinion being as to whether the sense of the proposed additional paragraph was not expressed in the address already prepared. With the consent of all parties, it was finally determined to insert a few words, exhibiting the purport of the amendment, in the original address. We give the document in full as presented on the 28th, placing the additional paragraph between brackets:—

"TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD VISCOUNT HARDINGE, G. C. B.,
&c., &c., &c.

MY LORD,

The Inhabitants of Calcutta addressed your Lordship on the occasion of your return to the Presidency, and declared their sense of the distinguished services rendered by you to this country. In acknowledging that Address your Lordship expressed your conviction, that a pacific course was the one best calculated to promote the honor and interests of Great Britain and the welfare of the people of India. We feel that in this belief your Lordship commenced your administration, and that it influenced you until War became the necessity of self-defence. We can desire no happier future for India and England than that this sentiment should prevail with our rulers, and no more glorious achievements, when forced into the Field, than those which, under Divine Providence, have won imperishable honour for our Arms on the banks of the Sutlej.

We cannot permit your Lordship to lay down the high office of Governor-General of India, and quit these shores, without repeating our admission of your distinguished career. History perpetuates the memory of great public benefactors,—and its pages, which have already recorded your Lordship's early services to your country, on the most desperate field of modern times, will glow with the brilliant addition made to them after an interval of thirty-six years, the greater portion of which has been subject to the ordeal of public life.

[In the same pages, and in the traditions of a grateful people, will live the recollection of the wise measures by which you have encouraged education, and contributed to the permanent improvement and happiness of those committed to your charge.]

We desire, My Lord, to have and preserve in Calcutta some personal memorial of one who has received the highest honours from his Sovereign, and the thanks of his countrymen, while ruling this great Empire: we desire it, My Lord, as a testimony of our respect for your private and, admiration of your public character, and as a legacy of deep interest to those who will come after us.

We have, therefore, to ask that your Lordship will permit a committee to place itself in communication with you for the purpose of carrying out the object we have in view, and it remains for us only to bid your Lordship farewell, and to convey to you our earnest hope that it may please the Almighty to bless you with years of health and strength, to enjoy the honours you have nobly won, and to deserve yet further the gratitude of your country, by enforcing in the Senate that principle of enlightened rule which recognizes Peace as the surest guarantee for the prosperity and happiness of mankind."

In an appropriate and feeling reply, Lord Hardinge expressed his gratification at the handsome testimony of the approbation and personal regard of the inhabitants of Calcutta, and in the course of his speech thus gracefully recommended cordiality and unanimity between the two great classes of the community:—

"It is also very flattering to me to observe that this Address has been agreed to by the united voice of the European and Native Inhabitants of this great City, the capital of Her Majesty's Eastern Empire; and I may allude to this fact, because I am impressed with the belief that the happiness of the Native population depends upon the existence of a thorough identity of interests among all classes of the community. By the encouragement of such a feeling, our power will be more firmly consolidated; our national character more pre-eminently exalted, and our influence more beneficially exercised in promoting the prosperity of British India."

The "*Friend of India*" of the 30th December, in echoing the sentiments of the community at large, thus concludes an elaborate notice of Lord Hardinge's administration:—

"But we must draw this lengthened sketch of Lord Hardinge's career to a close. His brief administration has been crowded with events of the deepest interest and importance. To it appertains the distinguished honor of having extinguished the last enemy left to us between the Himalaya and Cape Comorin, and removed the apprehension of future hostilities. Though his Lordship has been engaged in large military enterprises which have terminated in making the will of the British Government as paramount in

Peshawur, as it is in Jessore, no one has dreamt of threatening him with a Parliamentary enquiry. His measures have been characterised by so much justice and moderation as well as vigor, that although they have resulted in an extension of territory and influence which Lord Ellenborough himself might have envied, he has not roused the outcry of party hostility. He has reduced the numerical strength of the army without weakening our means of defence; and he delivers the empire to his successor with an excess of income over expenditure, and in a state of such tranquillity as to inspire the hope of large resources for the future triumphs of peace."

Before his departure Lord Hardinge must also have received the reports of the speeches made at the parting dinner given by the Court of Directors to Lord Dalhousie, and in them had an earnest of the greeting that awaits him in England. On the occasion referred to, the Premier of England, addressing the Governor-General elect, expressed his conviction "that he will show, as his immediate predecessor, Lord Hardinge, has shown, that resolution in administering justice, forbearance towards all neighbours and foreign Powers, attention to the arts of peace, and sedulous care for the improvement of the internal condition of India, which are compatible with the utmost spirit, the utmost courage in repelling any aggression that may be made—meeting and conquering those who choose to constitute themselves the foes of the British empire in India."

The Chairman of the Court of Directors, himself a distinguished member of the Bengal Civil Service, at the same dinner, when proposing the health of Lord Hardinge, eulogized him no less than Lord John Russell had done.

Thus, amid the plaudits of the people whom he had ruled and already stamped by the approbation of the home authorities, has closed the administration of Lord Hardinge.

We bid adieu to his Lordship with every hearty good wish. He found India held by a discontented Army, threatened by invasion, and almost bankrupt. He has, in all senses, righted the vessel, restored confidence to our Ranks, to our Allies and our Dependants; replenished the public purse, tranquilized the Frontier, and brought peace and security to the long distracted Punjab. He has already been rewarded; but a Viscounty and a Pension is a small portion of his recompence. His best reward is in the conviction of his own noble heart that he has honestly and bravely done his duty; that he leaves behind him more than a hundred millions whom he has largely blessed by enlightened and just measures; and that returning to his Native land, he is regretted by those he leaves behind and warmly welcomed by men of every shade of opinion, as the pacific Warrior, the happy Statesman; the man who in reality "brought Peace to Asia!"

ART. VII.—1. *Manners and Customs of the Hindus; by the Revd. T. Acland, late Chaplain at Cuttack, Midnapore, &c., &c. (Murray's Home and Colonial Library). London, J. Murray, 1847.*

2. *Five years in the East, by R. N. Hutton, 2 vols. London, Longman and Co., 1847.*

3. *Poems, by George Powell Thomas, Captain, Bengal Army, Author of "Views of Simla." London, Smith, Elder and Co., 1847.*

4. *Real Life in India. London, Houlston and Stoneman, 1847.*

IF the supply of new books relating to India be not in excess of the demand, we may congratulate ourselves on a growing desire among our brethren at home for information regarding the affairs of the Eastern world. In our last publication, we reviewed a batch of new works, principally illustrative of military life and military adventure; and we have now before us several volumes, which have appeared since the issue of the September number of our journal, and which demand from us, as Indian Reviewers, at least a passing notice of their contents. These are books of a lighter class. But the English press has recently sent forth works of higher pretensions, more solid character, and more enduring interest,* whilst from the opposite extreme of ephemerality we are deluged with an almost incessant stream of fugitive pamphlets on the passing topics of the day. If, we say, the supply of such works be not in excess of the demand, we may congratulate ourselves, not unreasonably, on the interest felt by the present generation in the affairs, great and small, of our Indian Empire.

Of the works whose names we have placed at the head of this article, the first is written by an English clergyman, a chaplain on the establishment, who came out to India, a few years ago, accompanied by his wife, but leaving his elder children in England. To these children he addressed a number of letters, which since the death of the reverend gentleman—for he died after a brief sojourn amongst us—have been collected and placed at the disposal of the editor or publisher of Murray's *Home and Colonial Library*. They form the last number which has reached us, of that valuable publication, and not the least interesting of the *fifty* which have appeared.

In the month of July, 1842, Mr. Acland, after an eventless voy-

* Among these are the lives of Bishop Corrie and Dr. Yates, which we purpose ere long to consider.

age, found himself comfortably located in Calcutta. The Archdeacon invited the new arrival to take up his residence with him; "but having already accepted the offer of the bishop," he "was of course compelled to decline this" invitation. He remained about a month in the City of Palaces and then started for Midnapore, having been appointed to the ministerial charge of our southernmost Bengal stations. Of Calcutta Society he says nothing; his book is one long illustration of life at an out-station. And it is not the worse for that. Every touch-and-go voyager has something more or less preposterous to say about life at the presidency. Mr. Acland's letters have a spice of originality in them, because they are devoted to minute descriptions of Mofussil life and Mofussil Society, with all their components of bad dinners and good feeling, jungle-shooting, cigar-smoking, snakes and brandy and water.

There is, indeed, nothing better in Mr. Acland's book than the sporting anecdotes, which are scattered thickly over his letters and told with a gusto which shows this reverend gentleman to have been a keen sportsman. Thirty or forty years ago, when the Church Establishment in India was a bug-bear to European politicians, it was alleged as a reproach to our Christian ministers, that they were in the habit of going out to shoot monkeys, and sometimes excited thereby the indignation of the natives.* Mr. Acland, it appears, had a taste for monkey-shooting and every other description of sport. Tigers and buffaloes—birds and bears—nothing came amiss to him. With a gun in his hand and a solah hat on his head, he appears to have been perfectly contented. His achievements in the jungle he narrates with spirit; but with something less than the usual amount of vain-glorious self-satisfaction. We could almost wish that he had not narrated them at all.

The Indian sporting world has too efficient an organ of its own to render it necessary that we should meddle with this part of Mr. Acland's book. We would direct our attention to other

* "It is not," wrote Mr. (afterwards Archdeacon and Bishop) Corrie, to Mr. Sargent, in 1813, "that the evangelization of India is a hopeless project, or that to attempt it is attended with political danger; for the story General Kyd produced in the house of House of Commons, to shew the danger of interfering with the natives is both erroneously stated and ridiculously applied. The idea of grave ministers of religion going out to shoot monkeys, would not have been entertained in any other connexion but as supplying an objection to missions. But the young men were not destroyed by the natives; the elephant on which they rode took fright at the clamour of lamentation and displeasure raised by the people on the monkey being killed, and plunged into a deep place of the river Jumna, when the howdah on which they sat getting loose from the elephant's back, the young men were drowned. General Kyd would perhaps say he had seen chaplains in India shooting monkeys, and he should at the same time have the candour to state that none of that description made themselves obnoxious to the natives by their religion, and consequently there is nothing to fear from an establishment of that kind."

incidental topics—not following any particular order or arrangement, or endeavouring to give any connected account of our author's brief Indian career. There is no novel information, and there are no profound reflexions in Mr. Acland's series of letters. It would be unreasonable to look for either in such a book;—but it is not without suggestiveness. We have here the first impressions of a man of mature understanding—one who evidently writes in good faith—who is hampered by no foregone conclusions—who is bent neither on manufacturing a book nor on making out a case in obedience to the claims of publisher or party.

That he is very often mistaken—that he sometimes is betrayed into very ridiculous blunders, writing as he does without investigation and arriving *per saltum* at unwarrantable conclusions—we must in honesty admit; but we cannot question the sincerity of the writer nor severely reprehend his errors. The Editor of the *Colonial Library* may not be equally blameless. There are passages in Mr. Acland's letters which ought to have been expunged or published only under protest.

Here is a passage of this description. Writing of his brief sojourn at Madras, Mr. Acland observes:—

"When you meet in the street with a native who is at all acquainted with you, or who wishes to express his thanks for anything, instead of merely saying, 'Thank you,' or 'How do you do?' he presses his hands *upon his eyes*, and says, 'Salaam sahib.' Some English persons, on going out for a walk, may be seen to carry a whip, with which, *if the natives are at all troublesome, they lash them; but this is a cruel practice.* Ladies are prevented by the heat from walking abroad here, and gentlemen seldom do so, but go about in what are called palanquins which I will describe hereafter. When we ride out, however swiftly we go, *a man called a coolie* runs by the side of the carriage. We are obliged to get up here at about half-past five in the morning, and then we go out for a drive, or in the palanquin; at half-past seven the sun is too powerful even for that exercise: we then return home, take a cold bath, and breakfast. At half-past six in the evening we are enabled to go out again a little. In the middle of the day we take a nap."

The English reader will not improbably infer from this that the European residents of Madras go abroad with whips in their hands to chastise the natives walking in the streets. An English clergyman says so, and it must be true. Mr. Acland has a becoming sense of the cowardly wickedness of beating one's native servants: but we are inclined to think that he somewhat exaggerates the extent to which the unseemly practise is carried by our English officers. At least we would fain hope that the following story, if not absolutely untrue, is at all events somewhat highly colored:—

"I think I have told you how cruelly some of the people here beat their Servants. I was standing with an officer in the porch of his house when I

was last at Midnapore, when his syce, or groom, brought his horse to the door. Captain L. turned to me, and said, "I have not given that fellow a thrashing for a long time, and he'll forget what it feels like, and grow lazy." Now the fact was, the man was so attentive and industrious that Captain L. could not possibly find any fault with him. However, he went down the steps, and on the pretence that the man did not hold his horse properly gave him several violent blows on the face and head, kicked him three or four times with all his force, and struck him on the back with a two-foot rule with such violence that the man was obliged to have his back plastered and bandaged up: and all this without the slightest fault on the part of the servant.

Much as has been said about slavery, I do not believe that any of the slaves in Jamaica were ever worse treated than are the servants of some of our officers here. The excuse is, that it is impossible to manage the Hindus without the whip; but I never use it, and I am certainly quite as well served by all excepting two. With these I am going to part, for they have been spoiled by living with a very violent man. I will give you an instance of the punishments I employ.

My sirdar always goes home to his supper at nine o'clock. The other evening, after he was gone, I found that he had neglected to get the night-lamp ready, so I was obliged to do it myself. The following morning, instead of thrashing him, I made no observation whatever on the subject; but at nine o'clock in the evening, when he came to ask whether he might go home, I said, "You did not bring the night-lamp last night; I may want something else that is not ready, so for the next week you will not go till eleven." This was a great punishment to him, and yet it did not degrade either the man or myself as a beating would do. At the same time I fully admit that the natives, by their slowness and inactivity, are sometimes very provoking; but surely that is no excuse to the Christian who gives way to angry feelings."

It is impossible to read, without pain, such a passage as this, in a work written by an English clergyman, and published in a series of volumes professing to be, and in reality being, "cheap literature for all classes." A book written by such a writer and published by such a publisher has a stamp of genuine currency upon it and is sure to obtain extensive circulation. The passage, moreover, is precisely calculated to arrest the attention of English Reviewers, and we are not surprised, therefore, to find that it has been largely quoted in the critical journals of the mother country. Our cheeks tingle with shame as we see this humiliating story adduced as an evidence of the overbearing insolence and cruelty of the European in India towards his native dependants. The anecdote may be strictly true. Mr. Acland speaks of what he actually saw, and we are constrained therefore to believe either that *he* has deliberately recorded a calumnious falsehood, or that Captain L. committed an act which would have been justly visited by the loss of his commission. We hope, for the sake of Mr. Acland's reputation, that the Captain L. thus honorably mentioned is not the same Captain L. with whom he subsequently appears (see pp. 90-91) to have been on terms of intimacy and friendship. We hope too, that we are not to presume, because the circumstance is not recorded in its proper place, that the Christian minister did not

severely rebuke the man who had been guilty, in very wantonness, of an act so unmanly and so un-Christian.

As a companion to this story of cruelty to native dependants we give the following illustrative of the insolent hauteur with which, according to Mr. Acland, the British functionaries in Orissa, are wont to treat the independent princes of the neighbouring states:—

“And now I must mention some circumstances which to me rendered our expedition to Neilghur very unpleasant; they relate to the manner in which our party treated the Rajah. On the morning of our arrival, after our descent from the hills, he came with a party of horsemen to call upon us. We were just sitting down to breakfast, when I observed the cavalcade approaching. I mentioned it, and proposed that, according to Indian politeness, we should go into the verandah of our tent to receive them. But the principal man of our party said, “Oh, bother the fellow, we can’t see him now;” and he sent a servant out to tell him so.

In the afternoon the Rajah sent his man, corresponding to our chief gamekeeper in England, to ask when we should like the coolies to beat the jungle, and to say that he would join us in the hunt. We named the time and started accordingly, found the coolies in readiness, and saw the Rajah and his brother coming upon elephants.

Our party began to move on, when I asked, “Will you not wait for the Rajah?” “I should think not,” was the reply; “we don’t want the beastly niggers with us.” And yet these civilized men were glad enough to make use of these beastly niggers’ coolies and elephants. I stayed behind and had some talk with them.

The next day the two Rajahs called at the tent; they entered as gentlemen, and made the usual Indian salutation. With the exception of myself, I do not think one of our party even rose from his chair. In the course of conversation we spoke of the badness of the water we got. The Rajah immediately offered to send a man six miles into the hills to fetch some from a mountain stream. In little more than an hour afterwards, one of our party, feeling thirsty, sent a servant to ask the Rajah whether he had not that water yet. In India, in speaking to a servant, you use the word “toom,” which signifies “you.” In speaking to a gentleman you say “ab,” which means “your honour.” One or two of our party made a point of saying “toom” to the Rajah, which was in fact a great insult. The younger brother called upon us. The chief of our party spoke to him on the subject of the disturbances, although it had all been settled by the Commissioner, and gave him a regular blowing up. And now remember that all this was to a gentleman—an Indian it is true, but still a gentleman, with a fine estate, and about 6000*l.* a-year, from whom we were receiving every kindness, and on whose land we were hunting. Can it be wondered at that the natives do not like us so well as might otherwise be expected?

The Rajah, I suppose, finding me more civil than the others, gave me a great mark of honour. He took me on his own elephant, while he acted as mahout, and whenever any roughness occurred on the ground he turned to warn me of it. I own that I did not enjoy the honour much. The elephant was covered with a crimson cloth, so that there were no ropes to hold by. The only way in which I could manage was to sit astride. It was really most painful, and I almost doubted whether I should ever be able to get my legs together again. I had two brace of pistols with me. The Rajah appeared very much pleased with them, and, to make up for the rudeness of

our party, I gave him one of the pairs. He was delighted, and I was sadly laughed at for giving anything to a nigger. His palace is a fine white building on the side of one of the hills."

Such a story as this needs no comment. There is an unfortunate circumstantiality about it which precludes us from questioning its truth.

It would be well if Mr. Acland had only written of what he actually saw in his excursions about Midnapore and Cuttack. When he travels beyond the pale of his own experiences, he sometimes loses his way and flounders into a quagmire of error. Here, for example, is something about the Salt-tax, which is not likely to do much good at the present time. The passage, which we have printed in italics, is worthy of Mr. Aylwin himself:—

Cuttack, July 4, 1844.

"I have mentioned the manner in which Europeans are apt to alienate the affections of the natives; I will now give you an instance of the way in which the Government seek to conciliate them. It must be remembered that salt is a Government monopoly, that is, no person is allowed to prepare or sell it except by the appointment of Government. The cost to them is about eight annas, or one shilling, per maund of eighty pounds; they sell it for four rupees, or eight shillings, for the same quantity; and yet so necessary is it to the natives, *that if any man does not buy the usual quantity of Government, which is, I believe, about half a seer, or one pound, a-month, for each individual, he is brought by the police before a magistrate and sent to gaol,* on the presumption that, as he does not purchase salt, he must smuggle it.

Now the salt-manufacturers receive a portion of their pay beforehand, and the remainder when the salt is ready. They belong mostly to the poorest classes, and their mode of working is very simple, merely collecting the seawater, and then suffering it to evaporate in the sun. When they receive the first portion of their pay, they are told how much they will receive per maund, for the price varies slightly in different years. Last year they were promised a certain sum; I am not exactly sure how much, but say eight annas per maund; and when they came to the salt agent for their money, they found that an order had arrived from Government reducing the promised pay to six and a half annas per maund. Of course they were excessively angry and utterly astonished; for one strong idea with the natives is, that an Englishman will never tell an untruth. I happened to be present at the time; it occurred at Pooree, in the neighbourhood of which are some of the principal salt-works, if I may use so dignified a term.

The proper course for these poor people to have taken would have been, to have brought an action against Government for breach of contract; but this they could not possibly afford. However, the magistrates of Pooree sent a strong remonstrance to Government, and the consequence was, that they authorized the salt-agent this year to renew the contracts at the higher price much to the delight of the poor salt-manufacturers, who still lost a part of the promised price of last year; yet it is scarcely to be credited that, before the time for the second payment arrived, another order was sent down, reducing the price as they did last year, and thus again defrauding the poor wretches of part of their small pittance, for defrauding it is in the truest sense of the word. All these things are managed by four or five men, who

compose what is called the Salt Board * I may mention that the salt-workers have been sadly disturbed this year by the number of tigers. The natives sometimes keep the claws of those which they are so fortunate as to kill, to make charms to keep off mischief."

There is a passage of another class, which is equally surprising. The *griffinism* it betrays is intense :—

"When a man in India, I mean a European gentleman, wants a wife, he says to his friend, "I should like to get married." "Well," says he, "why don't you?" and forthwith he applies for leave of absence for a month. A month consists of thirty days, of which, say five are occupied in his journey to Calcutta, and another five on his journey back, leaving him just twenty days in which to make his selection, get introduced, make himself agreeable, propose, court, and be married. A nice prospect he has for future happiness. But there is one curious result in this sort of marriage, and a result, too, which spreads among other people also. After a few years the wife loses her health and is ordered to England. The husband cannot afford to go with her, but he allows her about half his salary. At the end of two or three years, or whatever time may have been fixed, he writes to his wife to make arrangements for her return to India; and I have known two instances in which the husband was obliged to stop the allowance in order to compel the wife to return."

People certainly do tell the funniest stories about Indian marriages! It would seem as though no book on Anglo-Indian Society could be complete, without one or more prodigious versions of the manner in which we take to ourselves wives in this land of enterprise and exile. We shall touch again upon this subject when we come to notice Mr. Hutton's book, but we have already, in former numbers of this journal, so fully exposed the absurdities which have been written on this fertile topic of the "Marriage-mart," that it would seem to be almost superfluous to revert to these exploded traditions of a by-gone age.

Another surprising statement made by Mr. Acland is to the effect that he could obtain no books at Cuttack. His health had suffered—not improbably from the effects of too great exposure to the climate. A treacherous liver betrayed him more than once to the brink of death, and at length brought him to the grave. After one of these attacks he applied to his "favorite doctor" for advice, and the medical gentleman said to him "employ your mind and stint your body." "Any amusement," writes Mr. Acland, "anything that could interest, excite or rouse, he recommended, but to avoid all unnatural stimulants as much as possible (I mean wine and spirits) and take plenty of exercise. If I do this, he says, I may leave all physic in the bottles and the leeches in the pouds. In accordance with this advice I am

* We can scarcely imagine that the Supreme Government would lend itself to such a transaction; we think it far more likely that it occurred through the culpability or negligence of some of the inferior agents who may have misrepresented the case to Government. [This would seem to be a note by the Editor of Murray's Library.]

occupying myself in various ways. *Books it is impossible to procure, so I have been training a horse for my wife.*" A curious statement this under any circumstances—*very* curious when made by a Christian minister at a station so near to Calcutta. It does not appear that Mr. Acland found it "impossible to procure" from the Presidency, beer, wine and other creature comforts.* He was not long either in joining a mutton-club. If Cuttack had no book-club, it must have been almost the only station in India which was thus destitute. We would not have the English reader suppose that books are not procurable at our out-stations—that our cantonments are in such a state of literary destitution that a clergyman, for want of intellectual employment, is compelled to become a horse-breaker. There is *one* book, at all events, to which we may presume that he had access. With that one book in his possession a Christian minister need never be utterly at a loss for the means of "employing his mind." But we will undertake to say, that without sending to Calcutta for books, Mr. Acland might at any time, had he taken the trouble, have collected, on loan, a very tolerable library. Our Chaplains, we are bound to add, for the most part have very fair collections of their own.

We make these observations not without pain, Mr. Acland is beyond the reach of the censure they may be thought to imply. He is not responsible for the publication of his letters, and we are inclined to think that had he lived, no considerations would have induced him to publish them in their present form. The truth is not to be disguised that the friends of Mr. Acland have acted with very little judgment and discretion, with very little regard for the memory of the deceased, in identifying him with the present publication. It is not a work on the title-page of which we would wish to see the name of a Christian minister. And this is the editor's fault, rather than Mr. Acland's. In the preface, it is stated with reference to the original letters, that "one distinguishing feature may be observed in the whole, viz., a fervent spirit of devotion, which breathes through every page of the manuscript. Such passages the editor has thought it better to omit, as the advice from a father to his children, clothed in the simple language he considered it best to employ, though beautiful and touching in itself, would scarcely appear interesting to the general reader." Probably not;—but the

* Yesterday morning Capt. W. sent to ask me whether I would go out into the jungle with him and try to get some hares. I did not feel much inclined, as my yearly supply of stores, such as wine, beer, candles, vinegar, &c. &c. had just arrived from Calcutta."—Page 99.

result of the omission is very injurious to Mr. Acland. Something of a more serious character is required as a set-off to the levity of the greater part of the correspondence. As the letters stand they convey an impression—not improbably a false one—that the mind of the reverend writer was set upon trifles—that the duties of his holy calling occupied little of his time and little of his attention—that hunting and shooting were the occupations in which he principally delighted; and that exposure to the climate in pursuit of this description of pleasure, ultimately brought him to the grave. We say that this is the impression which the perusal of Mr. Acland's letters will make upon the mind of the ordinary reader. For this the editor is accountable. We speak of the book simply as we find it; and it may be—we hope it is—a very incorrect exponent of the character and way of life of the reverend writer. And sorry indeed should we be if it were to be thought in England that the volume before us fitly represents the habits of our Indian chaplains, as a body—that body which has numbered among its members, a Thomason, a Martyn, and a Corrie.

Of the literary attractions of Mr. Acland's book it is right that we should afford a sample. There are many passages of lively descriptive writing scattered throughout the letters—but none better than the following, illustrative of a bivouac in the jungle after a day's shooting. It is a clever piece of wood-painting:—

“At six o'clock in the evening the sun was just setting as we three sahibs returned from our day's shooting. The magistrate is just washing his hands in a chillumchee, or brass basin, at the door of the tent. In the front-ground, on two chairs, are seated the doctor and myself; the former is having his long leather gaiters or overalls pulled off. I have one foot in a chillumchee of warm water, the other resting on the black knee of one of my servants, who is shampooing and cracking each joint of the toes. Now he has done that, wiped the foot dry, put on the shoe, and is squeezing or kneading each muscle in the calf of the leg. No one but those who have experienced it can have any idea what a luxury this is when you are very tired!

Behind us stands a long-bearded turbaned khitmutgar, with sherry and glasses. Our guns are leaning against the side of the tent, our horses are picketed to a tree close by, and the grooms are busily rubbing them down. A hundred or a hundred and fifty black natives are separating into groups according to their castes, and are lighting fires all around in order to cook their dinners. Behind the servant's tent is a fire of charcoal, over which a black man is turning a hare, some partridges, a peacock, and several other results of our day's sport. Close by is another fire of wood crackling and sparkling, on which are stewpans with salmon, oysters, &c. &c., which have come from England.

It grows late: the moon rises over the hills; the fires blaze up in all directions; I see the swarthy natives moving around them, and hear them chattering or singing their low monotonous song; everything looks wild; I

begin to indulge in all sorts of reveries—when a man approaches with his hands clasped together, and, bending low before me, says “Cana meg” (dinner-table). The peacock takes the place of the reverie; visions of the partridges and oysters flit across my mind; and I run to help in demolishing a most substantial and well-earned meal. I then go to my palkee. The howling of the jackals does not awake me, I am too well used to it; but at last, about two o’clock in the morning, I was aroused by a sort of sniffing and a scratch at the door. I guessed at once what it was, and debated for an instant whether I should open it a little and try the effect of my pistols, or call out so as to rouse my companions, or lie still and leave him to himself. I determined on the latter; as, supposing I had not killed him, my visitor might have come into my palanquin and killed me before I could get assistance. I therefore lay quietly with a pistol in my hand; and I felt much happier when I heard the bear at last trot off.”

It will be gathered from this extract that Mr. Acland’s Hindustani is none of the best. The editor, it is true, may have made matters worse; but nothing can be more intolerable than the spelling of all the Indian names of things and places used throughout the present volume. Many of our old friends are scarcely recognisable in their new dress: others are so disfigured that it is not without some difficulty we satisfy ourselves of their identity. This is discreditable alike to editor and to publisher. We should have thought that the excellent tact and sound discretion of Mr. Murray would have rescued him from an error, which publishers of less note freely commit—the error of entrusting the revision of books on Indian subjects to parties who know no more about India than about the regions of the moon. We have detected no less than seven gross misprints in a single page.*

We now turn to Mr. Hutton’s volumes. They are very handsomely bound and neatly printed. Mr. Acland’s book has one great merit—it costs only half-a-crown. Mr. Hutton’s costs *eight* half crowns, and is not worth as much as Mr. Acland’s. We know not how to describe it better than by saying it is the sublime of common-place. All that relates to India—the voyage thither round the Cape and the voyage home by the “Overland” route has not only been described fifty times before—but fifty times better. One might almost imagine that the table of

* We may here mention that a book of reference, which will be of the greatest possible use to the publishers of works relating to India, is now going through the press. It is entitled the *Oriental Interpreter*, and is the work of Mr. Stoequeler. It is a lexicon of Indian words, phrases and proper names both of places and individuals—and may be said to combine the advantages of the *Gazeteer* with those of the *Indian Vocabulary*. A few sheets of the *Interpreter* have reached us; and as far as we are able to base an opinion upon an examination of so small a portion of a laborious work, we may say that it appears to have been compiled with great care, and that it will materially assist the studies of the English readers of Indian works, and should never be absent from the publisher’s parlour.

Contents was borrowed from some "Voyage to the East Indies" written half-a-century ago. Thus we have "CHAPTER I; New Acquaintances—Getting under weigh—Going down channel—Last of the English land—Bay of Biscay and its consequences—Dinner under difficulties—Occupation of Time at sea—Porpoises—Boneta—Method of Fishing." Then, "CHAPTER II; A funeral at sea—Sailor's superstitions—Raising the wind—Nautical time—Lascar charm against sickness—The Fore-castle ghost—Sunday at sea—Sea life in the tropics—Falling stars—Yarns in the middle watch—A calm—Exchange signals with Jupiter—Crossing the line," &c. &c. All this, it must be confessed, is very promising—very likely to stimulate the curiosity of a reader in the year 1847! And when it is added that the filling up is altogether worthy of the outline, the most sceptical student will not harbour a doubt of the profound originality of the volumes.

Mr. Hutton's book is entitled *Five years in the East*; but we gather from the very first page of his narrative that he commenced his voyage in July 1844. How the interval between the summer of 1844 and the summer of 1847 can be made to comprise five years, it would puzzle that great authority COCKER to determine. Mr. Hutton, however, is aware of this; and in compassion for our weak brains offers us a solution of the mystery. In helping us out of this dilemma he kindly enables us, at the same time, to surmount another difficulty over which we should otherwise have stumbled. We could not conceive what manner of ship it was in which the adventurous author had taken his passage, until we turned back to his preface. Such an eccentric course as that taken by the *Worcester*, on her outward-bound voyage, was quite beyond the pale of our experience. The vessel according to Mr. Hutton touched at Ascension, St. Helena, at the Cape, and at Johanna;—what she was doing at some of these places would have remained a mystery to the end of our days but for the writer's charitable explanations:—"It may perhaps," he says, "be remarked that the title is contradicted by the commencement of the book, in as much as the date of the departure from England is fixed in July 1844, and that consequently the *five* years are reduced to a little more than *three*; some explanation is, therefore, necessary upon this point, as also to account for the circuitous route pursued by our vessel and the number of places visited without any apparent purpose. In the first place then as regards the misapplication of title. The time actually occupied in performing the tour was upwards of five years, but as the various places were visited on different voyages, it would have

' been necessary to have gone over the same ground two or three times, or else to have omitted some portions. In order, therefore, to give some slight description of every part, and at the same time avoid useless repetition, I have assumed a somewhat unusual course, and have thrown the whole into one voyage, which has thus been made to comprise, not only a greater number of ports, than a vessel would ever touch at in one passage but also the events of others extending over upwards of five years." This is, at all events, a *naïve* confession. Mr. Hutton's *Five years in the East* is, after all, then, a work of fiction. We have little to say against this, except that not being fettered by the demands of truth, he might have made his book a little more amusing. For an imaginary voyage this is the dullest we have ever read.

But we must glean from it an extract or two—and here at starting is one, which we take rather for its suggestiveness than for any other characteristic. It relates to "Sunday on board-ship." The passage is in no wise remarkable in itself. The same observations have been made in nearly the same words, by a score or two of *modern* writers. Thirty or forty years ago the history of a board-ship sabbath was told in very different terms:—

"It is often said and moreover is doubtless believed by many of the would-be-good people on shore, that there is little or no religion to be found at sea; and they imagine that a Sunday is only distinguished from the rest of the week by being only a day of idleness and sleep. To endeavour to rectify this error, we will give a slight sketch, of the manner in which a Sunday is passed on board ship. At six o'clock in the morning the operation of holy-stoning commences and lasts for about an hour much to the annoyance of unfortunate passengers, who are lying below, and are thus disturbed without there being the slightest possibility of dropping off to sleep again. This being finished the deck is washed down and carefully swept, so that no particles of sand are left behind; the heat of the sun in warm climates renders it perfectly dry in a very short time, and the ropes are then coiled neatly down in fanciful devices suggested by the ingenuity of the men who take great pride in the neatness of that part of the vessel to which they belong. At eight they go to breakfast, and immediately afterwards commence cleaning themselves which with many is no slight operation. By ten o'clock, however it is generally over, and little knots assemble in the waist or on the fore-castle, to wile away the time till five bells (half past ten;) meanwhile the carpenter and his mates are occupied in arranging benches upon the quarter deck, and covering a small table on the capstan, with a Union Jack to serve for a pulpit; which process in technical language is termed "rigging the church." At half past ten the bell is tolled for a few minutes, and all the ship's company assemble "aft" taking their places upon the various seats appointed for them. The service is then read by the commander, with the surgeon for clerk, and so far from their being that want of attention which some people falsely suppose is exhibited, Bishop Heber

remarks in his journal, that he never remembered having performed the service with so much satisfaction to himself, or to so attentive a congregation as he did from the rude pulpit on board the ship in which he went out to Calcutta. The remainder of the day is spent by the greater part in reading, and by others in basking in the sun, which, if not a profitable mode of employing the time is to say the least of it harmless, and renders them happy and contented for the time; which is at any rate better, than the manner in which the Sunday afternoon and evening are often spent on shore by those whose education should have taught them better.

There may still be room for improvement; and on board some ships we are afraid that there is a good deal. The manner in which, outwardly, the Sabbath is observed at sea mainly depends upon the personal character of the captain. Among the commanders of our passenger-ships there are many men of high religious principle; and on the whole we have reason to rejoice that the Sabbath on boardship is so well observed in these times. When we think that forty years ago Henry Martyn recorded in bitterness of soul, the sufferings to which he was subjected on his voyage to India by the worse than indifference—the open scoffing irreligion of his fellow-passengers, who made mock of his ministrations, and blasphemed the word of God, we cannot but feel thankful that now, we are even so far advanced, towards a better state of feeling and conduct. The entries in Martyn's Journal during the passage out are very painful to contemplate. "On board his own ship," says the biographer of this holy man, "he regularly read prayers, preached once every Sabbath, lamenting that the captain would not permit the performance of more than one service. This being the case, his usefulness in the ship depended much, he conceived, on his private ministrations. Scarcely a day therefore passed, without his going between the decks where after assembling all who were willing to attend he read to them some religious book, upon which he commented as he went on—'Some attend fixedly—others are looking another way—some women are employed about their children, attending for a little while and then heedless—some rising up and going away—others taking their place, and numbers, especially of those who have been upon watch, strewed all along upon the deck fast asleep, one or two from the upper deck looking down and listening.'—Such is the picture he draws of the congregation below. The situation of things above when he performed his weekly duty on the sabbath was not, according to his own statement, more encouraging. There, the opposition of some and the inattention of others put his weakness and patience very strongly to the test. "The passengers," as he describes it, "were inattentive—the officers, many of them sat

' drinking, so that he could overhear their noise; and the captain was with them. His own soul was serious and undisturbed by the irreverence of the hearers, and he thought that he could have poured it out in prayer without restraint in defiance of their scornful gaze." "How melancholy and humiliating," he could not help adding, "is this mode of public ordinances on ship board, compared with the respect and joy with which the multitudes come up to hear my brethren on shore! but this prepares me for preaching among the heedless gentiles." This, at the beginning of the voyage—as time advanced, no improvement was visible either among the passengers or crew. The voyage was a tedious and distressing one. Martyn had been seven weeks on board, before the ship had passed the Lizard. The vessel in which he sailed was a troop-ship—one of a fleet, despatched for the capture of the Cape. There was bad weather—a great amount of sickness and a mutinous spirit among both soldiers and sailors. Martyn did his best—certainly in a most zealous self-denying spirit, devotedly and most painfully; but he did not succeed. Soon we find this journal entry. "M——, coming in, said that many had become more hostile than ever; saying they should come up to prayers because they believed I was sincere; but not to the sermon, as I did nothing but preach about Hell," "I hope this portends good," he adds—but his hopes were disappointed and we find him before another week has elapsed recording his further experiences in the following words:—

"*September 22 (1806), Sunday.*—Was more tried by the fear of man, than I have ever been since God has called me to the ministry. The threats and opposition of these men, made me unwilling to set before them the truths which they hated. Yet I had no species of hesitation about doing it. They had let me know that if I would preach a sermon like one of Blair's they should be glad to hear it, but they would not attend if so much of Hell was preached. This morning again Capt. —— said, 'Mr. Martyn must not damn us to-day, or none will come again.' I was a little disturbed, but, Luke 10, and above all our Lord's last address to his disciples, John 14-16, strengthened me and I took for my text, Ps. 917. 'The wicked shall be turned into Hell, and all the nations that forget God.' The officers were all behind my back in order to have an opportunity of retiring in case of dislike. B—— attended all the time. H—— as soon as he heard the text went, and said he would hear no more about Hell. So he employed himself in feeding the geese. J—— said I had shut him up in Hell,

‘ and the universal cry was, we are all to be damned! How-
 ‘ ever, God, I trust blessed the sermon to the good of many.
 ‘ Some of the cadets and many of the soldiers were in tears.
 ‘ I felt an ardour and vehemence in some parts which are
 ‘ unusual to me. After the sermon walked the deck with Mrs.
 ‘ —, she spoke with so much simplicity and amiable humility,
 ‘ that I was full of joy and adoration to God for a sheep brought
 ‘ home to his fold. In the afternoon went below intending
 ‘ to read to them at the hatch-way; but there was not one of
 ‘ them; so I could get nothing to do among the poor soldiers.”

Eight years afterwards Bishop Middleton wrote, from on board the *Warren Hastings*, “yesterday (Sunday) I enjoyed extremely. We had prayers in the morning, after which I read a sermon to the ladies, writers, &c., and in the evening I preached to the whole party; every thing was conducted with the strictest order and propriety.”* And in 1823, Bishop Heber wrote from the *Grenville*, “since I have been on board I have often, *very often* thought of Hodnet and its neighbourhood; and on Sundays the recollection has been still more forcibly brought to my mind, by the use which, on those days, I have made of my old sermons slightly altered, and by the contrast of the circumstances under which I now preached them, with the venerable walls and friendly well-known faces, which surrounded me when I last turned over the same leaves. Yet here, also, I have an attentive audience; the exhibition is impressive and interesting and the opportunities of doing good considerable. The crew are very orderly, and the passengers, in general, sufficiently well disposed to acquiesce in the different arrangements,† which I have suggested for weekly and daily prayers;” and again, in his well-known *Journal*, “All were attentive and the petty officers more especially heard me with great apparent interest”—he records too, in another place the very surprising fact, that, although “the congregation at church was very good, there were many absentees at dinner”—we might reasonably have expected the reverse. Heber, on one occasion, rebuked the sailors for harpooning fish upon the Sabbath, and the reproof was taken in good part. The office of the *Bishop* may in all these cases have done more, than the character of the *Minister*,—and Heber had infinitely more judgment than poor Henry Martyn;—but it is to the progress of the age that we must mainly attribute the gratifying change. In many of our principal passenger-ships there is

* *Le Bas' Life of Middleton.*

† *Life of Reginald Heber—by his widow.*

now, regularly, morning and evening service on Sunday ; and there are some captains we might name who regularly summon their crews on week-days to morning and evening prayers.

We now turn to a very different topic. Mr. Hutton having reached Calcutta treats us to the following very veracious picture of Indian society :—

“ Having carefully threaded our way through the intricacies of a number of vessels we cast our own anchor about half way between the fort and the town, and abreast the race-course, which is the principal place of fashionable resort, in the cool of the evening, when a scene ensues not unlike that in Hyde Park with only the exception of its being here upon a much smaller scale : Here may be seen as fine equipages as in London, for the horses and carriages are all sent out from England, at an immense expense. In addition to its being the favorite evening drive, the race course is one of the principal auction marts, for the sale of an article of which a large supply is imported annually from England : we allude to young ladies, who are sent out here as a mere matter of speculation and in the regular business-like manner consigned to an agent, whose duty it is to dispose of them to the best advantage. For this purpose a carriage is kept, in which the poor girl is placed, after having been made to look as pretty as possible, and is driven about the race course every evening, until she is seen, admired, and bought, by some rich old colonel whose age would befit the character of grandfather better than a husband. Such preposterous alliances never turn out happily, as indeed how should they ? What thoughts or wishes can a young girl of seventeen have in common with an old man of sixty ? And such are Indian marriages. The girl is perhaps considered lucky in having caught a colonel, but can she look upon him in any other light than as a person kindly provided by nature to find her with means to indulge in extravagance, and live in luxury, which she might otherwise have wished for in vain : but has it not been obtained at the price of happiness, and what is still worse does it not involve a temptation to crime, which is almost too strong for human frailty to withstand ? So bare-faced is the system pursued that should the agent (for the girl herself is not at her own disposal) be on the point of concluding an agreement with some young man who has six or seven hundred rupees a month, and suddenly hear of an old man who has a thousand, and who wishes to become a purchaser, the first engagement is broken off sans ceremonie, and the young lady's *affections* transferred to the new *lover* ! By these means any girl that is not absolutely ugly, can acquire a fortune, the only stock in trade that is required being a few dresses and other vanities, and the only art being that of lolling gracefully in a carriage.”

If we had stumbled upon this passage in a book published some fifty years ago, it would have excited in us no surprise. But that in 1847 any one should be found ignorant enough, or unscrupulous enough, to write and publish so preposterous a fable as this, is beyond our critical comprehension. Fifty years ago, it was generally believed that Calcutta was a sort of marriage-mart to which young maidens were sent out as regularly as bales of cloth and casks of madeira. But nothing short of the most

deplorable ignorance or credulity (for it is possible that during his month's residence in Calcutta the man may have been hoaxed) could have suffered a writer to set down as a grave truth, in a work intended for the enlightened reader of the present day, a monstrous tradition which has been exploded for at least a quarter of a century. We are not sure that, even in Indian voyages written forty or fifty years ago, we have ever seen the case of the alleged marriage agency stated so grossly and offensively as in the passages which we have just quoted. We need not adduce any facts, or any arguments, in refutation of so palpable a fiction. After what in former articles we have written on the subject, a bare expression of condemnation will suffice.

We were afraid that we should have to censure another and much abler writer than Mr. Hutton, for maligning, with malice prepense—for ignorance could not be pleaded in his case—the wives of India. Captain Thomas has narrowly escaped. He appears to have been on the point of making himself *particeps criminis* with Mr. Hutton, but prose has triumphed over poetry—reality over romance. In a not very complimentary poem on *Anglo-Indian Life*, commencing, "Drivellers, still drivellers to the end," Captain Thomas exclaims—

Take we the Indian wedded life; 'twill prove
How mockingly blind contact and the strong
"Necessity of —union," mimic love;
How rare the heart's deep worship, the glad throng
Of pure bright impulses which fain would bind
The link'd of wedlock's chain, in fellowship of mind.

First comes the spinster vain and vapid;—rife
With ready words, bland looks, and winning wile,
To steal upon the easy name of wife,
With ill-play'd blush and interest's secret smile;
Nought boots it whose her heart—if heart she boast;
Her formal vows are his whom wealth hath favored most.

Frail vows! their swift infringement lacketh nought
But fitting time and tempter; some brief time
Pass'd with her soft, soft lord and sickness (sought
Rather than found) quick warns to kindlier clime;
Then Heaven send sage friends round her, or her course
Will tell wild passion's tale—lost fame and late remorse.

Ah! there it is; truth at last. The book of separation, we know, has many sad tales recorded in it. But as to the rest, Captain Thomas knows that there is no lack of married happiness amongst us. He may have poetised a little on the subject (no harm in that) but he is too great a lover of truth to leave the poison without an antidote. "These lines," he says in a foot-note, "were written in India, when my knowledge of England was bounded by the recollections of a lad of sixteen.

But I have now arrived at the conviction that disinterested and happy marriages are at least as common in India as they are in England." There is something rather ambiguous in the wording of this; but we accept the apology and recognise a better meaning in it than the words literally imply.

Besides it is evident that Captain Thomas, though, under the influence perhaps of a little superfluity of bile, he may have taken incidentally a jaundiced view of domestic life in India, has a much more cheerful philosophy—a more sustaining faith. The illustrations of Indian married life, scattered through his volume, indicate a more cheerful philosophy—a more sustaining faith. It is very plain that the writer of the following lines—and others of a similar tendency might be quoted—has no very bad opinion of Indian wedded life. The sentiment of these verses is not worn out. Among the myriads of sentimental pieces that we have read we are not sure that we have ever alighted upon one embodying the same train of feelings as is expressed—and very felicitously expressed—in this little poem:—

"FAMILIAR VERSES.

Dear lady, honour'd lady, I bring back to you again
The treasure you consign'd to me in mingled pride and pain;
—From exile and its dreary pomp back to our native shore,
From every taint and peril free, your treasure I restore!—
'Tis true the tender plant you gave is now a blooming flower,
But naught is chang'd that I could keep unalter'd from that hour,
Save that a bud or two peeps forth that was not there before,
To make, methinks, the gentle flower ev'n fairer than of yore.—
Yet if it meet your gaze again, as pure and fresh as erst,
Slight praise is mine, tho' lovingly its beauteous growth I nurst,
—Had there been canker in the bud, no care could save its bloom,
No skill preserve its purity,—it must have met its doom!
Then clasp her, clasp her to your heart! for clasp her as you will,
You cannot hold her worth so great, but it is greater still;
Yet let me own, while owning her full worthy of your love,
The praise to *you* alone is due,—you under Heaven above."

The following, too, is worth quoting. It will touch the hearts of many of our readers:—

LINES WRITTEN IN INDIA ON SENDING A DAUGHTER HOME.

Yes, it must be! the evil hour may be delayed no more.
My babe, to stranger hearts and hands thou must be rendered o'er.
And other ears than ours must hear, haply unheeding too,
The prattle of that infant tongue, and other eyes must view
Each childish joy that soon shall chase the first, last tear away,
That falleth o'er thine infant cheek upon our parting day.

And many a fearful surge must sweep our child across the main,
And many a rolling year must speed ere we can meet again;
And none may tell what hallow'd fane, or what unholy shrine
Strangers and hirelings shall up-build in that young heart of thine.

Yet surely they will keep their plight, and sure my child shall be
Still e'en in after years a child in spotless purity ;
And thou shalt grow, Heav'n nurtur'd, as some sweet and beauteous flower
Fann'd by our own loved Albion's breeze, in merry English bower ;
And God will bless thee ; and sweet hopes, and blessed thoughts will rise
From out thy little sinless heart, like incense to the skies.

Thought soon shall light those deep blue eyes, as day's star lights the lake,
Kissing its clear and breezeless face when fair spring mornings break ;
And, girt with thine own virgin grace, mine infant, thou shalt grow
Lov'd of the God thou fear'st above, and fondly blest below.

But oh, when hearts now strange to thee have lov'd thee long and well ;
And other joys and other scenes have wrought their pleasant spell,—
Say (while this life appears to thee one long glad holiday)
Will prayer or praise of thine e'er bless thy parents far away ?

And when, in later years, the day shall come, as come it must,
For those, once strangers, since belov'd, to render back their trust ;
When age's blessing, youth's pure tear, and friendship's whisper tell
How hard to those we long have lov'd it is to say farewell,
With pain thy gentle heart will break the blended witchery
For us, whose very life and love are voiceless shades to thee !

The sleepless care, the heart-deep prayer, the picturings in thought,
That shall have track'd and traced thy path, tho' thou beheld them not,
The exile willingly prolong'd—prolong'd that thou might'st reap
Its fruit, in added skill to charm,—afar—across the deep ;
—*What* shall their meed be ? *duty* cold, and sighs all ill repress,
And thoughts that fain, like doves, would " fly away and be at rest !"
Yet go ! still go ! tho' well I know thou never more mayst be
The little loving gentle thing that thou hast been to me !

The last work on our list has, at all events, the most attractive title. In spite of the scores of volumes which have been written on the subject, a book really being what it professes to be a description of *real* life in India would be a valuable contribution to our literature. A work containing a true account of Anglo-Indian Society—with nothing in it about the sale of young damsels—the enormous quantity of curry that gentlemen eat for breakfast and the enormous quantity of beer that ladies drink for luncheon—is even in this year 1847 a desideratum which has yet to be supplied. Of the work now before us, in a very imperfect state, we scarcely know what account to render. The precise object of *Real Life in India* it is difficult to gather from the sheets that have reached us ; but there would seem to be a plainer stamp of utilitarianism upon it than the title would have led us to suppose. We believe the little volume is intended to be a sort of *vade mecum* for Griffins of all denominations, which being cheap and portable, they may conveniently stow away in an odd corner of their portmanteau. There is a good deal of useful advice in it—but we have looked in vain for the piquant sketches of Anglo-Indian Society, which the advertisement of the work led us to expect—though, if we are not much deceived by some occasional

touches thrown in here and there with a free bold hand, the writer might have given us some such sketches, had his intentions lain in that direction. From a chapter headed "What appointments to get, and how to get them" we take the following account of "how to get" into the East India direction, which is at all events *smart*—it is the only connected passage which we can afford to quote :—

"An East India Director is one of twenty-four gentlemen to whom the Crown and the Legislature entrust, under certain ministerial control, the business of conducting the affairs of India. Once appointed, these gentlemen have a life interest in the office, although they go out every four years in rotation, to be succeeded by others who have already held the office. The Directors are elected by the proprietors of East India stock, a considerable body of persons, whose votes are determined by the number of shares or bonds they individually possess. These persons are to be found in every class of life, from the peer and the general's or civilian's widow down to the slop-seller, the latter having, of course, an eye to the smiles and patronage of the successful Director on whom he may bestow his vote. Freedom and independence among these voters are about as applicable as the same phrase used in reference to the ten-pound householders who select the representatives of the nation. Here and there we meet with a conscientious proprietor; but in nine cases out of ten a successful election is the result of industrious canvassing, and the exertions and favour of the men already in power. The process by which a gentleman reaches his place among the "Honourable" conclave, whose official *locale* is Leadenhall-street, London, is almost uniform. We will suppose him to have served or resided in India, achieving a certain amount of distinction as a civilian, a soldier, a lawyer, a merchant, a sailor,—or indeed in any capacity,—or we shall suppose him never to have visited India at all. He may be a London banker or a *cidévant* China supercargo. There is no condition exacted of the candidate, either as to his age or his previous position in life. Well; he has made up his mind to seek an East-India Directorship, for the sake of making his talents useful to his country, his friends, and himself. He procures a list of the proprietors—communicates with those among them who may happen to enjoy the honour of his acquaintance—seeks through them, the friendship of others; and having thus prepared the soil, fertilizes it with good dinners and other pleasant bounties. He then, through the medium of letters inserted in the advertising columns of the public newspapers, announces his intention to the proprietors of East India stock,—apprises them of his remarkable qualifications for the trust he seeks—professes a scrupulous and intense devotion to the interests of the Indian empire—promises to call upon them all and solicit their sweet voices *in propria persona*, and winds up, declaring with desperate energy that he will proceed to the ballot at the very next vacancy,—a declaration he often finds it convenient to rescind. The day of election arrives. One or two competitors are in the field. The East India House—on that occasion a gentlemanlike sort of hustings—is the scene of active contest all day long. The several committees move heaven and earth to bring the voters to the poll. The proxies are duly registered. At six P. M. the glasses close, and the scrutineers announce the triumphant candidate.

"And for what has this often costly battle been waged? Not, assuredly,

for pecuniary profit ; for the Director receives but 300*l.* a year while in office, and cannot sell his patronage without violating the laws of his country. But it is for the honour and dignity of the office, for the occupation it gives, and the opportunity it affords the incumbent of making powerful friends by providing for their children ; of reciprocating delicate obligations ; of paving the way to Parliament, or to some of the good things in the gift of Government, and various wealthy associations."

We wish that we could have given a better account of the recent additions to our collection of books relating to India, and the East. The "cumberers of the—*shelves*" already are many, and we fear that the number is likely to be increased. It is but fair, however, that we should remark in conclusion that Mr. Hutton's book contains matter relating to China, which is more valuable than that which concerns our Indian possessions. But we are writing now of our Indian Empire and not of the peculiarities of the "flowery land." When we come to speak of recent works upon China we may perhaps revert, in more encouraging language, to Mr. Hutton and his book.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.

The Journal of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia
No. I. July, and No. II. August, 1847. Singapore: Printed
at the Mission Press.

We lose no time in directing attention to this new periodical, which promises to supply what has long been felt to be a grand desideratum in our Oriental Literature. India is now tolerably well provided for, with appropriate repositories for the record of observation and research in every leading department, literary and scientific, statistical and economic, political and religious. But the Eastern India Peninsula, with its magnificent retinue of Islands, has hitherto been treated with unmerited neglect—being very much abandoned to the casual and hasty remarks of the passing traveller, or to the chance of an occasional volume from the pens of such really qualified observers as Marsden, Crawford and Raffles. But a continuous systematic effort to bring to the view of the English reader the vast variety of objects of interest in a region teeming with the richest materials, in the form of a regular periodical, devoted exclusively to Eastern India and Archipelagic Research, has not till recently been attempted. In this respect the Dutch have greatly got the start of us. Besides many former labours, about a year ago, the learned Dutchman, Dr. W. R. Van Hoëvell, commenced a periodical in the Dutch language, entitled “*Tijdschrift ter bevordering van Christelijken Zin in Neerland's Indie, &c.*” But, being in a foreign language, so little studied as the Dutch, it is for the most part inaccessible to English readers. Its plan is in many respects comprehensive, and its execution praiseworthy in the highest degree. As in due time, however, we expect to bestow upon it a more worthy notice, we shall at once pass on to its new cotemporary and friendly co-adjutor in the comparatively unoccupied field of Physical Geography and Natural History, with the kindred domains of Literature, Science, and the Arts, Agriculture, Manufactures and Commerce—“*The Journal of the Indian Archipelago.*”

This Journal has started under the fairest auspices; and as our earnest wish is for its unbounded success, we shall present our readers with the entire original prospectus, in which the object of the proposed Journal is fully and distinctly unfolded:—

OBJECT OF THE PROPOSED JOURNAL.

“The attention which, for some time past, has been attracted to the Indian Archipelago, and its recent approximation to Europe by the establishment of steam communication, encourage the hope that the time has now arrived when a Journal devoted to this region may meet with readers. After the period when the writings of Mr. Marsden, Sir T. S. Raffles and Mr. Crawford first systematically brought the light of European observation and science to bear upon some portions of it, the Archipelago only at intervals awakened the interest of the English public, and, to the last, were

concerned, it nearly settled down into its previous obscurity. It is true there has generally been two and frequently more newspapers in the British Settlements on the Straits of Malacca, but their principal object having been the discussion of commercial, political or purely local topics, their European circulation has been chiefly amongst those who have an immediate interest in the Eastern trade. The consequence has been that many valuable and interesting observations, which from time to time have been published in them, never received that diffusion and attention which they deserved.* While no adequate means have been taken during the last twenty years to preserve the interest of the English public in the Archipelago, and the writings of Marsden, Raffles and Crawfurd, deficient as their authors admitted them to be, have continued to represent the sum of English knowledge of its races and productions, a great amount of talent and research has, in reality been devoted to it. When we replaced the Dutch in their Eastern possessions, we seem, at the same time, to have made over to them the science of the Archipelago. The scientific ardour which was kindled in Java by Sir T. S. Raffles and his coadjutors, did not burn out when we retired from it, but was communicated to our successors, and has not only illustrated many subjects which we left in obscurity, but, receiving a fresh stimulus and direction from every advance of science on the Continent of Europe, has shed new light on those which had most attracted our regard. It was in the deep regret with which we saw that the Eastern researches of the Dutch were unheeded, because unknown, in England, that the idea of the proposed Journal originated. It is this feeling that, in the absence of any Society in the British Settlements, devoted like those at Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Ceylon, and Hongkong to the collection of general information, has induced us to overcome our reluctance to appear before the public as the originators of a periodical partaking, in any degree, of a general scientific character. If a hearty zeal for knowledge, a willingness to give all our leisure to its extension, and a determination to be accurate and laborious, may enable us to do some service to men of science, we shall not regret that, in following up our own limited pursuits, we became acquainted with the extensive acquisitions of our Dutch neighbours, and at once saw that we should be more likely to make ourselves useful by communicating these to our countrymen, than by confining ourselves to original observation. The chief purpose of the Journal will be, by translations, compilations and notices from Dutch writings, to make English readers acquainted with their researches. They embrace a wide and singularly varied field†, and extend to so many subjects both of popular and of purely scientific interest, that we shall be compelled to give the Journal a more mixed character than may be altogether acceptable to any one class of readers. But as we do

* Should the support which the projected Journal may receive, enable us to enlarge it hereafter, we intend to reprint the more important and scarce of these and other detached papers that have appeared, relative to the Archipelago.

† To those who, in ignorance of the later researches of the Dutch, and of the new and attractive character which ethnographical science has everywhere assumed, chiefly through the discoveries of the great German philologists, may think that Raffles and Crawfurd exhausted the scientific wealth of the Archipelago, or even of the single island to which their personal observations were chiefly directed, it may be sufficient to remark that, if all the islands were brought together, they would form a continent as large as Great Britain, France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Switzerland, Prussia, Belgium, Holland and Denmark united, and that they exhibit a greater diversity of tribes, languages, and natural productions, than any other region of equal extent in the world.

not doubt that all who may support the undertaking will cordially approve of its object—which is to gather and present to European readers, from all available sources, *knowledge*, in the widest sense, of the Indian Archipelago,—we trust that the general reader who may take up the *Journal* will make allowance for the space occupied by scientific objects, and the scientific reader, in his turn, will not quarrel with its more miscellaneous ingredients. We anticipate however from the prevailing taste for general knowledge, and the growing tendency to treat all kinds of subjects in a scientific or accurate and thoughtful spirit, that our largest class of readers will be sufficiently catholic in their sympathies to find “good in every thing” that we shall lay before them. It is only by the union of subjects generally kept separate that we can hope to attain sufficient support at the outset to enable us to proceed, and it is fortunate that many even of the scientific papers of the Dutch explorers are combined with so much of the personal narrative of their explorations that they are well adapted for our purpose. Should a desire afterwards be felt to have a strictly scientific separately from a popular miscellany, we shall readily alter our plan, provided our subscribers are numerous enough to maintain two periodicals.

While the *Journal* will principally be a channel for communicating to European readers the past and contemporaneous writings of the Dutch on the Archipelago generally, it will, we trust, serve as a focus in which the observations of English and American residents in Java, Bali, Borneo, the Philippines, Siam, &c., may be concentrated. We say English and American, because, although we shall of course be always happy to receive communications from any person, we are most anxious to avoid every appearance of offering the use of our *Journal* to the Dutch contributors to the periodicals of Batavia. We are indebted to Dr. W. R. Baron van Hoevell, the President of the Batavian Society, and the learned, able, and zealous editor of the leading scientific and literary *Journal* there, for constant and most liberal assistance in making ourselves acquainted with the researches of himself and his countrymen, and we shall be too glad to continue to do so, and to make our readers participate in the results, by translating from the Dutch. It will not be the least beneficial effect of our *Journal*, that we shall be able to introduce our neighbours to our English readers in a character in which they have not been accustomed to view them, and thereby, we trust, help to soften those asperities of feeling that are apt to be occasionally engendered when Dutch policy seems to conflict with British interest.

It will, in a more particular manner, be a *Journal* of the British Settlements on the Straits of Malacca, and of the Malayan Peninsula, to which our own observations are and will be chiefly directed. While Sumatra and Java have been investigated by English writers, the Peninsular extremity of Asia, with which we are now more immediately connected than with the Archipelago, has remained comparatively unexplored; for the published researches of Colonel Low have chiefly related, although they have by no means been restricted, to the Siamese language, in which he is one of the most distinguished scholars of the age, and Captain Newbold's original contributions, highly valuable as they were, hardly extended beyond Malacca and the inland states adjoining it. We have for some years omitted no opportunity of extending our knowledge respecting the Peninsula, and this will continue to be the chief object of our own enquiries. Those whose investigations have been more varied and searching, and all who have had, or may have, opportunities of adding to our knowledge of it in any particular, will, we earnestly beg, join in our labours. Occupied by many interesting states and tribes,—forming as it did one, perhaps the principal, channel by which

the stream of human migration spread from the great Table Land of Asia to the Archipelago and the remotest islands of Polynesia,—anciently the seat of one of the most famous Hindu colonies, and, in modern ages the great field of Malayan history,—it deserves to be rescued from neglect. Its economical value has only lately begun to excite adequate attention, but it needs little foresight to pronounce that in a few years many of its plains, so well adapted for the production of Sugar and all other tropical commodities, and its mountain and hill ranges, which are amongst the richest magazines of tin ore in the world, will be occupied and explored by British enterprise.

PLAN OF THE JOURNAL.

The bulk of the Journal will consist of articles, chiefly translated from the Dutch and Spanish, relating to Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Celebes, the Philippines and the Moluccas, Bali and other islands of the Archipelago. These will be very varied in their nature, embracing as they will, the history, language, literature, and ethnography of the various races who inhabit this great region, and contributions to almost every department of natural history and physical science, as well as topographical, agricultural, economical and miscellaneous subjects. Original papers of a similar nature, but more limited range, will from time to time be given on the countries of the Malay Peninsula, Siam, Borneo, and occasionally we hope on Cochin China, &c. In particular, papers on the physical geography and geology of the Peninsula and the adjacent islands, on the history, language, literature, manners and customs of the Malays, and on the aboriginal mountain races, will be frequently, although not regularly, given. The best Malayan prose and poetical works will be printed, accompanied by translations and explanatory and critical notes. We are prepared to commence a series of these works and translations in the first number of the Journal, and to continue it uninterruptedly till we have published all the productions of Malayan writers that deserve to be preserved. The British Settlements, with their motley population, and great diversity of ethnographical riches, will furnish abundant interesting matter. We do not venture to promise that China, Australia, and the farther East will regularly contribute to our stores, but the central position of Singapore, relatively to intercourse by steam with Europe, leads us to entertain a strong hope that we shall not want original communications from these countries when the objects of the Journal become known to our countrymen and other foreigners resident there.

The extension of the commerce and influence of the British and Dutch in the Archipelago, the character and tendency of their respective policies, the condition of the British Settlements, their influence on the Asiatics around us, and the prospects and progress of education and christianity in these regions, will from time to time be reviewed, but, we think we may give assurance, in a spirit free from national or sectarian bias, and regarding only the advancement of the Archipelago. In order to do our best to give the Journal a fair start, we shall for a time restrict its size and price, in the hope that it will thereby meet with general support, and should its receipts more than cover its cost, we shall apply the surplus in extending our means of information and giving increased value to it. At first, therefore, it will consist of a monthly octavo of thirty-two or forty-eight pages (according to the number of subscribers) at an annual subscription of five dollars; a price that, in consequence of the high cost of printing in Singapore, and the large number of copies which the design of the Journal will require us to present to Societies, &c., will hardly repay our outlay, unless its circulation be much greater than we can venture to

anticipate. Lithographs will occasionally be given. It may sometimes be expedient to increase the size of a number one-half or even to double it, which will be done without any additional charge. After much consideration a monthly has been considered preferable to a quarterly issue, because, although it may at times compel us to break a long article into parts, it will have the great advantage of enabling us to keep pace with the contemporaneous labours of the Dutch in the Archipelago, and to communicate their results to the English reader at the earliest possible period after their publication in Batavia.

Next, in order to complete the preliminary explanatory observations of the Editor, we shall here also extract the short preface to the first number :—

“The design of this Journal has been so fully explained in the Prospectus, that we might have dispensed with any Preface, if we had not been desirous of recording the cordial reception which has been given to the proposal to establish it. In particular the warm interest which the Honorable Colonel Butterworth, C. B. Governor of the Straits Settlements, has from the first taken in the project, and the cordial encouragement and support which he has given to it, demand a special acknowledgement. The Bengal Government have countenanced the work in the manner recommended by him, not only by liberally subscribing to it, but by authorizing every facility to be given for the communication of information by the Officers of Government in the Straits Settlements. From most of the local Authorities we have received assurances of their aid ; and the knowledge which they possess, and the opportunities which they enjoy of obtaining information, give a high value to their assistance. Many Residents in the Straits, whose names will appear in good time where we most wish to see them, had no sooner become acquainted with our design than they promised contributions ; and the valuable article on Gutta Percha, which we are enabled to present in the first number, with its important and original information, is an earnest how able and willing they are to operate in rendering our countrymen better acquainted with the Archipelago and its resources.

We shall endeavour to keep two principal objects steadily in view. The first is, to present as many papers as possible that are either original or new to the English reader. The second is, to make the Journal a work of reference on all subjects connected with the Archipelago. With a view to the first object, the papers of contributors will always have a preference. Next to these we shall most largely draw upon the foreign publications in the Archipelago. But as papers of interest relating to this region are sometimes published on the continent of Europe, and remain unknown to English readers, we shall also avail of them as opportunity may offer. For the accomplishment of the second object, we shall from time to time republish papers that have already appeared in English, but may have had a limited or an entirely local circulation, or are no longer procurable. And we shall notice works and papers on the Archipelago and Eastern Asia published in England and America, partly with the same view, and partly to keep all our Eastern readers and contributors informed of every important accession made to our knowledge of the field from which the Journal takes its gleanings. To facilitate reference until a volume is complete, we shall with each number give an analytic table of contents which will serve as the foundation of a full table of contents and index to be issued, with a title page for the volume, at the end of each year.

Unless we adopt a quarterly issue, it will be impossible to give to each number that variety in its matter which might be agreeable to many readers. But for the reason stated in the Prospectus, and in order also to enable us to meet the wishes of contributors when early publication may be an object, we have resolved to commence with a monthly issue. We must therefore request our readers to bear in mind, that the nature of the work requires that it be judged not by a number, but by a volume. It may indeed sometimes happen that we shall be obliged to occupy a whole number with one article, and that on a subject which many readers may not find interest. But we have already besought their toleration of such chances in our Prospectus."

Again, at the conclusion of the first Number, the Editor presents his readers with a "scheme of Desiderata for the Indian Archipelago, &c." The design is to furnish suitable hints and directions to those who, though willing to lend their aid in contributing to the Journal, may "hesitate as to the topics on which they should treat," or who may be ready to plead a "deficiency of practice in observing and committing observations to writing in a methodical manner." The hints and directions for this end are at once seasonable and valuable. If the many intelligent and well-educated Europeans who are every where scattered throughout this vast country, were only in right earnest to fix their minds on any subject which may happen to be a favourite one with themselves, for the purpose of thoroughly investigating it, there is no calculating the amount of interesting, instructive, and useful information which, in the ultimate aggregate, might be accumulated. "There is scarcely," says Sir John Herschell, with equal point and truth, "any well informed person, who, if he has the will, has not also the power to add something essential to the general stock of knowledge, if he will only observe regularly and methodically some particular class of facts which may most excite his attention, or which his situation may best enable him to study with effect." His scheme of desiderata the Editor concludes with the following weighty practical remarks:—

"The reduction of every species of information that admits of it, into an arithmetical or accurate quantitative form, although sometimes attended with labour, gives it a far greater value, both for practical and scientific purposes, than if it were merely stated in a loose or general manner. Almost every subject has its quantitative point of view, and if this be neglected, a most important, and, in many cases, the essential, element of its real science has not been furnished. Thus tables of daily temperature, humidity, rain, wind, electricity, &c., are meteorology expressed at large, and the science resolves itself into an exhibition of them by shorter expressions. Every thing physical or moral should be considered descriptively so as fully to express its individual or intrinsic existence, and quantitatively, so as to ascertain its relation to the whole, that is, its importance and influence in the general system of things of which it forms an integral part. Without attending to the summation of facts, no correct view of a nation or country can be presented. It is the association of different physical and moral beings, powers and influences, that gives its distinctive character to a country; and that association cannot be understood without a definite description of each kind of being, power and influence, an approxi-

mation to their respective number and quantity, and an estimate of the mutual influence and relative importance of the sum of each. Geography is only a science so far as it strives to attain this estimate. When it shall completely succeed, it will take its proper rank as the greatest of all sciences, because it will be an induction from the results of every other, and furnish true statistical laws for the attainment of the greatest human good in every region. Meantime every contribution of a single fact, or correction of a single error, helps to complete its basis of data."

Lastly, though our present limits will not admit of our noticing any of the articles in detail, we shall as the readiest means of indicating and illustrating the design of the work, furnish the table of contents of the first two numbers:—

CONTENTS OF NO. I.

The Present Condition of the Indian Archipelago: 1.—Physical relations of the Archipelago to the Continent of Asia. 2.—Hypothesis of their former connection. 3.—Influence of its geological development on the distribution and form of the islands, on climate, and vegetation. 4.—Luxuriance of the latter, character thereby given to the small islands. 5.—To the mountains. 5.—Change caused by volcanic eruptions. 6.—Forests of the Archipelago. 7.—their character. 7.—wild animals. 8.—The life of the sea-marshes, beaches, and banks. 8-9.—Testimony of naturalists to the exuberance and beauty of animal and vegetable life. 9.—Influence of the physical, on the human history of the region,—population an extension of that of the continent. 9-10.—Two great eras in its civil history.—Wild nomades of the forests and the sea, *id.* Hindu civilization. 11.—Mahomedan, *id.*—Rise of dominant nations, *id.*—European influence, *id.*—Great diversity of tribes, languages, customs, forms of government. 12.—Human and life industry in the Archipelago at the present day. 12-14.—Great piratical communities. 14-15.—Slave trade, *id.*—Social and personal condition of the inhabitants. 15-16.—Present degeneracy of the governments from the influence of the European dominations—foreign elements of change—means of amelioration—duty of England. 17-21.

Gutta Percha; By T. Oxley, Esq., A. B., *Senior Surgeon of the Settlement of Prince of Wales' Island, Singapore and Malacca.* Discovery of the Gutta by Europeans. 22.—Botanical description. 22-23.—Range, habitat, mode of procuring. 24.—Properties, uses, application to the practice or surgery. 26.—Great superiority to bandages and splints in cases of fracture, &c., 26-28.—Capsules for vaccine virus. 28-29.—Patents in England for cleaning the gutta and removing its acidity—means of procuring it pure where it is produced. 29.

Some Remarks on the Dyaks of Bahjarmassing: character; dress; tattooing. 30.—Ornaments; feasts, drinking; death—feasts, *Bliaus, No magalian*. 31.—Omens from flight of Birds—Sacrifices from dreams. 32.—Misfortunes. 33.—Human sacrifices. 33.—Industry, kottas, population of Pulopetak. 34.

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Shair Bidasari: A Malay Poem, with an English Translation and Notes. 38-48.

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the Monarchy, 49.—Kings, 50.—Geographical position and divisions, 51.—Rivers, 53.—Mountains, *ib.*—Minerals, 54.—Climate, *ib.*—Plants, 56.—Animals, *ib.*—Harbours, 57.—Towns, 58.—Populations, 59.—Taxes, *ib.*—Inhabitants, 60.—Dress, 62.—Manners and Customs, 63.—Houses and Food, *ib.*—Condition of the Women, 63.—Arts and Sciences, 65.

Some Contributions of the Natural History of the Rafflesia Patma: By the deer Zollinger, M. B. S. &c. Habitat, size, superstitions and medicinal uses by the Javanese, 66.

A Glance at Rhio: By J. T. Thomson, Esq., *Hon. M. Newcastle Nat. Hist. Soc., Surveyor to Government*: Position, 68.—Shape and Coasts of the Island of Bintang, *ib.*—Description of the town of Rhio, 69.—Gambling houses and policy of Gambling Farms, 70.—Pulo Piningat, the residence of the Rajah Muda, ceremonies on the marriage of his son, 71-72.—Geology of Bintang, 73-74.

Contributions to the Statistics of the Population of Java: By P. Becker, *Mem. Dir. and Sec. Bat. Soc.; Med. Serv. Neth. India*, 75-76.

Miscellaneous Notices, Contributions, and Correspondence:

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The Tin Mines of Malacca: letter from T. Neubronner, Esq., *ib.*

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Specimens of Rocks from Pulo Ladda, Pulo Lankawi and the Mainland of the Peninsula between Kiddah and Junkosylon, 80-81.

Specimens of Gold from Pankallang Bukit, and of Gold and Tin from Gongpong in Johore, 81.

Case of Poisoning by Mushrooms, 81-82.

*• Orders and Subscriptions will be received in Singapore, by Messrs. Little, Cursetjee and Co.; Malacca, by Messrs. L. Neubronner and Co.; Pinang, by G. H. Smith, Esq.; Calcutta, by Messrs. W. Thacker and Co.; London, by Messrs. Smith, Elder and Co., Cornhill."

Some of these papers are written with great ability, and introduce matter at once interesting and novel. But as we purpose, in due season, to return to the subject, and, in the way of analysis and criticism, present our readers with fair specimens of the work, both as regards the intrinsic value of its materials and the artistic skill with which these may be exhibited, we shall, for the present, conclude with a reiterated expression of our hearty good will towards the undertaking, and sincere wishes for its increasing prosperity. May the Journal of the Indian Archipelago become a worthy and a generous rival of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and earn for itself not a local, not an Indian, but a European and American reputation.

N. B.—From the great length of some of the preceding articles, and the obvious undesirableness either of abridging them, or of keeping them back for another quarter, there are several Miscellaneous Notices, for which we can find no room in the present number, and which must now, therefore, be reserved for the next.

Bound by

Bharati.

13, Patwardhan Lane,

Date ~~27 FEB 1958~~

